

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGIST

AUGUST, 1916

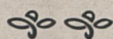
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I GO FOR ALL SHARING THE PRIVILEGES OF THE GOVERNMENT
WHO ASSIST IN BEARING ITS BURDENS

Abraham Lincoln

The National Suffragist



Foreword

WE present THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGIST to the awakened womanhood of America, with the firm conviction that this magazine will play a vital part in the struggle for a freer and nobler civilization.

This magazine will be published in the interest of the woman's movement in its broadest sense—its duties and its responsibilities as well as its rights and its privileges. It is not attached to any sect or set, nor the adherent of any party.

It will endeavor to provide an open forum for all views tending to strengthen the woman's movement. Pledged to tolerance and dedicated in a free spirit, it is hoped that women of modern ideas and the highest ideals will give it their hearty support and co-operation.

The size of the magazine will be enlarged as the occasion demands and circulation permits, so that every phase of the woman's movement may be touched upon.

Besides articles on the suffrage movement of National and International interest we hope to add departments on hygienics, styles, cooking, child-welfare and various other departments. THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGIST will be published on the 15th of each succeeding month.

The extent in which you aid us by your subscriptions and co-operation will determine the extent to which we can become a power for constructed good in our nation. Contributed articles will be gladly accepted and a question department relating to the suffrage movement will be an important part of our magazine. We earnestly bespeak your cordial support with the certainty that we will prove worthy of your trust in us. With our face toward the rising sun; with the heartbeat of aroused womanhood ringing in our ears, we sincerely greet you.

JUDITH W. LOEWENTHAL

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGIST



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EDITOR, JUDITH W. LOEWENTHAL



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Equal Suffrage

The Kinds of Men Opposed to Equal Suffrage

By Miss Helen Todd of California

IN CALIFORNIA there are only three kinds of men who voted against giving the vote to women.

They were, first, the men who make money out of vice; second, the very rich, the men who look upon women simply as ornaments, and third, the very ignorant and illiterate.

One man of the last type, when I asked him if he would vote for our suffrage amendment, answered:

"I cannota read, and I cannota write, so I cannota vote. Next year I reada, next year I learna to write, then I vote no."

I said, "Why do you want to do that? We are willing in this country to give you all that we have—liberty, democracy, why will you not have at least what we are willing to give you?"

And he said "Because God had not given women any sense."

And on election day the most illiterate citizens voted no; and on Pacific avenue, where the rich live, they voted no; but the great mass of the men in between voted yes. From all the ordinary walks of life, from shops and factories, down from our lumber camps, and from our mines and from our farms, came the vote of the average man. The kind of man who, when asked, "Will you vote for a

suffrage amendment?" had answered something like this:

"Sure, I will; you know the grasshoppers ate up all our crops in Kansas, and my father had to come out here. He had no money, but he bought a little farm, and my mother just worked like a slave and pulled us through, and now the mortgage is paid off, and we are all right.

"And if that woman ain't good enough to vote in this state, show me a man that is."

And another man would tell us about his daughter—how she taught school and had the education which he had not and could not get, how he wanted her to be given as fair a chance in her struggle with life as his sons; and he would say, "If she is not good enough to vote, where is the man who is good enough?"

And that is the feeling of the Western man, that the women who have helped to build up the West are his equals and companions. Instead of cheap and fulsome flattery they are glad to give us justice, to recognize us as comrades and equals.

While there is a lower class I am in it;

While there is a criminal class I am of it;

While there is a soul in prison I am not free.



Cheyenne Greets Suffragists

Cheyenne, during the last week in July, gathered within her gates a distinguished company of women, representing many of the states in the Union who were delegates to the convention of the National Council of



EMMA SMITH DEVOE

Women Voters. Delegates began arriving early in the week. Homes were opened to them and pleasant social courtesies arranged which added greatly to the pleasure of the trip and effectiveness of the work accomplished.

Mrs. Emma Smith Devoe, the national president, called the first meeting to order in Carnegie library.

The gavel fell at eight o'clock. Rev. Olympia Brown of Racine, Wisconsin, gave the invocation. Rev. Mrs. Brown is an octogenarian, and her words fell like a blessing upon the women assembled in the interests of the cause in the service of which Mrs. Brown has grown old and honored. The address of the evening was given by Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Colorado. Her subject was "A Trained Woman's Citizenry." Her theme was that women should study, think, educate themselves in the craft of wise citizenship.

Other distinguished women were called upon for brief talks. Among them were Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Washington, D. C., representing Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. Mrs. Miller brought to the Council of Women Voters an invitation to become affiliated with the Suffrage association. The discussion, in which Dr. Lucy Waite of Chicago, Mrs. A. M. Brown, Chicago; Mrs. Wolstenholme, Utah; Mrs. Foster, and Miss Bosse, Washington; Rev. Olympia Brown, Wisconsin; Mrs. Bellamy, Laramie; Mrs. Hart, Idaho; Mrs. Bradford, and others, joined, was continued until the morning's session for conclusion and action.

Mrs. Devoe named the following committees.

General Arrangements—Mrs. Mary Bellamy, Laramie.

Reception—Mesdames R. A. Morton, G. A. Fox, Charles Bristol, J. D. Clark.

Baerresen—Gibson Clark and others of Cheyenne.

Courtesy—Same as above.

Literature—Mrs. Etta Cummings, Washington.

Resolutions—Dr. Lucy Waite, Chicago; Mrs. Foster, Washington; Mrs. Wolstenholme, Utah.

Credentials—Mrs. Laura G. Fixen, Chicago.

“Vanguard”—Miss Bertha Bosse, Washington.

Voluntary offerings—Mrs. Anna Swan, Washington; Mrs. Ione Hart, Idaho.

Mrs. Morton was introduced and spoke briefly in happy vein, welcoming the visitors to Cheyenne. Her appearance was greeted with applause and she was given a rising vote of thanks for the committee of which she was head, that had so generously arranged for the entertainment of the guests of the week.

The second session of the council of women voters was promptly called to order in the women's club room at Carnegie library, convening at half after nine o'clock.

The delegates were all present, and following the invocation, addresses of welcome were made by Hon. Mary Bellamy, member of the Wyoming legislature, representing the women of Wyoming, and Gov. John B. Kendrick, who welcomed the visitors in the name of the state.

The laws in different states for the benefit, or otherwise, of women and children were discussed, the reports being given by Mrs. Bellamy, Wyoming; Mrs. Bradford, Colorado; Mrs. Wolstenholme, Utah, and Miss Margaret Roberts, Idaho.

Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard of Laramie, member of the faculty of the University of Wyoming, gave an interesting address on the history of woman suffrage in this state. Dr. Hebard is the author of a history of Wyoming. A copy of her review of suffrage evolution in Wyoming will be filed in the records of the council.

The afternoon session was devoted to the discussion of questions vital to the council, and which will bear fruit beneficial to the women of the entire Union.

At 5 o'clock Rev. Olympia Brown delivered a memorial address in honor

of the memory of Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway.

Gov. John B. Kendrick opened the doors of the executive mansion to the visiting delegates to the council of women voters, extending his invitation to the citizens of Cheyenne to attend and assist in giving the distinguished visitors a cordial welcome. The plans for the reception were formulated and carried to a happy conclusion by the ladies of the local committee, of which Mrs. R. A. Morton was the chairman.

The fairest of summer flowers were used in the decorations, a coteria of representative women of Cheyenne assisted in receiving and entertaining the guests. Mrs. Burke H. Sinclair officiated as hostess in the absence of Mrs. Kendrick. Standing in the receiving line with the governor were Mrs. Robert B. Forsyth, wife of the state auditor; Mrs. Devoe, Mrs. Bellamy, Mrs. Harrison G. Foster, officers of the council and Rev. Olympia Brown.

Assisting in the drawing-room were Mesdames Sinclair, R. A. Morton, W. C. Mentzer, J. M. Carey, Wilfrid O'Leary, W. E. Hinrichs, E. W. Glafcke, Charles Bristol, A. L. Putnam, Archie Allison, N. S. Thomas.

Refreshments were served in the dining room by Mrs. G. A. Fox, Mrs. R. C. Shanklin of South Bend, Ind., Mrs. Bruce Jones and Mrs. Donald Forsyth.

The affair was quite informal, and the guests gathered in constantly changing groups to chat, to discuss the ever-important topic which had brought them together, and to cement acquaintances that will ripen with the years into enduring friendship.

The visiting ladies were most charming, individually and collectively, and the Cheyenne women cherish a secret hope that the admiration may be mutual.

The visitors one and all expressed the greatest pleasure in their visit to Cheyenne, and appreciation of the many courtesies extended to them.

Among the distinguished visitors were noted Judge and Mrs. Joseph M. Carey, Bishop and Mrs. Thomas, Judge and Mrs. W. E. Mullen, Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Henderson, Mrs. Effie R. Dodds, Mrs. Ammon of Kansas City.

EMINENT PEOPLE DECLARE FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE

Abraham Lincoln.—I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.

Dr. Harvey W. Wiley.—If woman suffrage were not desirable for any other reason, it would be worth while merely because it would ensure better pure-food legislation.

Jane Addams.—City housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities.

William Dean Howells.—Everything in the movement to give women the suffrage appeals to my reverence and sense of justice.

Lawrence Abbott.—I have not always been a suffragist, but I have become convinced since the movement became so widespread and such excellent results have come from it.

M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr College.—It is only necessary for generous and unprejudiced women to realize the present economic independence of millions of women workers, for woman suffrage to seem to them inevitable.

Mrs. Florence Kelley.—Until women are enabled to perform their full duty in the selection of officials who enforce laws, their efforts to persuade legislators must remain in a large degree fruitless.

Ben B. Lindsey.—Outside the corrupt and self-seeking, the vile and venal, the man cannot be found in Colorado who would do away with equal suffrage.

Francis E. Clark, President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor.—I have seen the operation of woman suffrage in New Zealand and other parts of the world, and my belief in it has been strengthened.

William Jennings Bryan.—I ask no political rights for myself that I am not willing to grant to my wife. The objections raised to woman suffrage appear to me to be invalid while the arguments advanced to the support of the proposition are, in my judgment, convincing.

Alice Freeman Palmer.—The higher duties of women will be assisted, not hindered, by intelligent discipline in the others.

Charles Edward Russell.—I believe in

votes for women just as I believe in votes for men, and for the same reasons.

Maud Ballington Booth.—All the evils that affect the home are largely dependent upon politics. Women should have the power to deal with these.

Theodore Roosevelt.—It is the right of woman to have the ballot; it is the duty of man to give it; and we all need woman's help as we try to solve the many and terrible problems set before us.

Julia Ward Howe.—The claim of woman to an equal opportunity with man was seen to be just when Plato so stated it, in terms which the subtlest of his hearers could not gainsay.

Rev. Charles Aked.—Nothing since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the political emancipation of women.

Mary E. Woolley, President of Mt. Holyoke College.—It seems almost inexplicable that changes, surely as radical as giving women the vote, should be accepted as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance.

Brand Whitlock.—I believe that women should vote because they are women, just as I believe that men should vote because they are men.

David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University.—Equal suffrage would tend to broaden the minds of women and to increase their sense of personal responsibility.

Sophonisba Breckinridge, of the University of Chicago.—A woman has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless the officials of the city are as much responsible to her as the domestic servants she selects.

Julia Lathrop.—Woman suffrage, instead of being incompatible with child-welfare, leads toward it, and is, indeed, the next great service to be rendered for the welfare of the home.

Thomas Edison.—Woman should certainly have the vote. It is only right, and it is expedient, too.

Florence Nightingale.—That women should have the suffrage, I think no one can be more deeply convinced than I. It is so important for a woman to be a "person." I entirely agree that woman's political power should be direct and open, not indirect.

A Historical Review

By Ida Husted Harper

AS AMERICA was the first country in which was made the experiment of a representative government by men, it is natural that it should be the first in which women asked a representation. The very first woman to make this demand, so far as known, was Mistress Margaret Brent, of Maryland, in 1647. She was heir of Lord Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, and executor of the estates of both in the colony, and, as representation in the legislature was based on property, she demanded "place and voice"—two votes—in that body. Her petition was hotly debated for several hours and finally denied. The precedent was then established which legislatures have been following ever since when women have petitioned for "place and voice."

The colonial records of Massachusetts show that women property holders voted under the old province charter from 1691 to 1780 for all elective officers. When a constitution was adopted they were excluded from a vote for governor and legislature but retained it for other officials. Under the close restrictions not one-fourth of the men could vote.

In March, 1776, Mrs. Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John Adams, in the Continental Congress: "I long to hear that you have declared an independency, and, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than were your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to

obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation." As Mrs. Adams used the plural "we" she undoubtedly spoke also for Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren, Mrs. Hannah Lee Corbin and other women of influence who were closely associated with the leading men of the Revolution. In 1778, Mrs. Corbin, sister of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, presented her own petition for the right to vote.

The Continental Congress left the suffrage to be dealt with by the states in their constitutions and New Jersey was the only one which conferred it on women, its constitution giving the franchise to "all inhabitants worth \$250, etc." In 1790 a revision of the election law used the words "he or she," thus emphasizing the inclusion of women in the electorate. Enough women voted to gain the enmity of politicians, and in 1807 the legislature passed an arbitrary act limiting the suffrage to "white male citizens." This was clearly an usurpation of authority, as the constitution could be changed only by action of the voters.

In 1826, Frances Wright, a young Scotchwoman of beauty, education and wealth, came to the United States to carry out ideas similar to those put into practice by Robert Dale Owen in his colony at New Harmony, Ind. She joined Mr. Owen in the publication of a paper putting forth many advanced theories and claiming entire equality of rights for women. For several years she presented these also on the lecture platform and was the first to bring the question of a woman suffrage thus before the public, where it met with almost universal derision.

In 1836, Ernestine L. Rose, daughter of a rabbi in Poland, banished from her native country because of her pro-

gressive ideas, came to this one. She was but 26 years old, and handsome and eloquent, and her lectures on the science of government drew crowded houses in all parts of the country. She advocated the full enfranchisement of women and was the first to urge them to secure the repeal of laws which affected their interests. In the winter of 1836-7 she circulated a petition in Albany, N. Y., for a law that would enable a married woman to hold property, and could get only five signatures, including men and women, but she carried these to the legislature and addressed that body in behalf of such a law. She kept up this work steadily, and by 1840 she had associated with her Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Paulina Wright Davis and Lydia Mott. They continued their petitions and addresses to the legislature until 1848, when for the first time the common law was changed to give property rights to married women, and thereafter they devoted themselves to working for the suffrage.

While these individual efforts were being made the great anti-slavery question was growing more momentous. In 1828 Sarah and Angelina Grimke, of South Carolina, emancipated their slaves, came north and by their impassioned speeches aroused public sentiment. Garrison soon entered the contest, and the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed. From the beginning women were prominently identified with this movement, and the names of Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Maria Weston Chapman, Abby Kelly, Abby Hopper Gibbons and many others soon became widely known. The whole question of human rights was thoroughly canvassed and women soon began to recognize their own, and to take part in the business meetings and public debates of the society. This aroused violent opposition, and in 1839 the society was rent in twain on this point, the half that sustained the rights of the woman comprised Garrison, Phillips, Pierpont, Pillsbury, Thompson, Foster, Stanton, Gerrit Smith—nearly all of those who carried the abolition of slavery to success. Thenceforth these men became the champions of woman's rights, including the right to the ballot, and the women added to their appeals

for the slaves, others for their own legal and political liberty.

The question of woman's rights to take public part in this movement was carried to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London, in June, 1840, which refused to recognize the women delegates from the United States, who included Lucretia Mott and Mrs. Wendell Phillips. It was at this time that Mrs. Mott and Mrs. Stanton, a bride, decided that on their return to the United States they would organize a movement especially for the rights of women.

In many localities there began to be signs of an awakening on the part of women. Margaret Fuller, one of a coterie of thinkers in Boston, in her writings and semi-public addresses in 1840 demanded political rights for women. In 1845 the Rev. Samuel J. May, a leader of thought in New York State, preached a sermon in his church in Syracuse declaring that the wrongs of women could not be redressed until they had political power. In 1847, Lucy Stone, just graduated from Oberlin College, began speaking on woman's rights. Soon afterwards Lucretia Mott published a "Discourse on Woman," in answer to a lecture which Richard H. Dana was giving in many cities ridiculing the idea of political equality for women. In various parts of the country women began establishing papers, writing books and giving lectures for the purpose of promoting the rights of women. The thought was slowly working like a leaven, quickened by the interest women were feeling in the questions of temperance and slavery.

Mrs. Stanton had been prevented by family cares from putting into effect her resolution made in London until 1848. In July of that year Lucretia Mott and her sister, Martha C. Wright, of Auburn, N. Y., were attending the yearly meeting of friends in Western New York, at Waterloo, where Mrs. Stanton joined them in the home of Mrs. Mary Ann McClintock, and here they decided to carry out the long-cherished idea. One Sunday morning the four prepared their declaration and resolutions, and sent a call, which they did not dare sign, to the county papers for a two days' convention to be held in the Wesleyan

Chapel, at Seneca Falls, Mrs. Stanton's home, "to discuss the social, civil and religious condition and rights of woman."

On the 19th and 20th of July the church was filled with people curious and interested to know what the meeting was for. James Mott presided and addresses were made by the four callers of the convention, by Frederick Douglass and several men prominent in the locality. The declaration and resolutions were discussed, the latter adopted and the former signed by one hundred men and women, some of whom withdrew their names when "the storm of ridicule began to break." There was so much interest in the convention, and so much remained to be said, that it adjourned to meet in Rochester, N. Y., August 2nd. Here the Unitarian church was crowded and many fine addresses were made by men and women. Among the signers of the declaration were Susan B. Anthony's father, mother, and sister, Mary, but she herself was at this time teaching in the academy at Canajoharie, N. Y., and knew nothing of these meetings. This declaration stated the whole case for woman as comprehensively as it ever has been stated since; the resolution comprised practically every demand that ever afterwards was made for women, and taken together they formed a remarkable document.

Miss Anthony first met Mrs. Stanton in 1851, and from that time organized work for woman's rights began to take shape in New York. The first conventions were principally in the interests of temperance but in these the rights of women at once took the lead. In 1852 a bona fide Woman's Rights Convention with delegates present from eight states and Canada, was held in Syracuse. It brought to the front the wonderful galaxy of women whose names were henceforth connected with this movement, and here began its fifty-four years' leadership by Miss Anthony. From time to time until the present, with the interim of the Civil War, the work has actively continued in this state.

On April 19 and 20, 1850, a Woman's Rights Convention was held in the Sec-

ond Baptist Church of Salem, Ohio. Frances Dana Gage and the anti-slavery speakers had been for several years sowing the seed in that state, and the call for this meeting was signed by ten public-spirited women who were impelled to action by the approaching convention to revise the state constitution. Emily Robinson, J. Elizabeth Jones and Josephine S. Griffing were three of the leading spirits. Letters of encouragement were read from Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone and others in the east who were now becoming known as advocates of the rights of women. The Memorial to the Constitutional Convention and the address to the women of Ohio have not been surpassed in eloquence and force in the years that have since elapsed. It is said that nearly 8,000 signatures to this memorial were secured. In 1852 the first State Suffrage Association was formed. Woman's Rights Conventions were held annually in Ohio thereafter until the approach of the Civil War and resumed after it closed.

In May, 1850, during an Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, a few women in attendance decided to call a convention to discuss exclusively the rights of women, and the time and place were fixed for October 23 and 24 in Worcester. The arrangements were made principally by Lucy Stone and Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, and from the holding of this convention the Woman's Rights movement may be said to have assumed a national aspect. Nine states were represented by speakers and among these were Garrison, Phillips, Pillsbury, Foster, Burleigh, Douglass, Channing, Mrs. Mott, Mrs. Rose, Abby Kelly, Lucy Stone, Antoinette Brown, Dr. Harriot K. Hunt, and many more of note, and letters were read from Emerson, Alcott, Whittier, Gerrit Smith, Joshua R. Giddings, Mrs. Swisshelm, Elizur Wright, Mrs. Stanton and others. Mrs. Davis presided. A national committee was formed, under whose management conventions were held annually in various cities, while the question was always thereafter a leading one in Massachusetts.

An account of this Massachusetts con-

vention in the *Westminster Review*, London, by Mrs. John Stuart Mill, marked the beginning of the movement for woman suffrage in Great Britain.

In 1850 the constitution of Indiana was revised and, under the leadership of Robert Dale Owen, chairman of the revision committee, the laws for women were liberalized beyond any then existing. The question of the rights of women was widely discussed and at an anti-slavery meeting in Greensboro, in the spring of 1851, a resolution by Amanda M. Way was adopted to hold a Woman's Rights Convention. This took place in Dublin in October; Mrs. Hannah Hiatt presided and the large audiences of the two evening sessions were addressed by Henry C. Wright, the noted abolitionist. Dr. Mary F. Thomas sent a strong letter; a permanent Woman's Rights Society was formed and a convention appointed for the next year at Richmond. Thereafter these meetings became annual.

In June, 1852, the first Woman's Rights Convention of Pennsylvania was held in West Chester, and was largely under the auspices of the Friends, or Quakers, among them James and Lucretia Mott. Prominent speakers came from New York and Massachusetts, and the next convention was appointed for Philadelphia.

From 1852 Woman's Rights Conventions were held in many parts of the country. Leading men and women supported the movement for the rights of women, but as most of them were also leaders of the movement for the abolition of slavery, the former had to suffer the odium and opposition directed against both. It was slowly gaining ground, however, when the breaking out of the Civil War banished all other questions from the public thought. When the war was ended and the women again took up their cause they met the vast complication of the rights of the emancipated negroes, and were compelled even by those who had been their strongest supporters to yield their claims to those of negro men. The civil, legal and political results of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the National Constitution tended still further to obscure

and hinder the efforts to obtain the franchise for women.

An Equal Rights Association had been formed to promote the interests of both negroes and white women, but in 1869 the latter were forced to recognize the necessity for a separate organization if they were not to be entirely sacrificed. At the close of a meeting of this Equal Rights Association in New York, women who had come from nineteen states to attend it met at the Woman's Bureau in East Twenty-third street, May 15, 1869, and formed a National Woman Suffrage Association, whose object should be to secure a sixteenth amendment to the National Constitution which would enfranchise women. Mrs. Stanton was made president and Miss Anthony was put on the executive committee. As there was some division of sentiment at this time, a call was issued by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe and others for a convention to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, the following November, and here the American Woman Suffrage Association was formed, with Henry Ward Beecher, president, and Lucy Stone, chairman of the executive committee. It worked principally to obtain the suffrage through amendments to state constitutions. Both societies held national conventions every year thereafter.

In 1890 the two bodies united under the name of National American Woman Suffrage Association and since then both methods of work have been followed. Mrs. Stanton was elected president of the new organization; Miss Anthony, vice-president-at-large; Lucy Stone, chairman of the executive committee. In 1892 Mrs. Stanton resigned her office because of advancing age; Miss Anthony was elected president and the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president. Miss Anthony resigned the presidency in 1900 at the age of 80, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was elected to it. In 1904 she felt unable to serve longer and Miss Shaw was made president.

Until 1895 the work of the National Association was conducted principally from the home of Miss Anthony in Rochester, N. Y. That year Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who was corresponding secretary for twenty-one years, shared

the burden by opening office headquarters in her home at Philadelphia. In 1900 regular headquarters were opened in New York City under the supervision of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman of the national organization committee. In 1903 they were removed to Warren, Ohio, and placed in charge of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, national treasurer.

In 1909 headquarters on a large scale were established in New York City, with offices for the president, corresponding secretary, chairman of the press committee and an office staff of some eight workers. The annual output of the publishing department is about 3,000,000 pieces of literature; the press bureau furnishes an endless amount of material to reporters, magazine writers and newspaper syndicates. In the reading room

are woman suffrage papers from all parts of the world; a large collection of books and magazines relating to the feminist question and photographs of the leaders, men and women, in many countries. The headquarters serve as a clearing house for information as to matters of all kinds connected with woman suffrage.

In December, 1912, the congressional committee of the National Association opened headquarters in Washington and began an active campaign for its original object—an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This national body is a federation of suffrage organizations in forty-two states. It is affiliated with the international alliance in which twenty-six countries are officially represented.

Ten Questions Answered

By Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

It is ever a hazardous undertaking to attempt to capture and preserve on the printed page the winged words of the impassioned speaker, for in the transference "their hearts turn cold and they drop their wings." Yet all who have taken delight in those shafts of truth winged with wit wherewith Dr. Anna Howard Shaw is wont to pierce the armour of her opponents, must regret that her speeches and her answers to objections should have remained so long unrecorded.

As a first step towards remedying this defect, however inadequately, the National Woman's Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., offers to the public this brief selection of extempore replies of Dr. Shaw to questions from her audience. They are, however, sharply conscious how colorless a character such a record must bear, bereft as it is of all the fire, the power, the eloquence of a speaker surely to be reckoned among the great orators of our time and our country.

Caroline Ruutz-Rees.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

I.

Question: "Would not giving women the vote simply double the expense of

election, with no proportionate benefit?"

Answer: I should say no to both questions. First, it would not double the expense of election. You have your election officers and all the rest of it; they are all there. There is no doubling the expense of these things. You would have to print a few more ballots, and to have a few more polling booths, and it would take longer to count the vote than it would if there were fewer votes cast. Everybody knows this would add only a very trifling expense to the election. So that it could not possibly be assumed, as I have heard our anti friends say over and over again, that the expense of election would be doubled.

But think what an injustice it is to tax women year after year to pay for the counting of votes for men, while begrudging them a little of their own money to pay for counting their own votes! If you call that justice, I don't know what justice is!

And second, as to the proportionate benefit. We should get a proportionate benefit, even if women voted in the same

way as men; for, to give women the vote is to tie the interest of the women to the general welfare of the community, which is a "proportionate benefit." And the additional cost of the election would be so infinitesimal, compared to the proportion of benefit, that it would turn out to be one of the best investments the taxpayers could make for their money.

II.

Question: "If women are allowed to vote, will not the bad women's vote be a great danger?"



DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

Answer: No, because this vote would be so small as compared to the bad men's vote. But, in any case, I never could see the real justice of keeping a good woman from voting because a bad woman might vote. And, personally, my fear is that the bad women will not vote, as indeed they do not, where women have the opportunity to vote. I think that nothing would help to clear up the bad conditions that prevail where

bad women are, or help to free them from their slavery, as would the votes of the women themselves.

And, is it not strange that there should be so many people who know so much about bad women and nothing about good women? Everybody knows that there are ten good women in every community to every woman who is not good. And surely the ten good women may be trusted to take care of the one bad woman. I will tell you what we women will do. If the men will take care of the bad men's votes, we will take care of the bad women's votes.

III.

Question: "Would it not be unfair to give women the vote when the majority of them don't want it?"

Answer: I am not sure that the majority do not want it. But there would be nothing unfair about it, if the majority did not want it. If the majority do not want it, they need not have it. The vote is not a thing that anyone has to have, if she does not want it. No man votes unless he wants to. I once heard an anti-suffragist declare that, while it is all very well for the suffragists to say this, the anti-suffragists, if they had the vote, would feel obliged to use it. According to her, anti-suffragists are conscientious, and with the opportunity to vote, with that duty laid upon them, these conscientious anti-suffragists would vote even though they did not wish to do so. And the same lady also said that in the State of Massachusetts, where the women have school suffrage, only two per cent of the women vote. Now, one of two things: either it is not true that the anti-suffragists are in the majority, or else it is not true that, when they have the opportunity to vote, they do so. If all the conscientious anti-suffragists vote, and only two per cent of the women of Massachusetts vote, it simply shows that, even if no suffragists voted at all, only two per cent of the women of Massachusetts are anti-suffragists, or else the conscientious anti-suffragists do not vote. So that the vote will not be thrust upon anti-suffragists. Nobody would thrust it on *me* if I did not want to vote. I should not vote, that is all.

"But," you may ask, "is not such an attitude in itself a menace?" No. If you are so lacking in patriotism and in loyalty to your community, if you care so little about your community that you don't want to do anything to make it better, you would not benefit the community by voting.

IV.

Question: "Would not the right to vote destroy woman's greatest power in political life, that of non-partisanship?"

Answer: That is a beautiful theory—"Woman's power in political life."

If women have this great strength, I should think the men would stop voting and use their non-partisanship; but I never heard of a man's trying to get a measure through the Legislature by hunting around for men that do not vote—because they are not naturalized or for any other reason—and getting them to use their non-partisan influence.

If I wanted a measure to go through this or any other legislative body, I should prefer to pick out a hundred men to get it through instead of a hundred women; a hundred men with the votes and with the power they have back of them in the electorate, rather than a hundred women without the votes and the power they haven't got in the electorate.

This theory of non-partisanship—and, incidentally voters need not be partisan; I would not be, I should be a mugwump—this theory that woman's political power lies in being non-partisan is a fancy. I saw some working girls before a legislative body not very long ago, and I saw their employers there at the same time. One group was partisan and the other was non-partisan, and the non-partisan group went home ignored.

(To be continued.)

Status of Suffrage in Illinois

By Charles C. Roe

of the Chicago Bar

SECTION 1 of Article VII of the Constitution of 1870 provides that:

"Every person having resided in this state one year, in the county ninety days and in the election district thirty days next preceding any election therein, who was an elector in this state on the first day of April, 1848, or obtained a certificate of naturalization prior to January 1, 1870, or who shall be a male citizen of the United States above the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to vote at state elections."

The first general Woman Suffrage Act was passed by the legislature June 26, 1913, and provided as follows:

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—

1. Presidential electors.
2. Members state board of equalization.
3. Clerk of the appellate court.
4. County collector.
5. County surveyor.
6. Members of board of assessors.
7. Members of board of review.
8. Sanitary district trustees.
9. All officers of cities, villages and towns (except police magistrates).
10. On all questions of propositions submitted to a vote of electors.

Section 2. Provides that women may also vote for the following township officers:

1. Supervisor.
 1. Town clerk.
 3. Assessor.
 4. Collector.
 5. Highway commissioner.
 6. And at all town meetings.
- A bill was filed in the Superior Court of Cook County by William J. Scown in

behalf of all taxpayers contesting the constitutionality of the act and in *Scown vs. Czarnecki*, 264 Ill., 305, the act was upheld October, 1914, in the following language:

"The Woman's Suffrage Act of 1913 is not invalid as in violation of Sec. 13 of Art. 4 of the Constitution, on the ground that it amends Sec. 65 of the election law without inserting that section at length in the act, as the Woman's Suffrage Act is complete in itself, does not purport to amend any other act, is intelligible on its face, requires no further legislation to make it effective and has for its only object the granting to women of the right of suffrage so far as offices and subjects mentioned in it are concerned."

In the same case it was also held that:

"The Illinois constitution is not a grant of power to the legislature, but is a limitation on such power and, except as to such restrictions as the constitution has imposed by express terms or by necessary implication, legislative power of the legislature is unlimited."

That part of the act permitting women to vote on "all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors . . ." insofar as it includes referendum elections provided for in the constitution, was held invalid.

This conferred upon woman her first right to vote to the fullest extent permitted by the limitations of the state constitution.

In December, 1914, the Supreme Court decided the case—*Peter Jurgensen vs. Czarnecki, et al.*, 265 Ill., 489—in which the right of women to vote for county commissioners of Cook County was decided adversely to women, the court holding that "county commissioners of Cook County are constitutional officers" and women cannot vote for any officer mentioned in the constitution. This was also held in *Plummer vs. Yost*, 144 Ill., 68, and *People vs. English*, 139 Ill., 622.

In *People ex rel. Kastning vs. Miltzer, et al.*, which was decided April 7, 1916, it was held by our Supreme Court that:

"Women are not authorized to vote upon the question of organizing a high school district, since school districts are not among the municipalities mentioned in the suffrage act of 1913."

In *People ex rel. Garretson vs. Byers*, decided February 16, 1916, it was held that the legislature could have authorized women to vote for the election of delegates to national conventions and for party committeemen, but it did not do so.

The right of suffrage is not a natural right, but exists only by positive law, and the constitution of Illinois has prescribed the qualifications of electors and such qualifications cannot be changed except by the legislature.

In *Scown vs. Czarnecki*, *supra*, the court says:

"The qualifications of electors prescribed by Sec. 1 of Art. 7 of the constitution apply to the elections provided for in that instrument, but do not apply to other elections provided for only by statute, and which are therefore wholly within the control of the legislature."

The decisions of our Supreme Court uniformly hold that women cannot vote for any office of constitutional origin, but that they are eligible by legislative enactment to vote for any and all offices not of constitutional origin. The women of the state should present to the next legislature a comprehensive Woman's Suffrage Act providing for suffrage to women in all elections for all offices other than those of constitutional origin. They cannot vote for constitutional offices until the present constitution is amended or a new one adopted granting them the full suffrage.

Chicago Woman's Peace Party

By Emma M. Loeb, Delegate

BECAUSE of my interest in the peace movement of the world, it has become necessary for me to explain the reason why I feel that woman should and must, above all others, become a part of this great movement.

From the primitive day the work of man and woman has been divided.



EMMA M. LOEB

In the most primitive stage, this division of work and responsibility was equal in its division. As society became more complex, the small group developed

into the tribal group. In order to obtain and sustain supremacy, the military spirit of the men became overly developed and so man has continued to feel this a part of his life's work.

Woman's development from the earliest days has been along another channel. Hers has primarily been the physical, mental and spiritual care of the child. She is now the only free agent not involved in the machinery of government. This justifies the position that woman can be and must be a strong factor in this peace movement.

The International Woman's Peace Congress, held at The Hague, April 28-30, 1915, in its spiritual expression and solidarity of purpose, is significant as putting on record the progress of the woman's movement.

From the type of question so often put to me, I judge that there are many people who have an erroneous impression as to the origin of the International Woman's Peace Congress.

Many people believe the idea originated in America, so I thought it would be interesting to you to hear something about a group of letters which have been collected and published, and which were written by representative European women. I hope to make clear to you by the use of these letters that the idea of the peace movement started, not in America, but in Europe.

Five months after the beginning of the war, December 21st, 1914, the women of England sent an open letter to the women of Germany and Austria. I take the privilege of quoting a few lines from this letter, because I believe they will help you to better understand the sentiments and feelings of the English women:

"Sisters: Some of us wish to send you a word at this sad Christmastide, though we can but speak through the

press. The Christmas message sounds like mockery to a world at war, but those of us who wished and still wish for peace may surely offer a solemn greeting to such of you who feel as we do. Do not let us forget that our very anguish unites us—that we are passing together through the same experiences of pain and grief. We pray you to believe that come what may we hold our faith in peace and good will between nations. While technically at enmity in obedience to our rulers, we own allegiance to that higher law which bids us live at peace with all men.”

That this message was greatly appreciated by the German and Austrian women is evidenced by the fact that they sent a response signed by more than 150 of their leading countrywomen. They expressed their joy at having confirmation of the fact “that women of the belligerent countries, with all faithfulness, devotion and love to their country, can go beyond it and maintain true solidarity with the women of other belligerent nations, and that really civilized women never lose their humanity.”

Adelheid Popp, an Austrian woman, says in behalf of her sisters:

“We are deeply longing for the end of the war. We have no greater wish than to be able to co-operate again in fastening strongly and indestructibly the tie which unites all peoples.”

A few words in a letter from a French mother of soldiers gives the true spirit that led to the resolve to hold the Congress. “The humblest cry can sometimes be heard joined to many others, and surely public opinion cannot approve of this butchery going on all through the winter.”

The Russian women, too, joined in the protest, asking that the war be stopped before the vital forces of the workers are drained, and the spirit of internationalism is completely stamped out.

Johanne Rambusch, a prominent Danish woman, similarly voices her indignation, saying: “The mother must try to give her children another ideal than the armed warrior. Let her show them how unworthy it is for the citizen of the twentieth century to be used—body and blood, without will or resistance—as food

for cannon. Let her teach them—boys and girls—to demand influence on future declarations of war in the name of their right as citizens.”

From the foregoing evidence it is not difficult to understand that when Lida Heymann of Munich sent out an appeal asking that the women “come together in the north or south of Europe, protest with all your might against this war, which is murdering the nations, and make preparations for peace; return to your own country and perform your duty as wives and mothers, as protectors of true civilization and humanity,” that the request found ready sympathizers.

Louie Bennett of Dublin so heartily approved of Lida Heymann’s suggestion that she sent out a petition asking the women of all countries to endorse this splendid project. “And since it is essential that there should be in this work co-operation amongst the women of all nations, belligerent and neutral, can we not arrange for means of communication with one another, and finally meet, as Lida Gustave Heymann suggests, in the north or south of Europe, protest with all our might against this war which is murdering the nations, agree on a common plan for arresting it, and return to our countries prepared to inspire our own people with the burning will to end this war and all wars.”

So you see the I. W. P. C. was born of the necessity of the hour. As Miss Addams worded it in one of her inspiring speeches, “The supreme test of devotion to an ideal lies in the power to differ from those you love best.” This devotion the women of Europe were showing by coming to this Congress. These women, who for many years had been active in social and suffrage work, foremost in promoting international suffrage, and thus through their common interest had made many strong and lasting friendships, irrespective of race, creed or nationality, refused to believe that their sisters had lost their attributes of humanity, although their men were killing one another, and they were powerless to stem the tide of hatred and all that hatred breeds. Finding that many of the women’s organizations would send representatives if a Congress were called, a group of British, German,

Dutch and Belgian women met at Amsterdam, February 12 and 13, 1915, by invitation of the Dutch National Comm. of International Interests, plans were laid for an International W. P. C., committees appointed, and invitations sent out to the twenty-six countries of the world affiliated with the international suffrage movement.

In America, soon after the war broke out, a strong peace sentiment was awakened. Nearly all social and suffrage women's organizations appointed peace committees, and active propaganda work in the interests of peace was carried on.

So that in January a women's conference was called to meet in Washington, and a National Woman's Peace Party was organized with Miss Jane Addams as president. The committee, in session at Amsterdam in February, cabled their invitation to Miss Addams, as president of the National Woman's Peace Party, asking whether she would be present at the Conference which was to meet at The Hague, April 28 to 30, 1915. She immediately cabled her reply, saying she would be present and possibly two or three of her countrywomen would be with her.

The organizing of a National Woman's Peace Party of America had made it

possible to send delegates to the International, so it was gratifying to find, when the time came for sailing, that forty-seven American delegates would be present at the Congress at The Hague.

The two points I wish to bring before you are that the peace movement has become a world's civic problem, and that as women and as mothers we have a contribution to bring to the problem.

I can, perhaps, bring this thought more clearly to you by trying to repeat the thought that Mrs. Patrick Lawrence so often emphasized in many of her splendid speeches at The Hague.

When women first began to take advantage of the privilege accorded them to acquire an education and take an active part in the world's work, they naturally took it for granted that they must follow the precedents men had found adequate for their progress. But now the women active in the world have found that they must find themselves, in their own way. Only through their own mistakes can they gain experience and find the way, and so bring *their* contribution to the world's progress.

The woman's peace movement has not been a happening of the moment. It is a conscious and logical sequence, brought about by the awakening of woman to her true responsibilities in the world's work.

A Reason for Full Suffrage

By Carl D. Thompson

EVERY woman ought to have a home of her own.

So ought every man.

Yet there are 9,728,157 men and 8,294,791 women over twenty years of age in the United States who have no homes.

Over 18,000,000 people—adult men and women—one-third of the entire adult population of the nation, living outside the home relationship.

Over 13,000,000 of these are "single"—never married, and the great majority of them never to be married. Childless mothers, mothers-never-to-be, homeless men, fathers-never-to-be.

Homeless!

It is an impossible condition.

Woman is now and ever must be the heaviest sufferer in all these human tragedies. The disintegration of the home imperils civilization. But it crucifies woman.

Now, if people are to have homes they must have incomes sufficient to support them. With the wages of the great mass of the people—the **wage workers** averaging less than \$600 per year, when from \$750 to \$1,000 per year is admittedly the least upon which a man can live and support a family with the ordinary necessities and decencies of life—the

family is imperiled. With millions of men earning only \$600 per year, hundreds of thousands only \$500 a year, and many thousands even less, what becomes of the home?

For them the home is impossible. Or if undertaken at all, means unbearable burdens, abject poverty, misery and distress for all concerned. So long as men, when single and alone, find it difficult to earn enough to keep their heads above water, they are going to hesitate before trying to carry a wife and children on their backs.

Over 9,700,000 men are hesitating now. The great majority of them will never undertake it.

And for every man without a home, some woman is without a home.

The homelessness of one man or of one woman becomes the concern of every man and every woman in the nation. It is a common concern of the most immediate and intimate nature. The women of this and every other nation are realizing these facts more fully and more clearly every day.

As the conviction deepens and the vision clears upon these matters, woman is sure to rise, as she is arising in every civilized nation on earth in the defense of her most vital and essential concern. And in conserving and defending her own, she will defend and conserve the common interest and help defend and save the state itself. Her influence and her civic power, when brought into the struggle, may be **sufficient to turn** the tide of battle—may be the deciding element.

And this is one of the reasons why I believe that woman should have full suffrage, viz.: That in all those matters concerning the economic conditions upon which alone the home can be made secure for all, woman's every instinct and immediate concern will put her finally on the side of the right; on the side of those who struggle to make it easier for men to earn a living and support a family; on the side of those who are striving to raise wages, to lower the cost of living, to lessen exploitation, to shorten hours and improve working conditions, just because these things make it possible for more people to marry, to have homes and live in comfort and satisfaction.

Woman will help in these struggles just because she will see more and more clearly, as all of us are seeing, that in these ways only can she make possible for herself, by making possible for all women and for all men, the one thing above all others, the one supreme hope and purpose of her life, and the very cornerstone of our civilization—the home.

ONWARD, O YE WOMEN

Tune—"Onward Christian Soldiers"

By MRS. EDNA DINWIDDLE

Woman's Study Club, Crown Point

1. Onward, O ye women,
Many hundred strong,
Marching on to vict'ry,
In the war with wrong.
Never fear or falter,
Never let us fail.
Onward, O ye women,
Right will sure prevail!

Chorus—

- Onward, O ye women,
Many hundred strong,
Marching on to vict'ry,
In the war with wrong.
2. Hear the little children;
Hear their cry of need;
Who will lift their burdens,
Borne because of greed?
Let us give them freedom
In God's bright sunshine,
Nevermore to enter
Fact'ry, mill or mine.
3. In the cause of suffrage,
Let us patient be,
Never be discouraged,
When the fight we see.
State by State is added.
To the list now long,
Soon the men will heed us,
In our protest strong.
4. Let us make our city
What it ought to be;
Driving out each evil
Which our eyes do see.
Let us keep our home life
From the sins without.
Let us keep our children
Hedged with love about.
5. Join us, O ye women,
In our earnest throng;
Join with us your forces,
As we battle wrong.
"Onward" is our watchword,
As our lives we give
This old world to better,
Then 'tis joy to live!

What Is Infantile Paralysis?

By George Rubin, M. D.

(Owing to the recent epidemic of infantile paralysis in New York City, this article is timely.)

IT IS an acute infectious disease of unknown origin, though it is undoubtedly due to a germ which has not yet been discovered. The scientific medical term for this disease is "acute anterior poliomyelitis," which means a generalized inflammation of the fore part of the gray matter of the spinal cord. It comes on suddenly with fever and extreme prostration; the child is practically unable to use any of its muscles. Usually, within a period of from three to four weeks after the onset of the disease, most of the muscles regain their power, but one or more groups of muscles remain permanently paralyzed.

Although the name of the disease would indicate that it is a disease of infants only, it may, however, attack older children and even adults. In the latter it usually runs a less acute course and the mortality is much smaller.

The infants in the second year seem to give the largest percentage of cases; next is the third year, then the first, fourth and fifth years.

THE SYMPTOMS.

The child is taken suddenly sick with fever, vomiting, pains in the back and legs. After these symptoms have lasted varying from one day to a week, paralysis sets in.

In some cases the early symptoms are almost lacking, or so insignificant that they may be overlooked, and the disease is discovered by the appearance of paralysis.

Dr. Holt, the eminent authority on diseases of children, quotes two cases where the first thing known of the condition was when the children developed the paralysis while on the street, having had difficulty in getting home.

The legs are affected in the greatest

number of cases, the arms next, and in rare cases the muscles of the chest and abdomen are also involved. After the paralysis has taken place, it remains unchanged for several weeks; then recovery of most of the muscles occurs, except in certain groups, mostly of the legs, which remain permanently paralyzed. The improvement of the muscles must take place within three months from the onset of the disease; if, however, the condition lasts longer it may be considered as permanently affected. With rare exceptions, in half of the cases one leg is permanently paralyzed.

The death rate in this disease is small. It varies considerably in different epidemics. The present epidemic in New York seems to be more fatal than has been recorded in previous ones. In the epidemic of Norway in 1905 the mortality was about 10 per cent. In a previous outbreak in New York, 1907-08, the mortality was about 6 per cent.

HOW DOES THE DISEASE SPREAD?

The scientific cause not being known, it is difficult to say how the infection is carried or introduced into the system.

One investigator claimed that the infection is carried by house or stable flies, but that has not been substantiated by other observers. It is likely that the disease is transmitted by direct communication from one child to another by the secretions from the nose or throat, or through the air, and dust containing the infectious material, where it had been discharged by an infected individual.

There is no special treatment for the disease. Preventive treatment is the chief object. Children should be kept away from districts where such a case is known to exist. They should not be taken to crowded places. Cleanliness, external and internal, the latter by keep-

ing the bowels open and keeping the nose and throat clean. The child should be given easily digestible foods and of good nourishing qualities.

Avoid back yard flies and dirt. Keep the babies cool during the hot days, and warm during the cool weather, and plenty of fresh air. The disease may appear anywhere; fortunately it is rare.

When it appears in single cases (sporadic) it appears to be less severe and seldom causes death.

Let us hope that the present epidemic in New York City will not have occurred in vain. Some new discoveries may be made by which this dread disease will be eradicated, or at least shorn of its awful consequences.

Is Internationalism Dead?

By Mary Sheepshanks

Since the war severed friendly relations between European nations, many bitter and disillusioned remarks have been made about internationalism. Many even of those who sometimes frequented international congresses and shared in the hospitality generously offered by one country to others, have lost faith, and join in the chorus of those who never sympathized with our ideals, and say internationalism has failed. The constant repetition of this, as of any other parrot cry, acts on others by suggestion, and, like so many evil prognostications, tends, unless combated, to bring about its own verification.

Let us examine it a little more closely. What are the ideals of internationalism in general, and of the women's international movement in particular; and what are the alternatives? Has internationalism ever prevailed; and, if not, how can it be said to have failed? Has internationalism brought about the world catastrophe? Has it promoted the spirit which caused it, or has it striven persistently against the forces which have brought about war? Internationalism is the feeling and belief that humanity is a stronger bond than mere racial and political boundaries; that underlying all superficial barriers is the brotherhood of man; that especially in the Western world a common civilization unites men, and that their interdependence and mutual obligations can and should be a means of uniting them for the furtherance of the joint tasks of civilization;

that no motives for quarrel should lead men to war and the destruction of that civilization which is their common heritage and possession; and that co-operation should be their object and motive, not destruction.

What is the alternative to this gospel of peaceful development, mutual help and fruitful intercourse? The alternative is race hatred and national jealousy, leading to tariffs, militarism, armaments, crushing taxation, restricted intercourse, mutual butchery, and the ruin of all progress.

Which of the two ideals has triumphed for the moment, and why?

The second undoubtedly, and because the first ideal was not strongly enough supported. If all the energy and capital had been devoted to the former that has been applied to the latter, Europe would today present a very different spectacle. But even in the darkest hour of human history let us not lose faith in our ideals. Internationalism is not dead; it remains an ideal as worthy of our devotion as ever, and waiting for the fumes to clear from men's brains for them to recognize it as the only escape from barbarism. In the future we may expect our ideal and principle to triumph much more than in the past. Thousands of people, hitherto indifferent, will be roused to an interest in internationalism. Just as surely as "no man liveth to himself," no country can now live to itself; co-operation is the law of life.

Women's part in internationalism has been a growing one, and will continue to grow in future. Even the war, which has destroyed so much, has not destroyed it. In all countries women are faced with similar problems, industrial, social, ethical, political, and in nearly all they are, even in the land of their birth, helots, whose services are required, whose property is taxed, who are amenable to all laws, but who must be dumb and helpless in their country's government. In every country they are pouring out their health and strength in the service of the State, and warning voices are raised in the industrial world that their ready services will be exploited to the detriment of the whole body of workers. Public opinion and governments must learn that if women are to act with all the responsibilities of citizens they must be given the rights of citizens. In a terrible passage full of the deepest insight, Tolstoi showed how man had brought upon himself overwhelming punishment by his treatment of women, and that the only remedy was to give them the equal and just rights of human beings.

Women of all countries have this task before them. Unenfranchised, unequal before the law, suffering from innumerable disabilities and injustices, they will preserve the bond of their common sisterhood. The ideal which unites them is a greater one than any for which men have fought; it is no less than the spiritual freedom of half the human race. The immemorial, the world-wide wrongs of women transcend those that have ever inspired warriors or poets; no more national wrongs can touch them in duration or extent.

European and American women owe it to their sisters in Asia and Africa to devote their whole energies to the struggle for emancipation; every step gained helps the women of every other country.

Within the great federation of free self-governing communities comprised in the British Empire, woman suffrage is extending; it has now taken root in the great Dominion of Canada, and will, we know, spread to other provinces. This, again, must react on South Africa, even in India, and the Hindu woman in the

harem may get a new gleam of hope. This ray of light brightens the gloom now enveloping a great part of the world, and spurs us on to cling more closely than ever to our faith in the international women's movement.

FRANCE.

The *Union Francaise pour le suffrage des femmes*, affiliated to the International Alliance for Women's Suffrage, held its annual congress on April 20, 1916, in the hall of la Vie Féminine 88 Avenue des Champs Elysées. No congress was held in 1915.

The President (Mme. de Witt Schlumberger), in opening the congress, began her address by a tribute of regret and admiration to the members of the Union fallen in the service of their country, and in particular M. du Breuil de Saint Germain, the deeply regretted member of the Central French Committee, and vice-president of the International Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and Mme. Pellerin, delegate of the U. F. S. F. at Longuyon, killed at her post as a nurse. The President congratulated the Union on the strength of mind of its members which enabled it to meet in spite of the sufferings, the preoccupations, and the multifarious works resulting from the war. She continued as follows:

"The press has called the women admirable. We simply think that they have done their duty as citizens, and what we should have expected from them.

"I am, however, not one of those who say that our duties ought to make us forget the rights that we claim—rights we need in order to accomplish fully our duties as thinking women understand them. We even think that, having recognized the necessity for women's suffrage for the improvement of human society, it is our duty to continue to claim this right.

"I am not even one of the many who think that the question of woman suffrage is not pressing at the moment, and does not fit in with the daily preoccupation and anguish of the war. It goes without saying that this is not a time for suffrage meetings; every one of us has more pressing duties, and we have

certainly shown by our actions that we understand the situation; but, on the other hand, do not let us commit the mistake of thinking there is no connection between the war and the rights we claim.

"I am struck, on the contrary, by the way in which the demand for suffrage, based on the principle of justice and on the affirmation that force must not triumph over right, harmonizes with the preoccupations of the war. This principle of right is at the root of all the present struggle between the peoples.

"We must recognize that the cause of women's suffrage can only be founded on justice: it is the pivot on which the whole question turns. Therefore, everything which tends to bring about the triumph of the imponderable forces of right and justice, and which will diminish the prestige of violent and material force, will serve the cause of women and bring its success nearer. Everything that will accustom people and individuals to take justice as the starting point of their actions will be a factor favorable to our cause.

"Our meeting today, by affirming the vitality of our faith in the principles of right and justice, has a particular importance; it is an emanation of the moral force of our country. May we in leaving here send to the front new streams of courage and enthusiasm, more and more powerful, and worthy to sustain our fighters.

"We desire success, not to establish in the world after the war the militarism of the Allies in place of German militarism, but to prepare the pacific organization of Europe, which is what we aim at, and for which we think women should work effectually."

After the reading and discussion of the reports, the following resolutions were adopted. We classify them here in two categories, although no classification was made in the congress.

1. National resolutions.
2. Resolutions with an international interest.

NATIONAL RESOLUTIONS.

The *Union Française pour le suffrage des femmes*, which federates more than 80 feminist groups, adopted the follow-

ing resolutions at its congress on April 20, 1916:

REPORT OF MME. PICHON-LANDRY.

Guardianship and Family Councils.

That the Senate should vote as soon as possible the bill of M. Viollette, adopted on July 25, 1915, by the Chamber, with the amendments proposed by the feminist societies (National Council of French Women and the Fraternal Union of Women), which gives women the right to be guardians and members of family councils.

Legitimation of Natural Children.

That the Senate should vote as soon as possible the bill of M. Viollette, adopted by the Chamber on December 3, 1915, the object of which is to legitimize natural children whose father has died in the service of his country, when the correspondence and other circumstances show a common wish on the part of both parents to legitimize the child.

Simplification of Marriage.

Considering the moral and social interest of the nation.

Considering the interest of the unmarried wives (*compagnes*) of the mobilized men and their children, the Congress resolves:

That all possible facilities should be given to the marriages of the mobilized men.

REPORT OF MME. GRINBERG (Advocate at the Court of Appeal).

Resolutions in Regard to Widows' Pensions, Orphans, Relations in the Direct Line.

That in the case of remarriage the pension awarded to the widow of a soldier should be withdrawn from her, to be reinvested, *in toto*, for the children until their majority, or replaced by a capital representing five years' annuity if there are no children.

That an increase of F's. 200 should be added to the widow's pension per orphan, until the age of 16 years.

That the parents (father or mother indiscriminately), grandfather or grandmother, should receive the benefit of a pension, even when there is a widow with or without children, this to be a life pension equal to half a widow's pension, in the case of one, and to three-quarters

of a widow's pension in the case of two conjointly.

That the pension thus granted should only exclude pensions to working women and relief to the aged when it is more than Fs. 360.

That women who can prove they have lived three years with a mobilized man up to August, 1914, should receive the benefits of a widow's pension, provided they have children or are without means of subsistence, judgment in the matter to be left to the civil tribunal sitting in council on application.

REPORT OF MME. PAULINE REBOUR.

Administrative Commissions.

The Congress of the *Union Française pour le suffrage des femmes* empowers its Central Committee to use its influence with Parliament and the public authorities for the appointment of women on administrative commissions.

It expresses the hope that the action already taken by several branches of the Union should become more general, and extend to all the departments.

That the branches should propose competent and able candidates, whose presence on committees up till now exclusively masculine should prove that women deserve to be associated with the administration and direction of the country.

REPORT OF MME. CLEMENT (Professor at the Girls' School, Versailles).

Women's Education.

That the preparation for matriculation should be substituted regularly in all girls' schools for that for the diploma, so as to give women facilities for entering upon advanced studies and careers, at the same time putting into practice the principle, "For equal minds equal culture."

Repopulation Resolution.

1. To support with all moral force, while waiting for the time when it can use all its political power, all laws tending to facilitate and to increase births, to protect the mothers and their children.

2. To conduct a campaign, in union with all the branches whose object is more special, to fight alcoholism, prostitution, and to ensure healthy dwellings for large families.

3. To give to girls and boys an edu-

cation tending to an equal moral standard for both sexes, and to develop in both the natural desire for children and the wish for the survival of their country.

4. To spread amongst the masses, and in primary and secondary schools, the principles of puericulture, the knowledge of which can alone assure the quality of the race.

A resolution, moved by Mme. Marya Cheliga, with regard to the importance of the deposits that the women can make at the Mont-de-Piété, was also adopted.

RESOLUTIONS HAVING AN INTERNATIONAL INTEREST.

REPORT OF MME. GRINBERG (Advocate at the Court of Appeal, Paris).

Nationality of Married Women Resolution.

1. That the French or foreign woman who marries first a foreigner, then a Frenchman, should keep her original nationality, unless she has an express wish to be naturalized in conformity with the rules of the country to which she desires to belong.

2. That the Frenchwoman who has married a foreigner, and the foreign woman who has married a Frenchman, should have the right, in the case where they have given up their original nationality, to follow that of their husband, to recover the nationality lost by marriage in conformity with the laws of the country to which they desire to belong.

REPORT OF MME. BIGOT (General Secretary of the Fédération Féministe Universitaire).

Equal Pay Resolution.

Considering that this terrible war, in which the women of all nations often suffer no less than the men, will have consequences which must be foreseen, henceforth, if one wishes to ward off what is daily threatening us more and more;

Considering that destruction by thousands of the active men of the different countries in conflict obliges, henceforward, and will oblige industry still more, to have recourse to an unusual amount of female labor;

Considering that every time woman has penetrated into the industries which up till then had been closed to her, a

lowering of the level of wages has always been the consequence.

The women must understand that *everywhere* where they are called to replace men, it is their *interest* as much as their *duty to demand equal pay for equal work*.

They ought to demand it:

Because it is a matter of elementary justice that effort should be rewarded according to its intrinsic value, and not according to sex.

Because it is a matter of personal interest.

Because it is a duty towards other women (since it has been shown that the acceptance of a reduced wage inevitably brings with it a lowering of all the wages in the profession).

Because it is a duty to the fighters, who should not find on their return worse conditions of labor than those prevailing before the war.

We therefore beg the women of all nations:

(1) To make in their respective countries methodical inquiry into the rate of wages for men and women.

(2) To influence the professional people, feminists, etc., to form a powerful movement in favor of equality of pay, in view of obtaining from their Governments, at the moment of the signing of the Peace Treaty, *the establishment of international conventions, for the purpose of within a limited and proper time assuring respect of the following principle:*

The wage should be for a definite piece of work, absolutely independent of the sex of the individual who executes it.

Another resolution moved by Mme. Bigot was adopted, of which the following is the substance:

DEMAND FOR WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION
AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE AFTER
THE WAR.

That the women of the belligerent countries who have suffered so much by the war, and who through long years will bear the consequences of it, petition their respective Governments that they should take part in the diplomatic conferences which will take place with a view to the re-establishment of peace, and that they should be represented by one or two women.

They demand it as much in reparation of the past, which has kept them in subordination, as a pledge of freedom in the future. Above all, they demand it to prevent the return of such conflagrations.

CINEMA FILMS.

The very interesting report of Mme. Legrand Falco on the cinemas, apropos of the bad influence of certain films on youth, and reforms on this subject, for which it was necessary to petition the authorities, has resulted in the nomination of a special commission. The work of this commission is to study from different aspects the question of cinemas, which is of a very complex nature, touching very different interests, reflecting upon several countries, many films being international. The moving of a resolution was then adjourned.

We would repeat, as we have already said above, that three at least of the resolutions voted upon by the National Congress of the *Union Francaise pour le suffrage des femmes* would be of international effect, and that they interest the women of all countries just as much as the question of cinemas.

Resolution as to the Nationality of Married Women.

Resolution with Regard to Equal Pay. Inquiry in Regard to Cinemas.

Resolution Concerning the Presence of Women in the Conference for the Establishment of a Peace Treaty.

The first two of these questions are already being discussed in different countries, and the resolution with regard to the participation of women in the Peace Conference is only possible if the women of all the other belligerent countries take the same step in regard to their Governments.

Perhaps the *Union Francaise* will decide to write to the President of the Alliance, Mrs. Catt, to ask her to put these different questions before the countries affiliated to the Alliance. The circularization of these inquiries would bring light to bear upon these difficult problems.

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER,
The President, *Union Francaise pour le suffrage des femmes* (affiliated to the I. W. S. A.).

The Question of Fitness

By Florence W. Richardson Usher

SO often we suffragists receive in reply to our question, "Are you interested in the woman suffrage movement?" the answer, "No, but I think it is coming." Why is it that people who have never given suffrage even a thought, at once have that instinctive feeling that it is coming? It is because suffrage is such an integral part of democracy, so inseparable from it, and is such a logical "next step" in the democratic working out of national and community development, that nearly everybody, adherents and antis alike, feel intuitively that the culmination of the movement is merely a question of time.

The claim that suffrage is an integral part of democracy is based on the irrefutable argument of Jefferson and Jackson—that the whole community should participate in the governing, because the whole community is governed. Never was the reason advanced that all men were thought wise enough or capable enough to rule the State, for if an understanding of actual political conditions was the test required, surely not more than 1 per cent of the men could be permitted to vote. Fitness is not now and never has been the test for suffrage. American democracy is not based upon the assumption that individuals are wise or virtuous, but upon the idea that "two heads are better than one"—that the whole is greater than any of its parts—that the whole community is wiser than a part of the community.

* * *

Inasmuch as women are fully one-half of the population, and if all the men are wiser than half the men; men and women together must be wiser than the men alone. The whole history of the government of our country has been an undeniable throwing off of qualifications for voting whether they existed

The reason for this is clear, and one example will suffice to prove it. In early Colonial days, property and religious qualifications were prevalent. No man could vote who did not own a certain amount of property and who was not a member of the particular church recognized by that colony. In most cases the electorate was a closed corporation, consisting mainly of those few settlers who owned stock in the company which sent them over, and they themselves decided who among the others were qualified to vote. The number of the electorate did not increase in proportion to the increase of population for the simple reason that those in power were in power as an organized minority, and so were afraid to let the rest share in the franchise, well knowing that if they did, theirs would be a minority in very truth.

The result was nearly always the same. Those who were not allowed to become freeholders left to form a settlement to suit themselves. After a while the older colonies woke up to the fact that the new ones were growing much more rapidly than they were, and they were forced in self-defense gradually to let down the bars. The past has shown us that wherever qualifications for suffrage have existed, of any kind whatever, it has inevitably resulted in the elimination of the very life-blood of the community which is dissimilarity of views.

* * *

The present can profit by the experience of the past. It is because women are one-half of the community and are different from men that we can look to them to bring to our modern governments the dissimilarity of ideas which furnishes the spur for the development of governments and of their component parts, men and women. Suffrage, then, "is coming"; it is more than coming—

it is upon us now, as all of us know—those large cohorts of workers who are giving their time, strength and money to the speedy realization of the movement, and also those who so far have not been with us. The ranks of the latter are weakening fast and daily, and

will soon join hands with us in a joyous but reverent welcome to "Votes for Women," as that vitalizing energy which society literally cannot afford to lose—the lack of which is fatal to the healthy existence of governments based even partially on democracy.

Mothers and Mothers

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman

IDEALISM is a very beautiful and necessary part of human life; but it has its dangers.

The sweetest, tenderest, noblest thing we know is "motherhood"; and we have so garlanded that great idea with votive flowers, so clouded it with incense, so long poured libation and prostrated ourselves in worship, that we forget to look behind the word, at the fact.

There are mothers and mothers.

There are, in overwhelming majority, the loving, patient, devoted, self-sacrificing mothers we all know, pouring their lives out for their children, without stint.

But "there are others" also. There are shallow, ignorant mothers—too many of them—who refuse to nurse their children because it will "spoil their figures" or "keeps them in too much"; and, back of these, those unnatural creatures who look like women, who dress like women, but who are not women—for they refuse to be mothers! There should be on them the shame of impotence, of a self-chosen impotence—a thing well-nigh unthinkable.

There is the whole large group of irresponsible mothers who promptly turn over the real care of their babies to any ignorant young servant they please to hire. Whether at work or at play, and this kind generally plays, they are incompetent mothers, both in theory and practice.

But the kind which is worst, passing the negative shirkers who refuse mother-

hood, and the lazy or indifferent who refuse its cares and duties, are those whom we may call vampire mothers—who live on their children.

These from the first demand gratitude for what they do. They dwell largely on "the duties of children," on how much their children "owe them." And as soon as son or daughter is old enough they begin to collect the debt.

If they are poor people, the children are set to work, the parents receiving the proceeds. There are parents in plenty, both fathers and mothers, who regard their children as an investment, and expect them to pay back with interest the care and support which have been given them.

If a pair of peasants produce and rear to "working age," say eight children, at a cost not exceeding \$500 apiece, and if those children work ten years before marrying and pay back to their parents wages averaging \$3 a week—above their board—the net profits to the parents would be some \$1,500, as well as the further prospect of being supported in their old age by these same children.

I have known a low-class foreign workman complain that one of his children had married too early—before the father had made enough from his wages.

Mothers are not perhaps as directly businesslike as this, yet mothers are not averse to mentioning what their children "owe" them. They make a virtue of the initial risk and suffering of "bringing them into the world," while this was no choice of the child's, and is often a

questionable blessing. They enumerate the years of labor and anxiety during infancy and childhood, as if this was a sort of bargain and the child, having voluntarily incurred this obligation, was in honor bound to pay it back.

The one who pays it back is usually a daughter. Sons, when they are old enough, are apt to leave home. They go away, making a living, set up homes of their own. If there is return from them, it is in cash, or in room and board. But the daughters, even now that life is so much freer for girls, are expected to stay at home when the boy is not.

No one blames a young man for going away to work, but they do blame a young woman; call her selfish and ungrateful. It is her business to stay at home and perform her filial duties in person.

Mothers, widowed or not, will sit peacefully down and accept the sacrifice of a daughter's young life, knowing all the time that when they are dead the girl will be too old for any real life of her own.

Sometimes it is the son. We see most amiable, most lovely, most devoted mothers, only middle-aged, quite able to earn their own livings, but far from willing, fasten like a vampire on a hard-working young fellow, and keep him poor. He cannot save; he cannot marry; he must "take care" of his mother.

As a matter of fact, motherhood is not a loan, not a mortgage on the next generation; it is a gift—the gift of life, love, care and education, and should not be begrudged by the giver.

Recollections of Susan B. Anthony

By Eugene V. Debs

TWICE only did I personally meet Susan B. Anthony, although I knew her well. The first time was at Terre Haute, Ind., my home in 1880, and the last time shortly before her death at her home at Rochester, N. Y. I can never forget the first time I met her. She impressed me as being a wonderfully strong character, self-reliant, thoroughly in earnest, and utterly indifferent to criticism.

There was never a time in my life when I was opposed to the equal suffrage of the sexes. I could never understand why woman was denied any right of opportunity that man enjoyed. Quite early, therefore, I was attracted to the Woman Suffrage movement. I had, of course, read of Susan B. Anthony and from the ridicule and contempt with which she was treated I concluded that she must be a strong advocate of, and doing effective work for, the rights of her sex. It was then that I determined, with the aid of Mrs. Ida

Husted Harper, the brilliant writer, who afterward became her biographer, to arrange a series of meetings for Miss Anthony at Terre Haute.

In due course of time I received a telegram from Miss Anthony from La Fayette, announcing the time of her arrival at Terre Haute and asking me to meet her at the station. I recognized the distinguished lady or, to be more exact, the notorious woman, the instant she stepped from the train. She was accompanied by Lily Devereaux Blake and other woman suffrage agitators and I proceeded to escort them to the hotel where I had arranged for their reception.

I can still see the aversion so unfeelingly expressed for this magnificent woman. Even my friends were disgusted with me for piloting such an "undesirable citizen" into the community. It is hard to understand, after all these years, how bitter and implacable the people

were, especially the women, toward the leaders of this movement.

As we walked along the street I was painfully aware that Miss Anthony was an object of derision and contempt, and in my heart I resented it and later I had often to defend my position, which, of course, I was ever ready to do.

The meetings of Miss Anthony and her co-workers were but poorly attended and all but barren of results. Such was the loathing of the community for a woman who dared to talk in public about "woman's rights" that people would not go to see her even to satisfy their curiosity. She was simply not to be tolerated and it would not have required any great amount of egging-on to have excited the people to drive her from the community.

To all of this Miss Anthony, to all appearance, was entirely oblivious. She could not have helped noticing it for there were those who thrust their insults upon her but she gave no sign and bore no resentment.

I can see her still as she walked along, neatly but carelessly attired, her bonnet somewhat awry, mere trifles which were scarcely noticed, if at all, in the presence of her splendid womanhood. She seemed absorbed completely in her mission. She could scarcely speak of anything else. The rights and wrongs of her sex seemed to completely possess her and to dominate her thoughts and acts.

On the platform she spoke with characteristic earnestness and at times with such intensity as to awe her audience, if not compel conviction. She had an inexhaustible fund of information in regard to current affairs, and dates and data for all things. She spoke with great rapidity and forcefulness; her command of language was remarkable and her periods were all well-rounded and eloquently delivered. No thought-

ful person could hear her without being convinced of her honesty and the purity of her motive. Her face fairly glowed with the spirit of her message and her soul was in her speech.

But the superb quality, the crowning virtue she possessed, was her moral heroism.

Susan B. Anthony had this quality in an eminent degree. She fearlessly faced the ignorant multitude or walked unafraid among those who scorned her. She had the dignity of perfect self-reliance without a shadow of conceit to mar it. She was a stern character, an uncompromising personality, but she had the heart of a woman and none more tender ever throbbed for the weak and the oppressed of earth.

No leader of any crusade was ever more fearless, loyal or uncompromising than Susan B. Anthony and not one ever wrought more unselfishly or under greater difficulties for the good of her kind and for the progress of the race.

I did not see Susan B. Anthony again until I shook hands with her at the close of my address in Rochester, but a short time before she passed to other realms. She was the same magnificent woman, but her locks had whitened and her kindly features bore the traces of age and infirmity.

Her life-work was done and her sun was setting!

How beautiful she seemed in the quiet serenity of her sunset!

Twenty-five years before she drank to its dregs the bitter cup of persecution, but now she stood upon the heights, a sad smile lighting her sweet face, amidst the acclaims of her neighbors and the plaudits of the world.

Susan B. Anthony freely consecrated herself to the service of humanity; she was a heroine in the highest sense and her name deserves a place among the highest on the scroll of the immortals.



Save Mothers Is Crusade's Call

By Judge Henry Neil

The Father of Mother's Pension

DON'T raise your boy to be a burden to society. This is the slogan of Judge Henry Neil at Los Angeles, Cal., on July 1, 1916, known as the Father of Mothers' Pensions.

Judge Neil arrived in Los Angeles for the purpose of delivering a number of lectures on the care of destitute children and to preach the value to the state of mothers' pensions, a measure now in effect in twenty-six states of the Union. He remained in Los Angeles for ten days before making a tour of the entire state.

Back in Illinois a number of years ago Judge Neil had the mothers' pension act passed by the legislature. Since then he has succeeded in having the act passed in twenty-five other states.

START WITH CHILDREN.

"What's the use of talking about national preparedness," said Judge Neil, "unless you start with the children? Feed all the children. This is the first step toward preparedness. Thousands of children are suffering from slow starvation in this country. More than 50 per cent of the applicants for military service are rejected because of malnutrition while children. Feed all the children so that they can grow up strong in body and mind, for peace or for war, because underfed people are dangerous to the nation in peace and in war. The care of all children is so important that every county and city should have inspectors to search out and abolish every case of child poverty."

BERNARD SHAW APPROVES.

Judge Neil quotes with approval a letter received by him from George Bernard Shaw, in which the noted critic and dramatist says:

"The peaceful business of a policeman at present is to prevent hungry children

from obtaining food. The proper primary business of a policeman is to seize every hungry child and feed it, to collar every ragged child and clothe it, to hand every illiterate child over to those who will teach it how to read and write."

When Judge Neil was in New York recently he had a conference with Mayor Mitchel and found that the city paid last year \$5,000,000 to the charity institutions of that city to take care of 22,000 children, an average of \$227 per child.

BIG SAVING TO TAXPAYER.

As an offset to the sum spent by New York to care for children in institutions, Judge Neil brings forward the fact that the twenty-six states now under the mothers' pension act spent \$10,000,000 last year to take care of 100,000 children, or an average of \$100 per child. This makes a saving of \$127 as against New York's expenditure, with the further advantage that the children remain in their homes and have the love and companionship of their mothers. According to Judge Neil, the care of children under the mothers' pension measure results in a distinct saving to the taxpayer.

Judge Neil is connected with no organization and receives no compensation for his services. During the last five years he has traveled in every state in the Union and lectured in all the principal cities in behalf of destitute children.

The following states have a mothers' pension law: Arizona, California, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming and Tennessee.

The Straight Girl on a Crooked Path

By Louise DeKoven Bowen

MABEL WHEELER lived with her father and mother in a white frame house set back from the street in a college town in a Western state. Her father was a physician; and her mother, a gifted woman, devoted to the interests of her husband and child, had been educated abroad and spent many hours each day enthusiastically teaching Mabel music as well as French and German.

As Mabel had a good voice and sang very well she took part in many of the local entertainments, and people would often say to her that some day she would become a grand opera singer. When she was sixteen years old she entered college and took a leading place in the social life of the students.

In the summer preceding her senior year, her mother died and the girl was left much alone, as her father was seldom at home. She devoted herself to her music and other studies and made great progress during the first semester. Her father then married again, this time a woman of little refinement who speedily made Mabel's life unbearable; at the end of six weeks her father told her that since she could not "get on" with her stepmother, she would have to go and live with an uncle in a nearby town. This was a great blow to Mabel, who, so near the end of her college course, was anxious to receive her degree. But life with her stepmother was so intolerable that she was forced to accept her father's plan.

Her uncle was a lawyer who took Mabel into his office, giving her odd jobs including janitor service, and expected her to receive his clients during his absence in court. He would not pay her any salary, saying that her food and lodging and her aunt's discarded clothing were sufficient recompense. After

six months of monotonous work and no pleasure, Mabel made up her mind that she would prefer to take care of herself among strangers to the poor-relation treatment she was then receiving. Remembering the encomiums about her voice and the careful musical education of her childhood, she decided to go to the nearest large city and obtain a position on the concert stage. With great care, and by doing a little sewing and other odd jobs for certain of the neighbors, she managed to save twenty-two dollars and fifty cents, sufficient for her ticket, and informed her uncle and aunt that she was going to the city.

Upon reaching Chicago, she immediately bought a daily paper and looked at the boarding-house advertisements. Selecting one which she thought to be in a respectable part of the town, she took the street car to the address, and upon arriving at the place, found it to be a nice looking house. The landlady seemed pleasant, offered her a room for a moderate sum and showed it to her herself.

On leaving the room, the landlady said: "You can bring a man directly up here any time you want to, but when there are two in the room you must always leave a dollar under the pin-cushion." Mabel, horrified to find that she was in a house of such standards, hastily said that she would not take the room and fled to the street. Again consulting the daily paper, she selected another boarding place occupied only by a family consisting of two older women and three children. Here she remained for three months before she discovered the character of the house.

The day after her arrival in the city, Mabel started out to find a position. Having worked in a lawyer's office, her first application was made to a law firm.

The man, who interrogated her at some length, finally told her that he would give her a place at a small salary, with the understanding, however, that she must be willing to go out to dinner with him occasionally and to be "pleasant" to him. Frightened by the implications in his statements, she started to leave the room when the man said: "What did you expect, anyway? You aren't a stenographer or a typist; you can't keep books and you know nothing about law. Did you expect me to give you a salary for nothing?"

Her next visit was to a large bookstore where she thought she might possibly be of some use owing to her knowledge of modern languages, but while she was treated politely, they said they had no position for her. At a large piano company she was told that with her musical education she could be of value to the firm if she were an expert stenographer and she was advised to take such a course. In an effort to follow this suggestion, she visited a business college, but she found the price of tuition was far beyond her means, and that the college would not guarantee she would be proficient enough to hold a good position without at least six months' training. As this was out of the question, and still confident that there must be a place for a girl who could sing well and who had been instructed in the violin as well as the piano, she applied to another music house and from there was sent to an agent who booked girls for cabarets, moving picture shows, etc.

This agent, a large and coarse looking man, received her politely and said that he would get her a good job at \$18.00 a week, provided she would pay a commission. She told him joyfully that she would be very glad to give him a large commission, so anxious was she for work. He then made his requirements so clear to her that she left the office in disgust, with a confirmed belief that a girl out of work was considered legitimate prey by every man whom she approached in her need.

Many new agencies had been opened the year that Mabel came to Chicago in response to the demand for cabaret entertainers, because about half the saloons in Chicago had during that time

put in cabaret features. Mabel found that these agents had no standards in regard to the entertainment offered. Some of them even went so far as to make it quite clear that if a girl made herself sufficiently agreeable to the patrons she need neither sing nor dance. Others habitually cheated in collecting their commissions, and only occasionally was an agent really interested in the artistic aspect of the performance.

But because Mabel had become thoroughly convinced that she was not equipped for office work and that her voice was her only stock in trade, she continued to visit these agencies, courageously beginning her interviews with the statements that she would not accept any position that was not respectable. She finally discovered an agent who assured her that he did not send girls to any but safe places, and she found that his statement was absolutely true.

She was first sent by him to a moving picture show to play the piano. Here she sat in a little cement pit under the stage from 2 in the afternoon until 6 o'clock. She then had an hour for her supper and played again from 7 until 11 o'clock; for this service she was to receive \$12.00 a week. At the end of the week she asked the proprietor for her salary, but he put her off until the following day; the next day he said the bank was closed. The third day she failed to go to the theater, having contracted a heavy cold in the cement pit, which was unheated and exposed to draughts, so she sent a small boy to ask for her salary. The proprietor replied that as she left without notice, she could not come back at all, and also that she had forfeited her wages. Although she made several further attempts, she never was able to collect anything from him.

For two weeks she was miserably ill, and had almost no money left. She lived on 15 cents a day, eating as little as possible. When she was well again, she went back to the same agent, and this time he gave her a position as a singer in a cabaret attached to a saloon.

This was the first cabaret that Mabel had ever been in, and the vitiated air, the smell of liquor, the clouds of tobacco smoke, the loud and coarse talk, the vul-

gar actions and the sound of the cheap and out-of-tune piano made her head ache terribly. The proprietor told her that one of her duties would be to drink with the patrons and sell them as much liquor as possible. When she replied that she had never taken anything of the kind in her life, and that she could not do it now, as a great concession he allowed the waiter to bring her creme de menthe in a glass filled with water, with only a drop or two of the liqueur on top to make it appear genuine.

Here for three nights she sang her old songs and then was sent by the proprietor to another place kept by his brother, which proved to be one of the vilest cabarets in the city. The waiters embraced and kissed the girl entertainers, and when Mabel vigorously opposed this familiarity it so brought down upon her the wrath of the proprietor that it was difficult for her to maintain her position. She was told that she must order at least fifteen-cent drinks; this she did for a night or two, ordering grape juice highballs, until it was discovered by the proprietor, who told her that she was not "tony enough," that he wished her to really drink liquor, not only pretend to; that the patrons wanted to see a girl drink because they liked to see the effect of liquor on her, and that they would treat a great deal in order to get her really "stewed." At this place the dancing was most indecent, the space given to the dancers being very small so that the couples merely stood close together with scarcely room to move. The language was indecent beyond words, and the hours were from 8 in the evening until 1 in the morning.

Here as elsewhere, much of the drinking was done in little alcoves partitioned off from the rest of the room. According to law these partitions can only be three feet and a half high, but the regulations have been skillfully avoided by

sometimes allowing an air space underneath and by placing boxes of flowers on the top, so that the actual screen is much higher. In other cases, garlands of artificial flowers and ropes of colored paper are so skillfully suspended from the ceiling that it is impossible to see what goes on behind the screen they afford.

After three nights in this cabaret, Mabel gave up her position. When she asked for her salary one of the partners told her that he could not give it to her until the other partner came in; the next day when she applied for it she saw partner No. 2, who said that he could not give it to her unless partner No. 1 was present. This was repeated for several days until finally she gave up the effort and was never able to collect what was due her.

Mabel was impressed with the fact that at whatever cabaret she applied for a position, although they were glad to have her sing and dance well, it was made clear to her that she was to be used as a lure for the men, and the more liquor she sold to them the more popular the place became because of her presence, the greater value she was to the proprietor.

Disgusted with the city cabarets she went back to the agent and told him that she could not stand that sort of thing. He then sent her to Racine, Wis., where she sang in a little restaurant patronized only by very nice people. Here the entertainers were on a small stage at the end of the room; they were not allowed to drink nor to dance or talk with the patrons. Mabel was quite happy here, but the proprietor died at the end of her first month and the business was given up, so she returned to Chicago.

This time an agent sent her to a cabaret in which her first night was a stormy one.

(Continued in September Number.)

DO YOU KNOW?

Do you know what your city can teach other cities, and what you ought to learn from other cities?

Are your railway stations up-to-date?

Do your people deserve better transportation than they are getting?

Do you know which city has humanized its police force?

Do you know which city best protects its babies' milk?

What do you do with refuse?

Does the "Great White Way" advertise beer or civic pride?

Do you know where all the children have their teeth cared for free?

Do you know where children gladly go to school all day?

Do you know which city has gone 250 miles for water?

Do you know where Fire Prevention Day originated?

Do most of your children reach the high school? If not, why not?

Is your library conducted so that more people use it every month? Does it cooperate with the schools?

Is your city planned for yesterday or tomorrow?

Do you take as good care of the living as of the dead?—*American Municipal Progress.*

WHY DO WOMEN WANT THE VOTE?

Do they feel, under a representative form of government, such as ours, that they should have a part in the making of the laws under which they must live? Their answer may be summed up in the following six reasons:

First. Because they are American citizens, and the United States constitution says: "The citizen's rights to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Second. Because they are taxpayers, and it is a principle of our government that taxation and representation ought to go together.

Third. Because every citizen should help select those who make the laws which he or she must obey.

Fourth. Because every citizen in a free republic is entitled to representation, and no person having but one vote

can represent himself and another, even with the latter's consent.

Fifth. Because a vote means power, and women need this power to protect the interests of themselves, their children, their homes and society.

Sixth. Because politics, which means the government, needs the combined influence of men and women. Without the ballot, woman's influence is indirect, negative and irresponsible.

Votes talk.

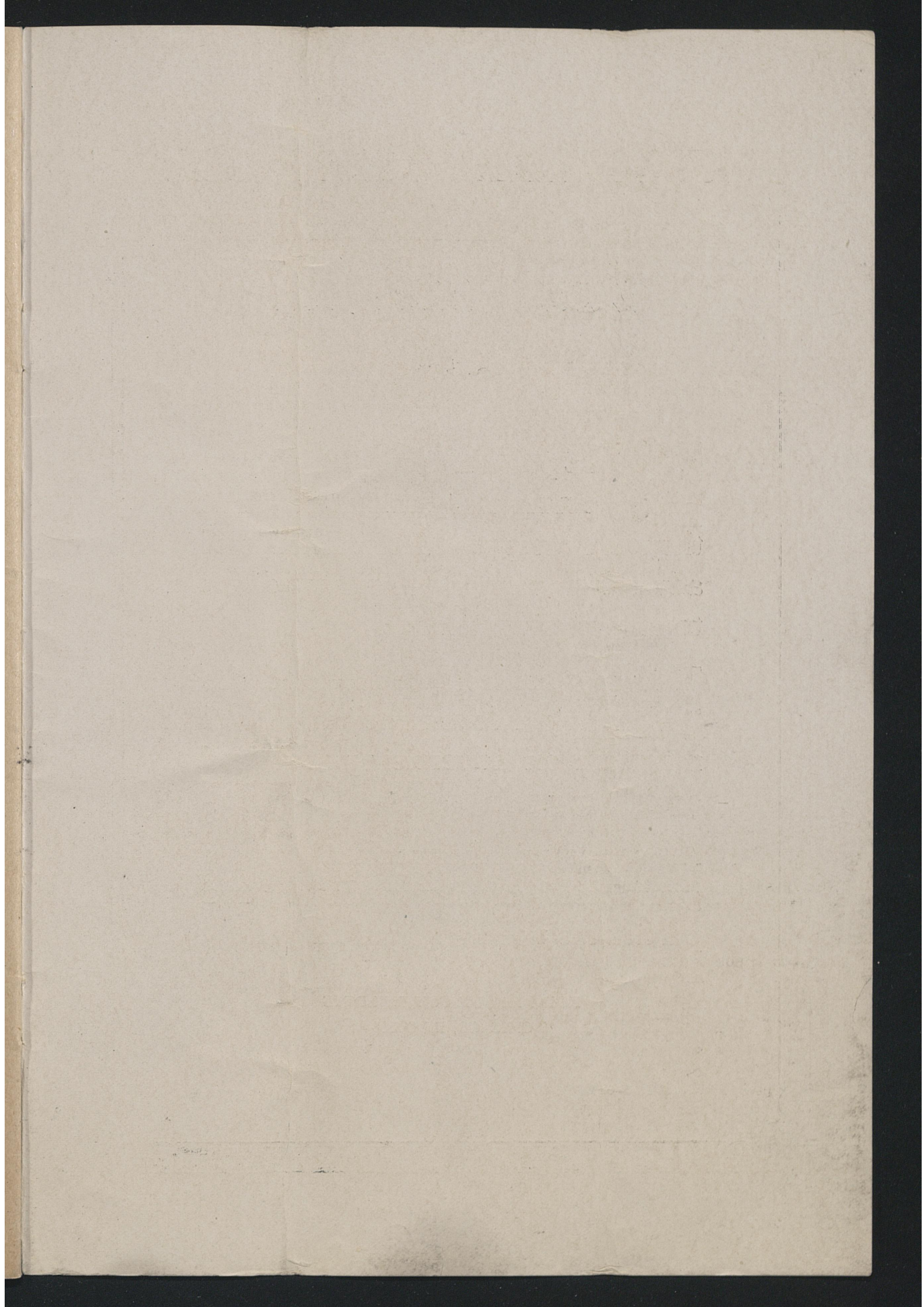
Votes count.

Votes compel respect.

Votes decide every question.

Talk about the family being the foundation unit of the state does not mean anything but "weasel words" if the man usurps all the authority of the family, suppresses free speech and decides all questions upon his own prejudices and for his own interest or glorification. Many men "beat up" their wives to maintain this ascendancy and so they never learn what is best for their families or the foundations of the state.

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