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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
Carrie Chapman Catt, President
171 Madison Avenue, New York

NATIONAL PRESS DEPARTMENT
Rose Young, Chairman

June 13, 1919

FOR THE EDITOR'S USE

RELEASE IMMEDIATELY

(We submit below a communication that has come on to us from a Southerner. Believing that your readers will be interested in the point of view, we hope that you will see fit to give it space in your paper.)

WHAT A SOUTHERNER THINKS

By John H. Wallace, Game Commissioner, Alabama

Congress, having submitted to the various states for ratification or rejection a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing that the "right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex", the question of woman suffrage is squarely up to the American people for action. The time for delaying and dodging the question has passed. We must either take it or leave it.

The rapid-fire happening of events within the last year has caused me materially to revise my opinion in reference to equal suffrage.

The heroism, the unselfish spirit, the splendid leadership, the noble sacrifices and the unrivalled efficiency, which the women of America have displayed during the War have challenged the admiration of the world and have caused them to be regarded as rational, responsible beings, capable of doing man's work, of initiative, of rare executive ability, and therefore the equal of man in all the walks of life -- except the walk to the ballot box.

After the most careful investigation, I am unequivocally convinced that the fear expressed in some quarters that there will be a wholesale enfranchisement of negro women by an act of Congress is absolutely unfounded. The act of Congress, putting into force the equal suffrage amendment, after its ratification, will merely provide that female citizens shall be authorized and empowered to vote in all elections provided for by the Constitution and laws, and that the same qualifications which men must possess to become voters must also be had by women before they can legally become qualified electors in this or any other state.

By the history of the past we can best judge the future. On the 28th of July, 1868, the Secretary of State of the United States issued a proclamation declaring that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution had been ratified. This amendment, among other things, provides that when the right to vote in any election is denied to any male citizen of the United States, being twenty-one years of age, the basis of representation in Congress shall be reduced. On March 30th, 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, which provides that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by the States on account of race, color or any previous condition of servitude, and that Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate Legislation.

These Amendments were submitted and ratified in the heat of passion and sectional prejudice which prevailed in Congress during the period immediately following the War between the States, and were designed by the vicious South haters among the Republican politicians and demagogues to destroy and humiliate the people of the Southern States; and yet for fifty years these two amendments, hated and despised by all patriotic Southern men as they are, have remained mere nullities without any congressional legislation having been enacted to give them force and effect.

If, therefore, for fifty years, during the greater portion of which time the Republican Party was in charge of the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government, that Party, the spawn of hostility to the South and her institutions, did not enact legislation to bring into operation the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, most certainly that Party will never seek to revive sectionalism at this late day by the enfranchisement of negro women along with the white women of the country.

The people of the Southern States are American citizens; they have manifested to a marked degree their patriotism and loyalty to the country and to the American flag, both in the Spanish-American War and in the War just ended; they are no longer regarded as objects to be persecuted and oppressed by radical and ambitious Republican leaders.

We have had much more to dread in the past than we will have to fear in the future.

President Wilson, the leader of the Democratic Party, has recommended the submission of the suffrage amendment; the National Democratic Executive Committee has urged its submission and ratification, and when we, Southern Democrats, recall the fact that the women of the West, in the States where women vote, rallied to the standard of the Democratic Party and cast the necessary votes to perpetuate our Party in power in Washington, which Party has made a record of achievement, in Peace and in War, which is the pride and glory of every patriotic American heart, as loyal Democrats, we must realize that we owe the women of the country a political debt of gratitude, which we should be eager to pay.

Should the Democratic South vote against the equal suffrage amendment, the women in the suffrage states, where party lines are lax, will immediately retaliate by voting against the Democratic Party in the next presidential and congressional election. Without the votes of the women in the states where there is equal suffrage the Democratic Party in the next presidential election is doomed to overwhelming defeat.

Those who claim the power to read the future with any degree of accuracy are stone-blind unless they can see equal suffrage an accomplished fact. No amendment to the Federal Constitution has ever been submitted which was not subsequently ratified.

When the women in the other states are given the privilege of voting, shall we, the man of Alabama, say that our women shall be denied that right? Shall we say that they are not just as competent to vote as the women of the other states?

It may be truly stated that woman is a creature of noble instincts and high ideals; that she acts from pure impulses; that she is qualified by reason of her training and environment to solve many problems better than man.

Where is the vaunted gallantry of the far-famed Southern gentleman, his boasted chivalry, his renowned love of woman; that he should deny to the women of Alabama the privilege of voting?

Woman has exercised every power and force she possesses for the advancement of society. In the states where there is equal suffrage no home has been blasted by reason of woman suffrage. Since the beginning, woman has been either man's beast of burden or else his toy and plaything; but a new era is at hand. Woman is coming into her own. Shall Alabama retard her progress?

Back of every splendid achievement that every truly great man has ever attained has been the life, the character, the inspiration of some noble woman. She possesses power by the magic of her touch and smile to transform a pauper's hovel into a prince's palace. She is at once necessary to the comfort, the happiness of man, and she should exercise every political privilege vested in man.

Woman has won the right to vote; let us no longer withhold it from her.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
171 Madison Avenue, New York City, N.Y.

BULLETIN NUMBER 49

Issued by

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

February 11, 1919.

SUBJECT:
WHAT NEXT?

As you know our chances for ratification are passed so far as the 85th. Congress and the 1919 winter Legislature are concerned.

While we have a large majority in the House of the 66th. Congress and a comfortable majority in the Senate and therefore confidently expect the amendment to pass when the first special session is called, yet sad experience has taught us that we must not count our eggs before they are hatched. In any event, there is little likelihood of such passage coming before the last Legislature is 1919 has adjourned.

The big campaign of ratification cannot come before 1921 and there shall have been a slump in sentiment before that day, it may easily be 1923 or even later before the ratification will be finished. It is highly improbable that we can go through so long a period without a deluge of state amendments and even if it was possible to avoid them, we should lose the morale of our organizations through seeming inactivity. It becomes necessary for us, therefore, to face the struggle of some states amendments 1919 and others in 1920 and we must put our shoulders to the wheel and make them win.

I do beg, however, that each state will bear in mind its relation to the whole, big national problem and not permit an amendment unless there is proper preparation for winning a victory. We must avoid in every possible way all failures from now on. Please do not forget that failure to carry a state amendment may mean the impossibility of ratification in that state. The conditions of which you should make certain before consenting to a state amendment are: (1) The support of all political machines; (2) A fair election law; (3) No traps in the amending provision of the constitution; (4) The prospect of a good campaign fund.

In my humble judgment, we have probably passed the time when suffrage by ratification with a small campaign is possible. That may come again two years hence, but it will only come if meanwhile we are active and triumphant.

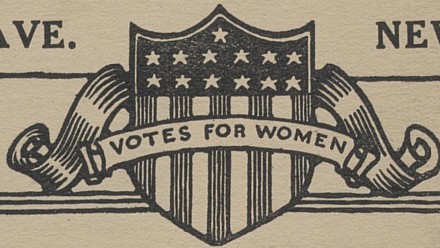
If we are wise and long headed women, we will unite as never before and make our preparation for a titanic struggle so thoroughly that there will be no question of an early and final victory.

FEDERAL AMENDMENT NUMBER

HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

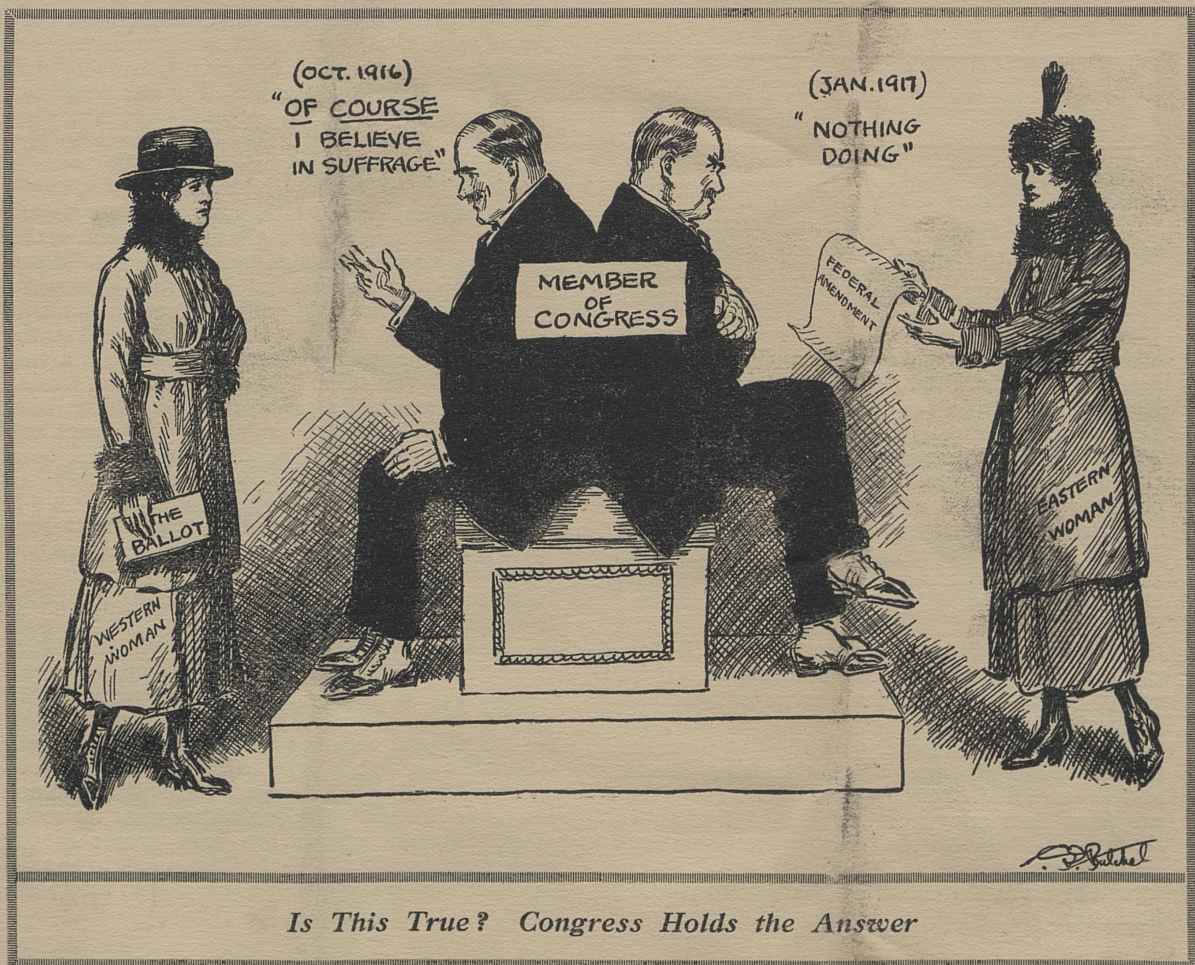
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HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

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National American Woman Suffrage Association

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WHY THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT?

Woman suffrage is coming—no intelligent person in the United States will deny that fact.

When it will come and how it will come are still open questions. Woman suffrage by Federal aid is supported by five main reasons. These reasons may be evaded or avoided, but they cannot be answered:

(1) **Suffrage for men and suffrage for women in other lands, with few and minor exceptions, has been granted by parliamentary act and not by referenda.** By such enactment the women of Australia were granted the full suffrage in Federal elections by the Federal Parliament and each state or province, including Tasmania, granted full suffrage in all other elections by act of the provincial parliament. By such enactment New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, the Isle of Man and Finland gave the equal suffrage in all elections to women. By such process the parliament of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta gave full suffrage to their women. British Columbia referred the question to the voters, but the parliament had already extended all suffrage rights except one, and both political parties lent their aid in the referendum, which gave a majority in every precinct. By parliamentary act all other Canadian provinces, the provinces of South Africa, Sweden and Great Britain have extended far more voting privileges than any woman citizen of the United States east of the Missouri River (except those of Illinois) has received. The suffragists of France reported just as the war broke out that the French Parliament was pledged to extend full municipal

suffrage to women. Men and women of high repute say the full suffrage is certain to be extended by the British Parliament to the women of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales soon after the war, and already these women have all suffrage rights except the vote for parliamentary members. *It is cruelly unfair to subject American women to a longer, harder, more difficult method than those of other lands.* Practically the same method is provided by our Federal Constitution. To deny its benefits to the women of this country is to put upon them a *penalty for being Americans.*

(2) Men of this country have been enfranchised by various extensions of the voting privilege, but in no single instance were they compelled to appeal to an electorate containing groups of unnaturalized foreigners, Indians, negroes and large numbers of illiterates, ne'er-do-wells, drunks and even white slavers. The Jews, denied the vote in all colonies, and the Catholics, denied the vote in most colonies, received their franchise through the revolutionary constitutions, which removed all religious qualifications for the vote in a self-respecting manner to all. The property qualifications for the vote, which were established in every colony and continued in the early state constitutions, were usually removed by a referendum, but the question went to an electorate limited to property holders only. The largest number of voters to which such an amendment was referred was that of New York. Had every man qualified to vote done so, the electorate would not have exceeded 200,000 and probably not more than 150,000. The next extensions of the vote to men were made by Congress, which gave the vote to certain tribes of Indians and by amendment to the Federal Constitution, which gave the vote to the Negro. At least three-fourths of the present voters secured their vote through naturalization of themselves or their forefathers. Congress determines conditions of citizenship and state constitutions fix qualifications of voters. In no instance has the foreign immigrant been forced to plead with a vast electorate for his vote. To deny American women as easy a process of securing their vote as has been granted to men is a discrimination so flagrant and intolerable that no fair-minded man should be a party to it.

(3) **The constitutions of many states have provided for amendment by such difficult processes that they either have never been amended or have not been amended when the subject is in the least controversial.** A present case illustrates. Newspapers in Kentucky which have opposed woman suffrage and still do have started a campaign to submit woman suffrage and prohibition amendments in order to defeat them and remove them from politics for five years, as the same questions cannot be again submitted for that length of time. Until new constitutions are adopted, there are states where women can never be enfranchised, no matter what the sentiment. Woman suffrage has been caught in the coils of constitutional technicalities. Not to be willing to release it and give it a fair chance before the country is un-American.

(4) **The election laws of all states make inadequate provision for safeguarding the vote on constitutional amendments.** When both dominant parties desire to stand sponsor for such a vote an amendment is safeguarded; but when both have the friends of the amendment to look after its interest, as they usually do, a woman suffrage amendment is unfairly handicapped at the outset. Women in most states are not legally qualified to be watchers nor to serve as election officials. Nor do they possess the voter's influence to secure the appointment of officials who will take a watchful supervision over an honest vote and an honest count. To be sure, such officials are supposed to defend honesty and accuracy in elections, but that they do not do so was pitifully evidenced in Iowa and West Virginia and it has been in many another suffrage campaign. Since election laws do not protect suffrage referenda, suffragists demand the right prescribed by our national constitution to appeal their case from male voters to the higher court of Congress and the legislatures.

(5) **Woman suffrage is regarded by every other country as a National question.** With eleven states in our own country, with half the territory of the civilized world already won, with the statement of the Press still unchallenged that women voters decided a presidential election, any policy which shunts responsibility and fails to recognize the importance of this question is pusillanimous and cowardly. One has said: "Statesmen lead and the people follow; politicians follow but never lead." Such statesmen are never afraid to tell what they think and where they stand. They do not hesitate to espouse or oppose public questions. Such politicians will naturally prefer to hide behind the arras of a secret ballot in a referendum which relieves them of responsibility, but the women of the land who are self-respecting enough to want a vote ask a "square deal" by *National* action.

—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

* * *

WILL THE DEMOCRATS REMEMBER?

By ROSE YOUNG

The present crucial situation of suffrage as a federal question has no counterpart in the history of the cause in America save in the intense days immediately following the Civil War. Young as the suffrage agitation was in those days the '60's were as vivid with potentiality for nation-wide suffrage as are these days that see the going out of the 64th Congress and the coming in of the 65th, with the suffrage amendment one of the paramount issues under consideration by both Senate and House. During and just after the war the thought and the heart of the nation were vibrating to a new concept of democracy. Men were exalted and receptive. In the expansion of the hour, room was almost made for the enfranchisement of women. Women had admittedly played a great part in furthering universal emancipation. Pulpit, platform and press rang

with tributes to the services they had rendered. Sumner had drawn on them unremittingly as his aides in his fight in Congress for universal emancipation. Abolitionists, Unionists and Republicans had made whole-hearted demands upon them. They had been found so very helpful indeed that great things had been promised them, in return for all they had done and must continue to do for the anti-slavery cause.

Then the awakening. It was "the Negro's hour" they said, and the women were deserted on every hand. Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, Greeley, Garrison, Tilton, Higginson, Bryant, one and all allowed the enfranchisement of the black men to outweigh the enfranchisement of women. Charles Sumner found the women's claim "most inopportune." Abolitionists refused even to sign their petitions. Republicans presented those petitions to Congress so emasculated as to destroy their significance. Deserted all along the line, the women yet made their first demand for congressional action on suffrage in the autumn of 1865. It was at once a protest and a petition. A protest against the inclusion of the word "male" in the amendment and a petition to have women included in the provisions of that amendment. From that time forward the history of the effort to pass the amendment is stormy with the effort to secure for all women the recognition that was projected for the Negro men. Again and again, led by Miss Anthony, women rallied to the task of importuning Congress to include women in the proposed extension of the electorate. Again and again the men whose dependence they had been in the anti-slavery crisis failed them utterly. Came at last the fateful ratification of the amendment with a wording that forever closed that door in the faces of the women who stood without and waited.

There followed days, years, decades during which the principle of self-government was stultified and woman's dream of political liberty was made the plaything and the football of one nonchalant Congress after another. Led up to party platforms with fulsome promises, over and over suffrage workers found that the only plank on which they could stand had been left out. Confronted by a great opportunity to free America of the last vestige of political shackles, the degree of skill to which compromise and evasion were brought is best attested by the following, adopted at a National Republican Convention:

"The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their devotion to the cause of freedom; their admission to wider fields of usefulness is received with satisfaction; and the honest demands of any class of citizens for equal rights should be treated with respectful consideration."

It was in the '70's that there evolved the amendment that would take from the States the right to deny the franchise to any citizen of the United States on account of sex, and that same amendment stands to-day in House and Senate awaiting action. Since the year 1882 it has been

reported from the Senate committee every year with a favorable majority except in 1890 and 1896. Twice it has gone to vote in the Senate. The first time was on January 25, 1887, resulting in 16 yeas and 34 nays, with 26 absent, four of whom were committed to suffrage, giving a total suffrage strength of 20. The second time was on March 19, 1914, when there were 35 yeas and 34 nays. In the House it has been reported from committee seven times, twice by a favorable majority, three times by an adverse majority, and twice without recommendation. The House, in the position of hereditary enemy of nation-wide suffrage, has never let the measure come to vote until, in 1915, the pressure became too strong to be resisted and the poll netted 174 yeas and 204 nays.

The great body of organized suffragists in America are neither Republicans nor Democrats. They are ashamed to be either while both parties deny them the franchise. But once more the country is ringing with the echoes of women's part in a great national crisis, the crisis that was determined in favor of Wilsonian democracy on November 7. Democrats profess their gratitude for what women did. Republicans express anticipation of what women may do. Because of her women, the West is conceded a new determinism in national politics. The South revels anomalously in a victory attributed to an institution to which she has long turned a cold shoulder, woman suffrage. The East discovers that it is an outrage to enfranchise women in the West and disbar them elsewhere. And North, South, East and West it is pointed out that only a federal election law can equalize the present insupportable political situation.

Once more a great opportunity confronts a great political party, the opportunity of being the instrument to insure political recognition to the last dweller within America's gates. Once more the women stand and wait. Back of them stretches the record of tribute and acknowledgment, of praise and of promise.

In 1867 the Republicans forgot.

In 1917 will the Democrats remember?

* * *

THE SUFFRAGE BILL IN CONGRESS

To-day the Federal suffrage amendment has reached positions of crucial moment in both houses of Congress. After months of the maddening delay incident to being "smothered in committee," the House Committee has reported the bill without recommendation. This clears the way for it to a place on the House's calendar of business when it can go to vote on the floor of the House. In the Senate the bill has been favorably reported from the suffrage committee.

"Going to vote" is a step toward victory, but it is by no means victory itself and the work of insuring that the vote in both houses shall be favorable is the work that is just now engaging the chief

energies of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The National's committee on congressional work, as at present constituted, is made up of the executive congressional committee, including the so-called lobby, the chairman of the State Congressional Committees, and additional members from the states known as congressional aides. The congressional work has grown to such dimensions that it has recently been found necessary to divide it into four sections with four division chiefs. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, of Missouri, ranking officer of the National and chairman of the committee formed for this year's congressional work, will be at the head of the section that will have in charge all social-political activities. This includes, in particular, the engaging of the interest of the friends of suffrage from the different states who make Washington their winter home. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Massachusetts, has been appointed vice-chairman of the main committee and chairman of the Section on Legislation. This is the section that is otherwise known as the "Front Door Lobby," in recognition of the fact that it uses no side-door methods and works in the wide open. Miss Heloise Meyer, of Massachusetts, will be at the head of the Social Section, with Mrs. J. Borden Harriman as vice-chairman. Besides these there will be a Publicity Section under the direction of Mr. George Mosshart, co-operating with Washington's local publicity committee, of which Mrs. Gertrude Mosshart is chairman. Miss Ruth White is secretary of the main committee, which includes also Miss Mary Garrett Hay, of New York; Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Tennessee; Mrs. Charles W. McClure, of Michigan; Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, of Arkansas; Mrs. B. B. Valentine, of Virginia; and Miss Martha Norris, of Ohio.

Supporting these women are a number of others of national prominence who work in the capacity of "congressional aides." One of these is Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, another is Mrs. Newton D. Baker, wife of the Secretary of War; still another is Mrs. David F. Houston, wife of the Secretary of Agriculture. All points of the compass are represented in the full list of "aides": Alabama, by Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs; Tennessee, by Mrs. Guilford Dudley; Kentucky, by Mrs. Joseph Alderson, Mrs. Harry R. Whiteside and Mrs. John G. South; California, by Mrs. James Ellis Tucker; Connecticut, by Mrs. A. E. Scranton-Taylor; Illinois, by Mrs. George Bass, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Mrs. Wm. Severin, Miss Harriet Vittum and Mrs. Harrison Munro Brown; Massachusetts, by Mrs. Glendower Evans, Pres. Mary E. Woolley, of Holyoke, Mrs. Walter Prichard Eaton, Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, Mrs. Gertrude Halliday Leonard, Mrs. Oakes Ames, Mrs. Mabel Churchill, Mrs. Katherine H. Millard and Mrs. Samuel Powers; Michigan, by Mrs. Charles W. McClure, Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Mrs. James B. Balch, Mrs. E. L. Calkins and Mrs. Carey W. Dunton. The New York contingent includes Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton, Mrs. Henry White Cannon, Miss Mary Wood and Mrs. George L. Hubbell. Mrs. Winston Churchill represents New Hampshire. Besides Mrs. Bryan, Nebraska is represented by Mrs. Charles H. Dietrich; Ohio's representative is

Mrs. Samuel B. Sneath; Texas is represented by Mrs. M. Eleanor Brackenridge and Wyoming by Dr. Grace Hebard; Vermont has Mrs. Oliver C. Ashton and Mrs. Henry W. Clement as its representatives; Indiana is represented by Mrs. T. Arthur Stuart.

From every part of the Union, in fact, women will be working in relays in Washington until the Federal amendment is passed. During December there were representative women from a dozen different states on hand interviewing senators and congressmen. Mrs. Frank M. Roessing and Miss Hannah Patterson came from Pennsylvania, Mrs. Guilford Dudley from Tennessee and Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith from Kentucky. Mrs. A. E. Scranton-Taylor came from Connecticut. Mrs. Leonora Hanna Cox was there from Indiana. Massachusetts was answered for by Mrs. Glendower Evans and Mrs. Maud Wood Park. Mrs. Ben Hooper spoke for the Wisconsin situation, and Mrs. Charles McClure for Michigan. New York was represented by Mrs. Harriman, Miss Mary Wood and Miss Rose Young. State by state will contribute its quota of workers to bring pressure to bear on Congress.

* * *

REAL DEMOCRACY

This nation was founded upon the proposition that all men are created equal. The greatest leader the political party to which Mr. Root professes allegiance ever knew iterated and reiterated that thought. Is there anyone who doubts that Abraham Lincoln meant women as well as men by that declaration? How could anything else be meant? All people are created equal. That is the foundation upon which our government rests. That is the fundamental underlying principle upon which the very structure of the nation has been erected. Women, the mothers, wives and sisters of men, surely cannot be their inferiors.

This nation is the great democracy, the great government of the people. In its very essence a democracy is a land in which no one is compelled to obey laws of which they have no voice in the making. At the time the United States of America was founded no thought was given to woman suffrage. Custom had decreed that she should take no part in public affairs. Her very property became that of her husband as soon as the marriage knot was tied. She had no rights that she could call her own. All that has been changed except that she has not as yet been given the vote. When she once began to agitate for it she ought have had it at once, for she must obey the laws, and where she cannot vote she has no voice in the making of them. To deny her the vote is undemocratic, unfair and un-American. It is not the proposition to give her a vote that is "a menace to the principles underlying the Union," but the self-satisfied Roots who would deny her her just rights and seek to gloss over their unfair treatment with flattery.

Flattery and beautiful flowers of speech are not all that is due woman. She is entitled to far more, justice and fair treatment, and these she will not have until she is given a voice in the making of the laws she must obey.—*Gazette*, York, Pa.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

64TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1.

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the
United States Conferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment.

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915, yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 64th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas. Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE:

December 6, 1915, by Representatives Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1. Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 15, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7, on February 15, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

On the calendar awaiting action.

IN THE HOUSE:

In the Judiciary Committee.

December 14, 1916, the Judiciary Committee reported the amendment without recommendation to the House where it is awaiting action.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WOMAN VOTE



ANNA LOUISE STRONG

So much has been written and said about the woman vote by others than those who did the voting, that the National American Woman Suffrage Association considers it of interest and profit to submit some testimony from the women voters themselves. Among the representations claimed as conclusively proved by the woman vote, the chief has been that the western woman is indifferent to her eastern sister's enfranchisement, as shown by her predilection for Mr. Wilson in spite of Mr. Hughes's pronounced commitment in favor of the Federal suffrage amendment. It is in regard to this particular aspect of the question that the testimony on file at the national suffrage headquarters is of particular interest.

This testimony comes from every suffrage state in the Union, and from it leaps the salient insistence that, whichever way they voted, the women were not, in their own conviction, turning a cold shoulder upon the Federal suffrage amendment. Some voted for Hughes, some for Wilson, but it would seem that in casting up chances, so far as the amendment was concerned, the woman voter showed a disposition to rest her faith on achievement rather than on promise. Mr. Hughes had come out for the amendment, but he was appraised as a late comer-out. Mr. Wilson's earlier conversion to suffrage and actual vote for suffrage and actual grip on his party weighed heavily in his favor.

A Kansas woman sums up the indications thus: "Many of our women voted for Wilson because he voted for suffrage in New Jersey and because if elected for a second term he could do more for suffrage than in the first when his party had been so opposed."

This conviction that Wilson could handle a reluctant party better than it could be handled under a Republican administration, itself not committed to nation-wide suffrage as a party measure, is voiced by an Illinois woman also: "Some women (Republican) and some Democratic suffragists thought if the Republican party insisted on a Democratic suffrage plank Wilson could put it through as well as Republicans."

And again, from Washington: "Mr. Wilson voted for suffrage in New Jersey. Mr. Hughes, as far as we could learn, had not voted for anything in ten years. The Democratic platform promised quite as much for suffrage as did the Republican platform."

An Oregon woman declares that she worked for the return of President Wilson as hard as she could and "I never failed to emphasize on every occasion that President Wilson voted for suffrage and that I heard him say in Atlantic City that in the end we would not quarrel about method. I for one shall be

greatly disappointed if the Federal amendment does not pass during the next administration."

"From my personal interviews with women all over the State," writes a Nevada woman, "I can honestly say that the vote for Wilson was not an indication that the women do not care about the Federal amendment. Women here are rejoicing over having cast their first ballot and are more anxious than ever that all women should have the same right."

And a California woman who voted for Hughes points out that it is a signal fact that in only one state could the woman's vote be separately counted, and in that state they voted for the candidate who was outspokenly in favor of the Federal amendment.

What an Idaho woman says about the fear of reactionary forces behind Hughes is voiced by not a few. "As many Republican men as Republican women voted the Democratic ticket this year for the sole purpose of 'getting rid of the gang.' The political pot needed cleansing."

In a pointed analysis of the Woman vote, Miss Anna Louise Strong, one of the representative women of the Pacific coast, known far and wide for her vivid concern in advanced social and industrial programs, in a résumé of reasons why she voted for Mr. Wilson summarizes considerations that weighed with the western woman voter as follows:

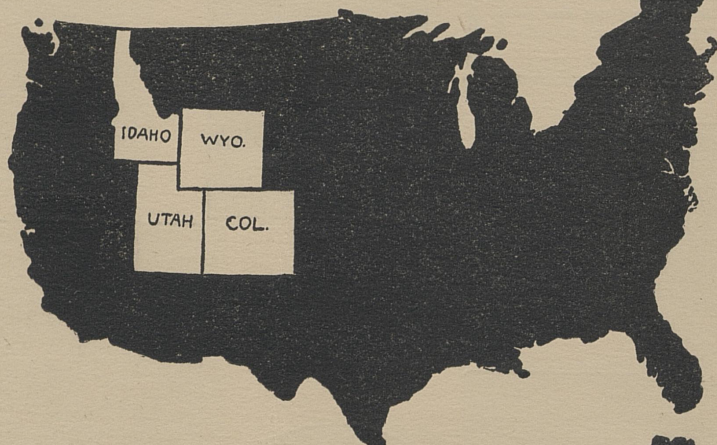
"The Democratic platform was practically identical with the Republican, and the character of the two candidates differed only in that one had been broadened by four years' experience in the White House, and the other had passed those years in the ultra-conservative atmosphere of the Supreme Court. Their utterance showed this difference; I chose Wilson.

"My belief in women's suffrage and my hope of a Federal amendment had also much to do with my vote. I understood the point of view of the 'Women's Party' but did not agree with it. Had they succeeded in carrying the suffrage states for Hughes, had they been able in complete triumph to say to Congress, 'We did it,' the Federal amendment would, in my opinion, have been indefinitely postponed. Requiring two-thirds majority in both houses, and three-fourths of all states, it can never pass except by a majority in each party, and any action which tends to arouse party bitterness against it is fatal. The Democrats in the last Congress showed themselves fully as sympathetic toward it as did the Republicans.

"I voted for a Republican for Senator (Poindexter), because his past record on suffrage and other matters was better than that of his opponent, and for the Democrat, George Cotterill, for Congress, for the same reason. In fact I distinctly objected when the women of the East asked us to oppose Mrs. Axtell, a woman candidate for Congress, and George Cotterill, the father of our own suffrage amendment, because they were Democrats. No greater contribution could have been made by our state toward the Federal amendment than the election of these two, instead of the stand-pat Republicans we were urged by the Eastern women to vote for."

SEEIN' IS BELIEVIN'—HAVE A LOOK!

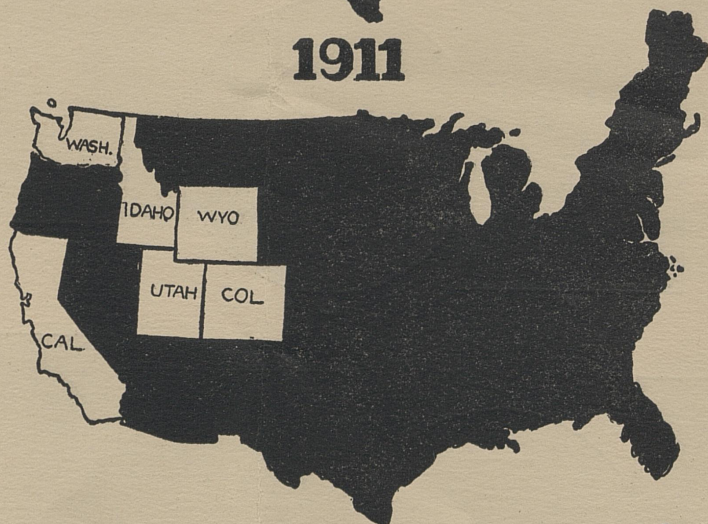
1909



1909

In 1909, four states, totalling exactly 17 votes in the Electoral College, represented the fruits of 61 years of agitation for woman suffrage.

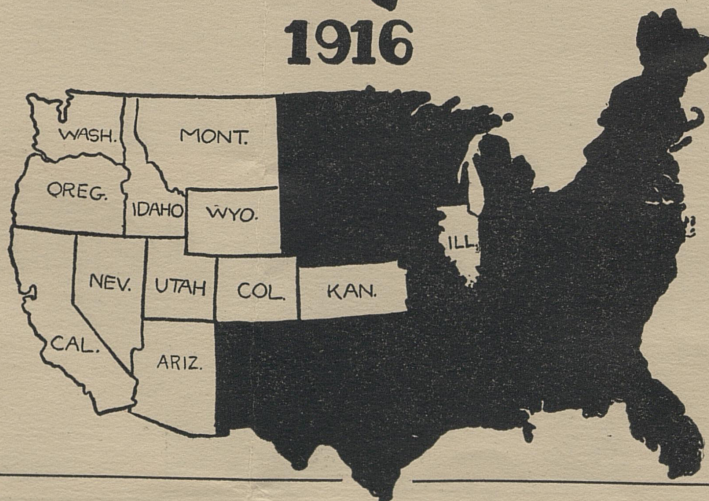
1911



1911

Washington gave the vote to women in 1910; California followed suit in 1911, raising the number of equal suffrage States to six that year and increasing their representation in the Electoral College to 37.

1916



1916

Last November the women in 12 states voted for President and decided how 91 electoral votes should be cast.

The press conceded very generally that the women's votes decided the election.

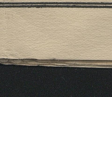
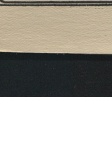
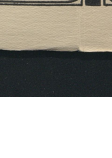
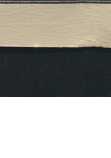
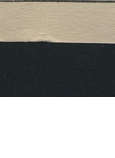
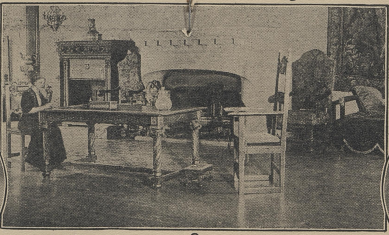
CONGRESSIONAL CHAIRMEN

- 1. Mrs. Edward F. Felckert, New Jersey.
- 2. Mrs. Alexander H. Scott, Indiana.
- 3. Miss Florence Hagan, West Virginia.
- 4. Dr. Esther Pohl Lovjoy, Oregon.
- 5. Mrs. John H. Lewis, Virginia.
- 6. Miss Mary A. Ogden, Delaware.
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- 24. Mrs. Mary L. Mcendon, Georgia.

- 25. Mrs. George A. Smith, Washington.
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- 28. Mrs. T. T. Cozsum, Arkansas.
- 29. Mrs. Ballard Dudley (and her children), Tennessee.
- 30. Mrs. John F. Odum, Louisiana.
- 31. Mrs. Lewis L. Johnson, Massachusetts.
- 32. Frances S. Bailly, North Dakota.
- 33. Mrs. F. H. Bastall, Vermont.



WANTED—A Little Clear Thinking

ACTUAL QUOTATIONS FROM CONGRESSMEN

Republican member from North Dakota:

"Women have shown their incapacity to comprehend large national questions by voting Democratic in ten states."

Member from Ohio:

"Women would have no influence in politics as they would only vote as their husbands do."

Member from North Carolina:

"Women are too pure, too noble to be dragged into the corruption of politics."

Member from Kentucky:

"Woman suffrage is strictly a States' Rights question."

Member from Alabama:

"Prohibition is a *moral* question and therefore Congress should make it nation wide."

Wet member from Kentucky:

"Women are unfit for general politics. They only want suffrage in order to vote on prohibition and when they have done that they would quit."

Dry Southern member:

"I will never consent to force the vote on an unwilling woman."

Democratic member from Wisconsin:

"Women have shown their inherent conservatism and lack of general progressiveness by voting Republican in Oregon and Illinois."

Member from Massachusetts:

"Women are too emotional to vote intelligently, as evidenced by their vote for Woodrow Wilson." When asked how he accounted for the fact that the rural Massachusetts vote had gone the same way, he replied, "Oh, their wives drove them to it."

Member from New York:

"Women would sell their votes cheaper than men."

Same member at home:

"Never will I consent to submit a state suffrage amendment."

Same member:

"Woman suffrage is a *political* question and therefore it must be settled state by state."

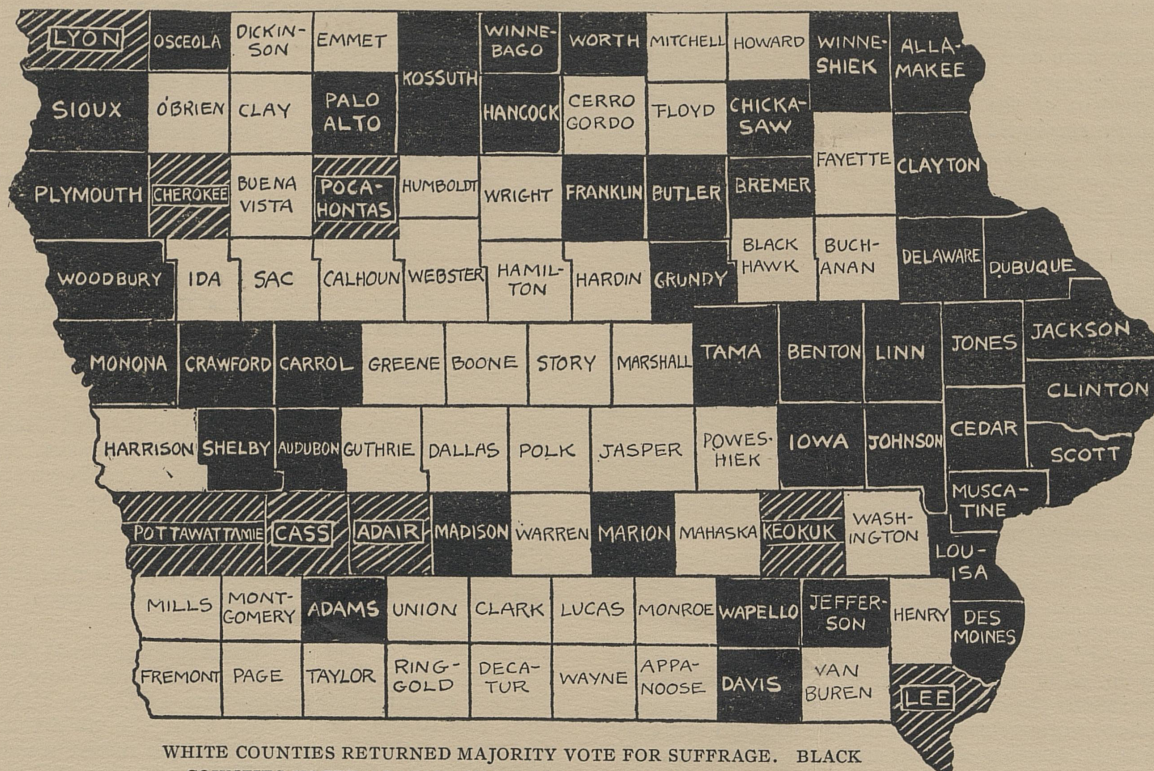
Dry member from Georgia:

"Women didn't vote prohibition into California law, which they would have done had they had the political moral sense to fit them for general politics."

Same member:

Voted to include women in the voter's list, if the District prohibition bill should be submitted to referendum.

IOWA—WHERE SUFFRAGE WAS DEFEATED BY 10,000 VOTES AND 47 VARIETIES OF FRAUD



WHITE COUNTIES RETURNED MAJORITY VOTE FOR SUFFRAGE. BLACK COUNTIES VOTED AGAINST SUFFRAGE. STRIPED COUNTIES RETURNED MAJORITY OF LESS THAN 100 AGAINST SUFFRAGE.

A Woman Suffrage Amendment to the State Constitution was voted upon in Iowa on Primary Day, June 5, 1916. The question was never submitted before. In 1882 a prohibition constitutional amendment was adopted by a large majority and promptly set aside by the supreme court on a technicality. The wet and dry question has been a vexed political issue ever since. The state now has prohibition by statutory enactment. A constitutional amendment is pending, having passed the Legislature of 1914 and is due to pass the Legislature of 1916. The "wets," therefore, were extremely active in opposing the suffrage amendment, as they were determined that the women of the state should have no vote on prohibition should it come to the people again. Although the women kept their question distinctly separate from prohibition, the wet and dry issue, everyone admitted, would prove a determining factor.

Every judge of the Supreme Court, the United States Senators, the Governor, most of the men prominent in Republican and Democratic politics, most of the clergymen and most of the press and every woman's state organization espoused the suffrage amendment.

Men familiar with Iowa politics advised the suffrage campaigners early and late and all the time

between that it was unnecessary to conduct an intensive campaign as "everybody believed in it." In the face of this omnipresent optimism thousands of women gave every possibility of their lives for months before to arouse, instruct and acquaint the men and women of the state concerning the question.

Yet the amendment was lost by about 10,000 votes. Were four counties (Dubuque, Clinton, Scott and Des Moines counties) not included in the returns, the state would have been carried for woman suffrage. Who were the people who defeated it? The following table gives the answer.

Iowa Counties	Total Population	Total Native Parentage	Total Foreign and Foreign Parentage	Total German, Austrian, Russian and of such Parentage
Dubuque.....	57,450	24,024	33,426	14,566
Clinton.....	45,394	19,116	26,278	11,494
Scott.....	60,000	24,104	35,896	20,119
Des Moines....	36,145	17,769	18,376	7,828

The vote on woman suffrage was 162,679, yes, and 173,020, no. The "yes vote" of the above four counties was 8,061; the "no vote" 18,941. Subtract these totals from the totals of the state vote

and 154,618 "yes" and 154,079 "no" remains, giving a majority of 539 for woman suffrage.

So it happened that once more counties containing populations largely foreign decided the issue. Did they decide the election honestly? That is a question of interest to Iowa just now. The returns revealed some suspicious facts. Nearly 30,000 more votes were cast on the suffrage proposition than in the Primary. Where did they come from? The President of the W. C. T. U., Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith, employed a detective after the election. His investigation covered 44 counties and was not confined to those wherein woman suffrage was lost. The findings have not been given to the public in their entirety but they were conclusive enough to cause an injunction suit to be filed against the Board of Elections and the Legislature to restrain them from accepting the official returns.

Registration was necessary for the Amendment, not for the Primary, yet thousands of unregistered votes apparently were cast upon the Amendment. All good election laws provide that a definite number of ballots shall be officially issued to each precinct; that the number of those deposited in the ballot box, the number spoiled and those unused shall not only tally with the number received, but the unused ones must be counted, sealed, labelled and returned with the certificate recording the count. This is the law of Iowa; but the report of the investigation, as given to the press, shows that in 35 counties out of the 44 investigated no tally list was used and there was nothing by which to check up in order to determine the correctness of the number on the certificate. In many cases no unused ballots were returned. The poll lists did not tally with the number of votes and even a recount could not reveal whether fraud or carelessness had led to the irregularity.

Despite the fact that the Iowa law commands a definite number of ballots and the same number of each kind to be distributed to each precinct, the separate suffrage ballot, in a number of cases, was reported by election officials as not having arrived until the voting had been in progress for some time; and in others they gave out an hour before the polls closed.

Forty-seven varieties of violations of the election law are alleged to have been committed. Do these indicate wilful fraud or mere ignorance and carelessness? Just now no one seems prepared to answer. Meantime Iowa, one of the most intelligent and progressive states in the nation, stands at the bar of public opinion accused of incapacity to conduct an honest election! How she will defend herself, what reparation she will make to her women, and what steps she will take to insure clean elections and better enforcement of her election law in the future are problems which await the Legislature. That body cannot refuse to take action of some kind without inviting the suspicion that her legislators prefer conditions which lend themselves to the base uses of election manipulators whenever they may care to avail themselves of them.

SOUTH DAKOTA—WHERE THE MALE FOREIGNER'S VOTE IS MIGHTIER THAT THE VOICE OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN

On November 7, 1916, woman suffrage and prohibition amendments were voted upon in South Dakota. It was the first time these two questions have gone to referendum in the same election and the results furnish interesting data for comparison.

Certain facts tell a story which should make progressive and patriotic Americans, and fair-minded Congressmen, reflect.

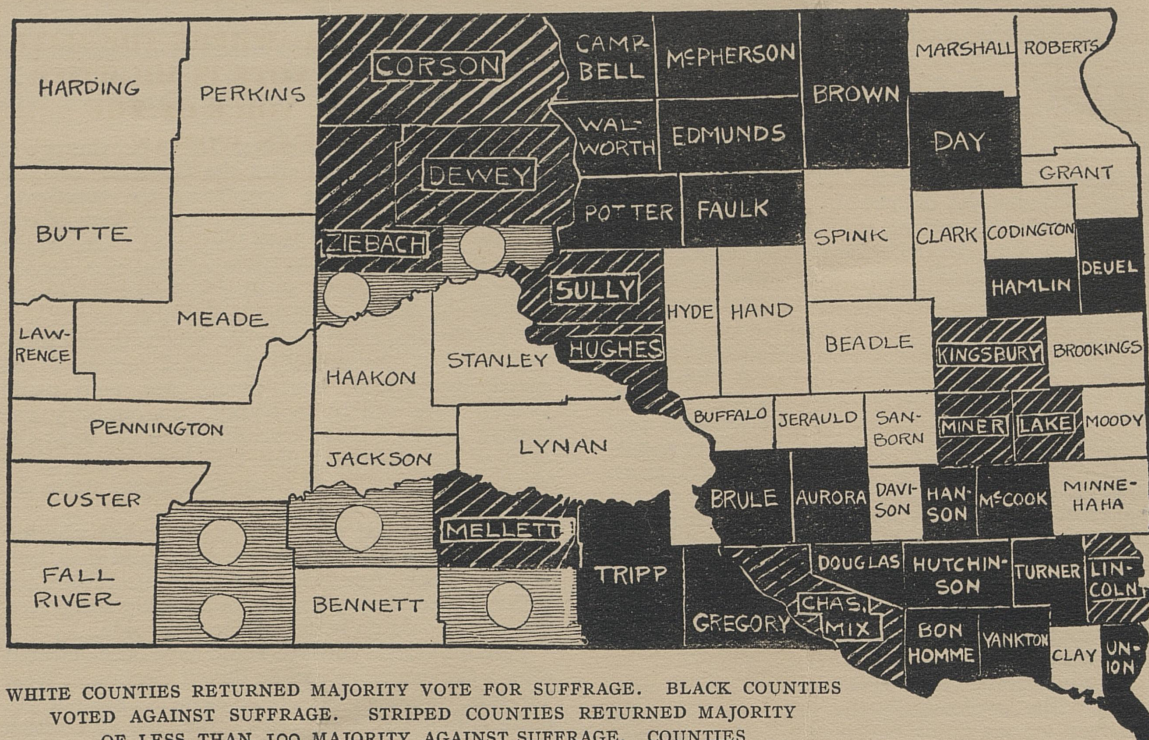
Prohibition was carried by a majority of 11,469; woman suffrage was lost by a majority of 4,664. Prohibition was lost in thirteen counties. In one of these, Lawrence, which lies in the heart of the mining country, woman suffrage was carried by a majority of 600. The reason is gratifying. Many miners from Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming and Utah, where woman suffrage has been in operation for years, now work in the Black Hills and easily put to rout the traditions, doubts and prejudices of their fellow-miners. More, the two women who managed the campaign in the county had been voters, but were disfranchised by crossing a state border line and the obvious injustice made a strong appeal to fair-minded men.

The total "yes" vote on woman suffrage was 51,687; the "no" vote, 56,351. The total "yes" vote of the nine counties listed below was 4,877; the "no" vote was 10,569. Subtracting from the state total the total of these nine counties, the record stands 46,810 "yes" votes and 45,782 "no" votes.

Who then are the voters of the nine counties who kept the women of an entire state disfranchised? The following table presents the answer:

Counties	Total Population	Total Native Parentage	Total Foreign and Foreign Parentage	Total German Austrian Russian, or of Such Parentage
Bon Homme . . .	11,061	3,448	7,613	4,759
Brule	6,451	3,008	3,443	1,556
Charles Mix	14,899	6,387	8,512	2,757
Campbell	5,244	600	4,644	3,491
Douglas	6,400	2,017	4,383	1,644
McCook	9,589	4,068	5,521	1,691
Hutchinson	12,319	2,671	9,648	7,515
McPherson	6,791	1,152	5,639	4,889
Turner	13,840	4,206	9,634	4,432

The large "no" vote in other parts of the state is accounted for by the same facts. The total popu-



lation is 583,888, the population of foreign birth or foreign parentage is 243,835. South Dakota is one of the *nine* remaining states where foreigners may vote on their "first papers" and citizenship is not a qualification for a vote.

The returns offer still other food for reflection. Hutchinson County, for example, carried prohibition and lost woman suffrage. It gave 584 dry votes; 510 wet votes. It gave 432 "yes" votes on woman suffrage and 1,583 "no" votes. Thus 921 more votes were cast on the suffrage proposition than on the prohibition question. The people in this county are German-Russians and exceedingly ignorant. Apparently they were not intelligent enough to be lined up to vote "no" on both questions. Is it not likely that those votes were intended to be "wet" and that they made a mistake and picked No. 6 instead of No. 7?

These German-Russians migrated from Germany and found a home in Russia some 230 or more years ago, in order to escape conscription. When Russia began to enforce conscription about 1888 the entire group came to America and settled in colonies in the Western states which at the time offered free lands. *They were totally illiterate then and have not yet escaped from the mental habits of the Middle Ages. These are the men who have denied American women the vote in South Dakota.*

A Federal Amendment, ratified by the Legislatures of the several States would secure to the American women of South Dakota the rights for which

American men in that State have voted. The entire western, or most American, part of the State carried for suffrage two years ago. One county adjacent to Wyoming has carried for woman suffrage in every referendum, namely, six.

The only argument against the Federal Amendment thus far advanced is that one group of states which want woman suffrage may force woman suffrage upon another group which does not want it. That argument works both ways. A group of counties which do not want woman suffrage can force disfranchisement of women upon counties which oppose it. The first argument is said to be inspired by the principle of American sovereignty. *The second raises the question as to whether our institutions shall be derived from Germany, Austria and Russia or from our home-grown and home-educated citizens?*

* * *

*We wish you all a glad New Year
And how to make it glad is clear.
You learnt as children from your mothers
The joy of giving joy to others.
So what could make your year so pleasant
As making us a New Year's present?
And what so good a gift can be
As freedom?—won't you set us free?*

VOTE FOR THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT.

THE STORY OF WEST VIRGINIA

West Virginia was the first southern state to submit a referendum on Woman Suffrage and the vote was taken November 7, 1916. The Amendment was defeated by the largest majority any suffrage amendment ever received. Unlike Iowa and South Dakota, where all the educated classes with few exceptions believe in woman suffrage, West Virginia is probably not yet converted. Arguments and excuses which did service in the West twenty-five years ago were brought forward as though just formulated. The illiteracy of the state is appallingly high, and the illiterate is universally an anti-suffragist.

The ever-present prohibition issue played an important if not a determining part. A prohibition law was voted in by an immense majority in 1914, but the "Wets" were undismayed and propose a re-submission as soon as they can get it. They apparently regard the woman suffrage amendment as an outer defense to be taken before the march on the main fort can be begun, and every "Wet," high and low, was on duty. The "Drys," who would do well to study Napoleon's rule of strategy—that is, "find out what your enemy doesn't want you to do and then do it"—were much disturbed as to what St. Paul would think were he here, and concluded not to be hasty.

At the Democratic Convention an anti woman spoke. The applause in the gallery and in the standing groups filling the outside aisles was uproarious and clearly an organized, carefully planted claque. The leaders were an ex-brewer, an ex-saloon keeper and the chief liquor lobbyist of the state. It was evident that they were there to intimidate the party, and they did. The Democrats threw a bouquet to the women in the form of a plank and then "double crossed" on it. Practically the same thing happened in the Republican Convention. They, too, endorsed a plank and "double crossed." There was apparently no difference between the two on that score. Men who had always been profound suffragists weakly confessed themselves afraid to speak for woman suffrage in the campaign lest votes be lost for their party. Political campaigners who went into the state, with the exception of Senator Borah and Raymond Robbins, were told not to mention suffrage, and they obeyed. Among these were Mr. Hughes, Republican, and Secretary Daniels, Democratic, each representing their respective national platforms, which included suffrage by state action. The "Wets" had the state literally by the throat.

Election day came. Women poll workers reported from many parts of the state that drunken hoodlums were lined up and driven into the precincts, saying boldly that they were going to vote "agin' the _____ women." The women workers testified with remarkable unanimity that their opposition was chiefly "riff-raff and illiterate negroes." Even an Excise Commissioner, under pay of the National Government, worked against woman suffrage all day in one precinct.

A premonition of what might happen appeared in September, when Judge John M. Woods, of the Circuit Court, instructed a grand jury to investigate

the political situation in Berkely County. He declared election conditions had become intolerable and that in his judgment one-third of the voters in that county were purchasable. Elections, he said, had degenerated into an auction where offices went to the highest bidder.

The election of November 7th over, the cry of fraud was so insistent that the Governor called a special session of the Legislature to investigate. Colonization, bribery and every known form of corruption was alleged to have been used. One of the chief papers of the state declared that the election scandals had surpassed all that had gone before and dubbed the opposing party "a den of thieves."

The Governor withdrew his proposed investigation. Why? Apparently the lifted curtain would reveal too much. That money was used many women were willing to testify. In one city one woman reported that "warrants were out after the elect of the town and that this was true in every ward of the city," and these were based upon the accusation of the use of money.

Others reported that men boldly asked whether they would be paid for suffrage votes, and if so, how much. When they found there was no reward for suffrage votes they scornfully but frankly announced that they could do better on the other side.

Perhaps woman suffrage would have been defeated after a fair campaign and an honest election in West Virginia. Perhaps the better elements are not yet quite convinced in majority. But the fact which stares us in the face is that it went down to defeat in an election that can only be described as *The Shame of West Virginia*.

* * *

"Yes, it will be ready about January 15th"

WHAT?

"Why the book you've asked us for so often."

The Woman Suffrage Year Book 1917

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Charts, Statistical Information,
etc. All Under One Cover.



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OBJECTIONS TO THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

(1) *It is the right of the States to determine who shall vote and on what terms.* This objection is urged by all opponents of woman suffrage but is either a barricade to defend themselves from the necessity of exposing the fact that they have no reasons, or is a play to postpone woman suffrage as long as possible. By a few it is urged conscientiously and with conviction.

The Constitution of the United States as now amended provides that no male citizen subject to state qualifications shall be denied the vote by any state. Were all the state constitutions amended so as to enfranchise women, the word male would still stand in the national constitution. Men and women would still be unequal, since the national constitution can impose a penalty upon a state which denies the vote to men but none upon the state which discriminates against women. A woman comes from Montana to represent that state in Congress. The State of Montana has done its utmost to remove her political disabilities, yet should she cross the border of her state and live in North Dakota, she loses all that Montana gave her. Not so the male voter. Enfranchised in one state, he is enfranchised in all (subject to difference of qualification only). The women of this nation will never be content with less protection in their right to vote than is given to men, and there is no other possible way to secure that protection except through amendment to the national constitution. No single state, nor the forty-eight collectively, can grant that protection except through the Constitution.

As granting to half the population of our country the right of consent to their own government, whose expenses they help to pay, is a question of fundamental human liberty, Congress and the Legislatures should be proud to act and to add one more immortal chapter to America's history of freedom.

(2) Several members from the South say: "We shall never consent to the grant of a vote to Negro women, therefore we oppose the Federal Amendment. A Federal Amendment no more enfranchises negro women than a State Amendment would, since the state can make any reasonable qualification of property ownership, taxation or education. It is understood that the far South has managed pretty generally to disfranchise the negro man by these means. Do these members mean to infer that the South is less free to act in the case of the negro woman? The difference in method is this: If women are enfranchised by Federal Amendment, white men will invoke the chivalry of the South and make the daughters of that section the political equals of Western and Canadian women. If Southern women are to be enfranchised by state referenda, white women must appeal to such negro men as still exercise the franchise, to vote to make them the Negro's political equal. If both methods are considered obnoxious on account of the race question it must be remembered that the white woman of the South is the political subject of the Negro sovereign and there she will remain until some power lifts her from that humiliating position. If there should be a single

Southern man who hopes and believes that no Southern woman will ever vote, he must be prepared to imagine the women of that section the political inferiors of all the women of the civilized world. The answer to that objection is found when the objector compels himself to serious, logical reflection. As a matter of fact the number of white females in every Southern state except two vastly exceeds the number of Negro females. Then why object? In South Carolina and Mississippi the Negro population, both male and female, exceeded the white male and female population.

In South Carolina voters must read, own and pay taxes on \$300 worth of property and in Mississippi voters must read the Constitution and these qualifications seem to protect the white race satisfactorily.

In the fifteen states south of Mason and Dixon line there are twice as many white women as negro women. Equal suffrage would tremendously increase the white vote and most helpfully raise the educational and moral standard of the electorate. Chief Justice Clark, of South Carolina, has repeatedly said that "woman suffrage is necessary to maintain white supremacy."

* * *

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

Published Monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1916

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

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

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

NAME OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, MANAGING EDITOR, AND BUSINESS MANAGER	POST OFFICE ADDRESS
Publisher, National American Woman Suffrage Association,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Editor, Charles T. Heaslip,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor, Charles T. Heaslip,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Business Manager, Miss Eleanor H. Bates,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of the total amount of stock.)

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, consisting of 67 organizations, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

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

None.

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

CHARLES T. HEASLIP, Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of October, 1916.

(Seal) MAY C. GUERIN,
(My commission expires March 30, 1917.)

ROOT AND THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

Mr. Root sees in a federal amendment providing for universal woman suffrage "a destruction of the right of self government and a subjection of the people of New York to the government of others." He thinks "such an attempt is contrary to the principles of liberty upon which the American union was established and without which it cannot endure."

Surely we in this state are continually being governed by others. A majority of our voters this year favored Mr. Hughes for the presidency, but Mr. Wilson is to have four years more of authority. Washington imposes internal revenue duties, corporation and income taxes upon us without a vote of our populace. Why is not that "contrary to the principles of liberty" if dictation as to our electorate is such? We have recently by constitutional amendment required the election of United States senators by popular vote instead of by the Legislatures and now it is urged that we abolish the Electoral College for direct popular choice of the president. How does that threaten our liberties? And as for liberties, is Mr. Root counting those of the men or the women of New York?—*Sentinel*, Rome, N. Y.

* * *

NORTH CAROLINA SPEAKS

"The old arguments that voting will unsex women, that the place of woman is in the home, have lost even the hollow echo of tinkling brass and sounding cymbal. The voting women of the West who have carried back into office our greatest statesman, Woodrow Wilson, are a band of womanly women; those who know them can testify to their gentle domesticity, their earnest acceptance of the duties of wifehood and motherhood.

"Can we feel that ours is a true Democracy when the opportunities, rights and privileges of the men and women of our Commonwealth are unequal?"—*Asheville*, N. C., *Times*.

* * *

THE TEST

"Two Southern conditions stand out glaringly. Either Southern Democratic men are cringingly accepting their partisan salvation from Western women, or Southern men of the Democratic party must honestly extend the ballot to Southern women, that these women may return to their Western sisters' support in the next campaign. There are four years in which to pay this debt and Southern men must prove their honor. It is no longer a question of 'chivalry.' The chivalry was all on the part of the Western men who enfranchised their women. Now nothing remains for the Southerner but to discharge the great obligation under which the Western woman voter has placed him."—*Times*, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

THINK THIS OVER

It has been urged in the past by the East that the South's representation be cut down because of the disfranchisement of Negroes. What ground for complaint will the East have when the equal suffrage West cries for a cutting down of representation hereabouts because of the unenfranchisement of women? We must never again have sectionalism. The way to avoid it in the great suffrage issue is to make it a national and not a state issue.—*Opinion*, Chambersburg, Pa.

* * *

Equal suffrage is as certain of ultimate adoption as the abolition of the saloon by country-wide consent. The longer a state deprives its women of the opportunity to help shape its legislation and have a voice in selecting its governing officers the poorer it is in results.—*Journal*, Richmond, Va.

* * *

THE ISSUE OF 1920

Before 1920 the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment will have passed Congress. Woodrow Wilson's greatest weakness has been his failure to see fundamental democracy itself in the justice of the national equal suffrage amendment. He has seen the justice of the cause but he was slow to see it as a national rather than a state issue. He is the only Presidential candidate of the major parties who ever voted at the polls to give the vote to women.

It is ridiculous to assume that equal suffrage is a states' issue. We have witnessed, this last week, university women going home to Illinois to vote for a President who is to direct the legislative destinies of Wisconsin just as much as of Illinois. How silly to say "a states' issue."

Those who are closest to the President insist that he sees this now. And the next Congress will, without doubt, and by the request of the President, pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment. This done, it becomes a states' issue until three-fourths of the states have ratified it, when it becomes a law of national application. This will eliminate it as a national issue in 1920.—*Journal*, Madison, Wisconsin.

* * *

FINANCE

Contributions received November 1st to 30th inclusive

ANNUAL PLEDGES		GENERAL DONATIONS	
Katharine Blunt.....	\$10 00	Helen H. Gardener....	\$25 00
Pa. College Eq. Suf. League.....	15 00	Minnesota W. S. Assn..	15 91
Mrs. B. A. Stickley....	15 00	North Dakota Votes for Women League.....	50 00
Mrs. H. B. Scott.....	100 00	Mrs. Isaac Lowry.....	12 50
Mrs. Carrie C. Catt....	5,306 92	Anonymous (through Mrs. Roessing).....	663 00
Anonymous (through Mrs. Roessing).....	337 00	Adella Potter.....	200 00
Mrs. George Notman...	200 00	Mrs. Stanley McCormick	211 00
Greenwich Eq. Franchise.....	100 00	Eq. Suffrage League of Baltimore.....	38 00
Mrs. George P. Miller..	250 00	Dr. Stella Mason.....	100 00
Mrs. Horace Hill.....	75 00		\$1,315 41
Providence W. S. Party	50 00		
Mrs. Sarah E. Guernsey	50 00		
Mrs. Clara Laddey....	10 00		
Hartford Eq. Franchise.....	100 00		
Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy	25 00		
Agnes Ryan.....	30 00		
Providence W. S. Party	100 00		
New Jersey W. S. Assn.	200 00		
Kate Gleason.....	200 00		
	\$6,973 92		
		CAMPAIGNS	
		Winifred Erickson....	\$252 25
		Total.....	\$8,541 58

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.
171 Madison Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

BULLETIN NUMBER 28

Issued by

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

SUBJECT:
WOMAN'S COMMITTEE

October 15, 1918.

The presidents of the state auxiliaries of the National American Woman Suffrage Association are quite familiar with the history of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. You know that from our National Board, Dr. Shaw, Mrs. McCormick and myself were appointed to serve on that committee. Dr. Shaw and Mrs. McCormick have given practically all their time to that committee. I have given comparatively very little, but I have carried some of its burdens and have given a good many days exclusively to Woman's Committee work.

The state suffrage associations were urged to join with other associations in the forming of State Women's Divisions and I believe have very generally given their ardent support to the work in most states.

The Woman's Committee early discovered that in the hasty organization of civilian activities, there were continued conflicts of authority for which no one was blamable, but which made the work of the Woman's Committee extremely difficult and its accomplishments far fewer than had been hoped at the outset. Other agencies in Washington went over the head of Woman's committee, often times through carelessness, with instructions for work to some other groups in the states, thus leaving out both the National Committee and the State Divisions. Eventually the order for work got to the State Divisions but by a round-about process.

The Woman's Committee was first to recognize that the remedy lay in the union of authority both in Washington and in the states. Our members have been entirely of one mind in urging a change and that change has now been accomplished. A Field Division in Washington composed half of men and half of women will take joint charge of the work with the State Councils of Defense and the Women's Divisions. The chairman of this new Field Division is Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Land; the vice-chairman is Dr. Shaw. The Woman's Committee united in requesting that three members of the Woman's Committee should be placed on the new Field Division. These three were Dr. Shaw, Miss Patterson, who has been Resident Director and Manager of the office, and Mrs. Lamar, who has had charge of the organization work. These three were so appointed. The Council of Defense (Cabinet officers only) have also appointed Miss Tarbell who had charge of the Publicity work, Mrs. McCormick, and Miss Agnes Nestor, who represents industrial women.

Each member of the Woman's Committee has served as chief of a department. Mine, as you know, was the Department of Educational Propaganda. As these departments will either be dropped or merged with other agencies in Washington or continue under the Field Division, I have urged that my department shall be continued with Mrs. Martha Evans Martin, who has served as Executive Chairman of my department, at its head.

Oct 15, 1918

Bulletin Number 28
(Woman's Committee)

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The Woman's Committee at the government's request will continue as an inactive organization for a short time in order that it may be called upon in emergency, if needed.

I write merely to make explanation of the change that has taken place. You will observe that two members of our Board are still conscripted for that work. I cannot tell you how grateful I am to be freed from that additional responsibility, which has seemed like the veritable straw which is reputed to have broken the camel's back.

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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
171 Madison Avenue, New York City, N.Y.

BULLETIN NUMBER 29

Issued by

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

SUBJECT:
CONVENTION

October 16, 1918.

At the meeting of the Executive Council, Indianapolis, April 18 and 19, 1918, it was voted to give the Board of Directors authority to declare an emergency and to call no convention in 1918, provided the amendment had passed Congress. In the event the amendment had been lost, it was understood that a convention would be called.

Neither of these alternatives has happened. The amendment has not passed nor is it lost, as it is still pending under a motion to reconsider. We still have hope that it will pass before Christmas as some changes of votes will be effected by the election. Our work in Washington must go right on without pause as should the plans for ratification also.

The Executive Section of the Board of Directors has discussed the matter several times with the result that I am authorized to put the case before you and ask for a vote on the questions involved.

In considering these questions please bear in mind these points:

(1) The convention could not now be held in Washington as that city offers no accommodations for so many people;

(2) It could not be held before Thanksgiving as there would not be time to arrange for it;

(3) It would therefore have to be held between December 1 and 21.

ADVANTAGES OF HOLDING CONVENTION -

- (1) A free discussion of situation and plans to meet it.
- (2) The understanding, unity and inspiration arising from such meetings.
- (3) The publicity attendant upon such a meeting.
- (4) The opportunity of presenting the annual budget and securing pledges to cover it.
- (5) The assembling of reports from Officers, Committees and States.
- (6) The election of officers (the term of the ten officers is two years and does not expire until 1919; the term of eight directors expires this year.)

Oct 16, 1918

THE ADVANTAGE OF NOT HOLDING CONVENTION -

- (1) The saving to the Association of expense of convention.
- (2) The saving of money expended by delegates in attendance.
- (3) The certain small attendance on account of cost of travel.
- (4) The break in preparation for work in Legislatures.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES -

- (1) The publication of the usual annual year book containing Reports of Officers, Committees and States.
- (2) The pledges of states and individuals for support of National to be given by mail (understood by all to be the only alternative if no convention is called.)
- (3) The election of the 8 directors to go over to the convention of 1919, which would probably be called in June.
- (4) National Officers to visit States wherein need exists for greater activity with possible conferences wherein groups of State Officers could meet with National Officers. (This might or might not be agreeable to the States).
- (5) In the event this Congress fails to pass the Amendment, a meeting of the Executive Council in Washington, the first week of the new Congress (March 4) provided we can secure accommodations for the members.

Kindly send in your votes at once.

Invitations for place to hold the convention of 1918 provided it is called will be gratefully received together with definite information as to the help your association will render the convention.

In the event no convention is held in 1918, one must be held in 1919. Our understanding in Indianapolis was that it should be held in May or June, provided none were held in 1918. Invitations for place in which to hold that convention will also be gratefully received.

P. S. The New York Section of the Board met today, October 14th. Present: Mrs. McCormick, Miss Hay, Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Laidlaw, Miss Young, Mrs. Park and Mrs. Catt. After hearing the above letter read, a motion was passed to the effect that I should notify you that these members of the Board believe there should be no convention in 1918, but they do not wish this to influence your vote or opinion on the matter.

Jan 23, 1917

PLAN FOR POLITICAL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION
IN THE STATES

The following is recommended to the State Suffrage Associations by the Official Board of the N. A. W. S. A. as a tentative plan which merges the usefulness of the Woman Suffrage Party work with the essential elements of club work.

The plan of organization is the enrollment, without dues, of the adult population in favor of woman suffrage, in every political district in the state.

The unit of organization shall be the political district.

The names of political districts vary in the different states. The smallest political district is the election district or precinct. Election districts and precincts are synonymous and comprise from 400 to 600 voters. Representative and assembly districts are synonymous, and comprise varying numbers of election districts or precincts.

OFFICERS

The officers of the State Association shall form a central committee, which shall choose a Chairman for The Woman Suffrage Party of the state.

The person in charge of an assembly or representative district shall be called district leader.

The person in charge of an election district or precinct shall be called a captain.

The leader for each assembly or representative district shall be appointed by the central committee, after consultation with the

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local clubs. The leader may be subsequently elected 2.
at an annual meeting composed of all the enrolled members
in the assembly or representative district, after the plan
of organization is well established.

CLUBS

The leader of the assembly or representative district shall
assign a definite number of election districts or precincts
within the district ^{to} each Club, so that each club shall have
part of the responsibility of the work of the organization.
If there are no existing clubs ready to undertake the work
in a given district, the leader may appoint a committee to
organize as many more clubs as circumstances indicate are
necessary. The clubs may pay dues and so become a source
of financial help to the district and state organization.
The leader shall appoint a Captain for each election district
or precinct. Each Captain shall secure as many assistants
as are needed.

DELEGATES

Beside the delegates from the clubs, the State Annual
Convention shall be composed of the leader and one delegate
for every 500 enrolled members of an assembly or representa-
tive district.*

**AUXILIARY-
SHIP**

Each assembly or representative district shall pay to
the State Association the sum of \$5.00 annually. This shall
be collected by the leader from clubs or individuals.*

METHOD

The primary aim of the Election District or Precinct Cap-
tain shall be: 1, To enroll all the men and women in the dis-
trict; 2, To educate the district for woman suffrage, so that
when the referendum occurs the Election District or Precinct
will be carried for woman suffrage; 3, To put behind every legis-

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later a woman suffrage constituency which he can count and whose opinion he is bound to respect; 4, To make the suffrage question a live issue in the district by such forms of suffrage activity as seem best suited to the character of the district.

The Captain shall secure a map of all election districts or precincts, and shall apportion to each worker a practicable amount of territory to cover.

The workers shall canvass and enroll both men and women, using enrollment cards, with space for the name and address of the person, the assembly or representative district, the election district or precinct, the town and state.

Enrollment cards will be furnished by the State Association. The cards should be kept on file by the Captain and duplicates sent to the State Headquarters. The following is a suggested form of enrollment card:

Name of the State Woman Suffrage Ass'n
Headquarters address

I,
ofStreet,City
Assembly or Representative District No.
Election District or Precinct, No.
believing that women as well as men should vote, hereby join The Woman Suffrage Party, with the understanding that it is non-partisan in character, and that it does not interfere with my regular political affiliations.

Jan 23, 1917
4.

The workers should be provided with suitable literature, for distribution among those who are opposed or indifferent; also with the official list of the registered voters in the election district or precinct, and of the voters enrolled in the political parties, in order that Democrats and Republicans may be reminded that many of their own leaders favor equal suffrage, and that Socialists and Prohibitionists may be reminded that equal suffrage is a plank in their respective platforms.

The workers should request all suffragists to personally write or interview the legislative representatives of the district.

At every meeting held in the district, a resolution should be passed and mailed promptly, requesting the District Representative to consider favorably the woman suffrage bill; if he is already in favor, his attitude should be commended, and he should be urged to do his utmost to get the bill submitted.

A large, well-advertised Assembly District or Representative District meeting with some important person as chief speaker, should be held at such intervals as local conditions make possible.

* Changes will have to be made in the State and National Constitutions to provide for the election of delegates from these political district organizations to the Conventions, and for the payment into the State and National Treasuries, a proportional part of the money raised in the Assembly or Representative Districts, to correspond to the dues paid by regular clubs.

Amendment to Constitution of the N.A.W.S.A. proposed by Miss Laura Clay.

Amend Article VII, on Election of Officers, Section I, by adding after the last line, "and the election be decided by a formal ballot." these words: "The result of the formal ballot for the preceding officer nominated shall be announced before taking the informal ballot for the next."

The object of this amendment is to secure the right to those who may wish a certain person to be on the Official Board to vote for her for another position on it if she is not elected on a preceding ballot ~~for~~ a position for which they had previously voted for her.

Amendment to Constitution of N.A.W.S.A. proposed by Miss Laura Clay.

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1917

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Recommends:

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

1. That the National American Woman Suffrage Association concentrate its utmost endeavors to secure the passage of the Federal Amendment by the 65th Congress during the early months of 1918.

2. That if the 65th Congress fails to submit the amendment before the Congressional election of 1918 a number of Senatorial and Congressional Districts be selected equal to the number of votes necessary to change the result in each House, and that a campaign against candidates opposing the Federal Amendment be made in the 1918 elections. In our opposition to individual candidates, loyalty to the Federal Amendment shall not take precedence over loyalty to the country.

3. That a compact of State Associations willing and ready to conduct campaigns for ratification of the Federal Amendment be formed.

4. That as soon as the Federal Amendment be passed, the Washington House be sublet, if possible, and a Campaign Headquarters opened in Chicago, or St. Louis.

5. That the Board of Directors be authorized to call a mid-year meeting of the Executive Council in a centrally located City for the purpose of consideration of plans for the ratification of the Federal Amendment if it shall have passed Congress, or plans for the Congressional Elections if it shall not have passed.

THE STATE CAMPAIGNS

6. That Kentucky be asked not to proceed to referendum in 1918.

7. That Nebraska be asked not to submit the entire question to vote in 1918 by the circulation of an initiative petition.

8. That a definite offer of help be made to South Dakota when the needs and plans of the State have been set forth by the President.

9. That a visit of survey be made to Oklahoma and that no aid be extended to the campaign unless assurances which seem reliable can be obtained from the two dominant political parties.

[1917]

10. That Massachusetts be urged to do its utmost to prevent a referendum from the Constitutional Convention.

11. That the Michigan Convention to be held in January be urged to consider carefully the needs of the campaign and to take definite and clear action as to what it will do and what help it wants from the outside.

12. That the request of Arkansas be considered and advisory action taken.

WAR SERVICE

13. (a) That the National American Woman Suffrage Association continue the four special departments devoted to war service, namely, Food Production, Thrift or Food Saving, Americanization and Economic Protection.

(b) That a new department designed to maintain the Woman's Hospital Unit in France be established.

(c) That these five departments be placed under the direction of a Committee, the Chairman of which shall be a member of the National Board.

(d) That each State auxiliary be asked to establish a War Service Committee, composed of a Chairman, and Chairmen of each of the five special departments of suffrage war service together with an additional one on Liberty Loans. This Committee of Seven shall direct the war service for each State Association and shall work in co-operation with the State Division of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense in each State.

CONSTITUTION

14. That the Board of Directors be increased by the addition of four new members.

15. That the rule established last year be continued, that is, that the Board be permitted to appoint four Chairmen of main departments who shall be members of the Board but without a vote.

16. That all questions concerning the Budget for the National Association be referred to the Executive Council instead of the Convention.

[Sept 15, 1911]

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

In my article of Aug. 5th I endeavored to point out that the proposed new constitution made radical changes in the operations of the N.A.W.S.A. by the surrender of the Convention's right of a free choice of officers; the surrender of the equal rights of auxiliaries to cast their full vote for all measures when called for by five states; the removal of several prudential requirements for fixing responsibility of officers, especially in the expenditure of the Association's money; and by passing over to the discretion of a centralized board the constitutional provision for conducting stated branches of work by committees whose chairmen have seats in the Executive Committee and the Convention. The organic nature of these innovations is not fully manifest until they are taken in connection with the formation of the convention which is to elect the centralized board. Instead of being delegates from substantial state associations or national suffrage societies they are to be delegates from local associations of fifty persons or more, who shall pay ten dollars for every fifty bona fide members, the local association deciding what shall constitute bona fide membership. While several excellent articles have appeared in the Woman's Journal pointing out how such a system of local auxiliaries will have a disintegrating effect upon state associations there are still some aspects unmentioned which may well cause anxious forebodings in officers of state associations. What rights are state societies assured under the new constitution? Will the centralized board have the right if it sees fit to send organizers into a state to organize these little local auxiliaries? When a campaign is near or on hand will that board have the right to assume its management, if it is invited to do so by one of these little auxiliaries? If not, why not? and what security have the present state associations that it will not be done? Also, at the time of this writing nothing

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has been said to show how easy it will be with this provision for partisans to control a convention. The accepted requirements of membership are rapidly becoming the simple ones of party membership, such as the National has officially recommended for Political District organization, which has much in its favor for marshalling the whole suffrage sentiment of a state for political or campaign work; but it should have some safe-guarding before it is allowed as a basis without question or proof for votes in the convention. With the facilities afforded in any large city for obtaining such enrolled members a few hundred dollars expended in paying dues for delegates all actuated by the same partisan desire could completely control the election of a centralized board and still keep entirely within the letter of the new constitution as contained in this clause; and it needs no amplification to show what unlimited opportunities for political trickery are afforded by it.

With a centralized board of inordinate powers, elected by a system which displaces the state as the usual unit of auxiliaryship by little local societies, it is certain that whether the word is retained in the name or not the spirit of American nationalism will have disappeared from the N.A.W.S.A. The genius of American government is sectional representation. It is fundamental in the Federal government where in its most august legislative body little Rhode Island is equally represented with ~~the~~ vast Texas. Though the N.A.W.S.A may reject the model of the federated states it cannot alter the fact that the states ^{are} the political units of the nation, and that any political movement has to deal with them as units. It is self-contradictory that within the same year the N.A.W.S.A. should recommend to its auxiliaries political district organization and offer for its own government such a constitution as is proposed. Any political party which should ignore the characteristics of American politics would foredoom itself to failure. A national woman suffrage association cannot any better afford to discard sectional representation than a political party. In both the

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people demand evidence of some unity in sentiment and interests between themselves and those who represent them in legislature or stand as exponents of principles they are asked to accept. As the object of the N.A.W.S.A. is propagandism of the principles of Woman Suffrage an essential branch of its service is to present them in an aspect to commend them to the unconverted multitudes in all sections of the country, diversified as they are in political opinion, business interests and social views. If the public shall learn that the N.A.W.S.A. in convention assembled had actually resorted to a constitutional revision for the purpose of excluding all women except those in the vicinity of New York from its official honors the effect would be to create indifference or arouse positive antagonism to it among the people of the excluded sections. No plea of increased business efficiency would even soften the offended feeling. Sectional representation through officials connected with the N.A.W.S.A. which the present constitution and practice emphasize, is the best, the quickest, the easiest and immensely the cheapest means to win friends to its support in the various sections and groups of states. Personal sympathy with sectional feeling, familiarity with the social and political ideas and skill in presenting the suffrage cause in aspects in harmony with them are the agencies of its usefulness to the Association. It is evident that such service can be rendered usually better by persons living in those sections rather than resident at headquarters, since ~~near~~ a little circle in close vicinity to New York could scarcely hope for more of such influence outside of their own section than might be exerted by the firm of a New York publishing house. ~~Comments~~ Clear statement on the usefulness of officers elected from different sections in this branch of the service have been already made by Mrs. McCulloch, our first vice-president and a woman who does more by her living presence to recommend to the people of her state and section the principles of the Association which is honored by having her on its official board than can be done by tons of printed

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matter sent out from a New York headquarters.

The new constitution also cuts out the Executive Committee, which is another provision for this branch of the service. It is composed of the members of the Official Board, Chairmen of Committees and the president and an elected member from every auxiliary state having a hundred or more members. It holds two meetings in connection with the conventions. Its decisions arrived at before the convention are to be presented in the form of recommendations to the convention; and as each member ~~has~~ ^{has} ex-officio a voice and a vote in the convention, she has some power to cause her recommendations to be confirmed by the convention. In the meeting ^{after} at the close of the convention the votes of the Committee are decisive on business referred to it by the convention or falling properly within its purview as a committee composed of members of the convention. (See Concluding Executive Committee meetings in Proceedings of annual conventions).

State members of the Executive Committee, being elected by organized state associations, are in turn responsible and competent representatives from the states to attend to the business which concerns all in the National conventions; and then are recognized and instructed exponents of the principles of the National to their respective communities. They speak for their state to the National; and they speak for the National to their state. But the new constitution eliminates this Executive Committee and introduces instead an Advisory Council, which is the only provision whatever for sectional representation or for the participation of its auxiliaries, outside of those represented on the centralized board, in the control of the organization's affairs, except the right to send delegates to the convention. It is proposed that the Advisory Council shall consist of chairmen of such committees as the centralized board may choose to appoint, the members of that board and the presidents of auxiliaries. As the units of auxiliaryship are no longer to be state associations, but local societies of fifty or more bona fide members, what constitutes bona fide membership

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to be decided by themselves, and as there is not necessarily any bond of union between such locals in their own state it is not likely that they will be efficient representatives of their state to the National; and as they are not ex-officio members of the convention, they are not likely to go from the convention well-informed exponents of the principles of the N.A. W.S.A. to their own people. They have no real power; their sole function is what is described in that constitution, - to give advice; and no unfinished or other business can be referred to them in the final meeting, as it is unparliamentary for the convention to refer business to a body all of whose members are not necessarily members of itself. Such an Advisory Council can no more take the place of voting representatives of sections than the advisory committee ^{near New York} can take it, though they can meet the officers at headquarters once a month; and for very much the same reasons, which are also very much the same reasons why women belonging to the Association are seeking the right to vote, though they have the right already to give unlimited advice.

The reasons advanced why the N.A.W.S.A. should concentrate all this power in the hands of a centralized board appear to be that the work which properly comes to board members at headquarters is so paramount to any which ~~which~~ can be accomplished by officers outside that they ought not to be hampered by an obligation to consult with the others; but that the N.A.W.S.A. should replace them by some nearer, ^{as} in the opinion of the promoters of this constitution headquarters needs several more persons for its service. In short, several business enterprises needing time, labor and money ought to be attended to at headquarters and the officers located there ought to have them in charge. On the other hand it is submitted by opponents that it is a dangerous experiment to change methods tried by time and proved good for untried ones just in the midst of the struggle. The plan of ^{an} Executive Committee of state representatives and of

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6.

officers in charge of affairs from different sections has the advantage of giving auxiliaries some opportunity of personal knowledge of the reasonable intelligence and devotion to the cause of the women of their section, and with that they can rely on them to be at least safe in attending to business. But what can be said of a proposition to choose managers of business which involves all that the advocates of this constitution claim for it by the hit-or-miss methods of election at a popular convention, formed of delegates collected as this constitution provides? All the disasters feared by those who want work done quickly, without delays by correspondence or the impossibility of bringing women with different sectional views to agreement upon its advisability, are nothing to what is to be apprehended from unfortunate elections caused by compulsion to choose from a limited section women who are inevitably absolutely unknown to the very large majority of the delegates; and whose removal, once they are chosen, is practically impossible.

Fortunately, the present constitution is flexible enough to allow all these new enterprises to expand with healthy rapidity without running into dangerous experiments. When the Woman's Journal came into the control of the N.A.W.S.A., the Official Board, though composed of members separated as far as the Gulf from the Great Lakes, had sufficient grasp of the situation to place its business in the hands of a young and energetic manager, who is on the way to make it a fine business success. Such resolutions as were passed recently by the S.B. Anthony club of Cincinnati, in favor of working for the W. Journal, and whose example will be followed by many others are indicative of a far better future for that enterprise than giving over to a centralized board such powers as are contemplated by this constitution. Expanding business of a financial sort ought to be met by the employment of agents who shall be under the supervision of a disinterested Board, and subject to removal whenever they prove unequal to their responsibilities.

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7.

Such supervision as this is perfectly possible for the slow methods of a Board which meets once or twice a year and does some business by correspondence; and is far preferable to centralized power in one section, which might act much more rapidly indeed, but whose judgment might be far more influenced by sectional bias and interest than is good or acceptable to an Association which so far has established its right to be called the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

Sept 15th, 1911/