

Speech and resolutions of N. Y.
suppression victory in 1917 - must
be shortly thereafter -

Friends,

We have assembled together to celebrate the most glorious single victory of the cause of Woman Suffrage since Wyoming, glorious Wyoming, gave to the world the first true democracy. New York, the Empire State of the Union, has given women full suffrage by an overwhelming popular vote of the men, a pitiful bare majority holding us in suspense while official returns were suspiciously counted and recounted, but a magnificent majority which no enemy has dared to attack. New York, the Empire State of the Union. Its population

comprises nearly ² one-tenth of
the whole population of the U.S.
It has within its boundaries
the largest city in the world,
and that city itself gave a
splendid majority, though the
State outside did not need it
to carry the amendment
triumphantly. All the flimsy
objections of expediency, which
would limit full suffrage
to ~~previously settled com-~~
~~munities~~, without large
cities have been cast aside
by the judgment of this
great city and this great state.
This splendid victory has brought
into sight the goal for which

we have long³ sought the
establishment of woman suf-
frage throughout our coun-
try. A little while ago, yes,
even one short year ago, this
goal would have satisfied
all our aspirations. But in
this time our vision has been
enlarged. Our country has gone
into the world-wide war; and
our hearts demand, and the
world demands to know how
this suffrage victory affects
the great struggle; and the
answer is that it is
thrice a victory. Our country
has entered the war in de-
fense of national rights and

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"to make the world safe for
democracy"; When the second
liberty loan was offered our
people were told that the sub-
scription of this tremendous
sum by millions of liberty
loving citizens would be worth
a great battle in showing to
the enemy that our people
were united and firm in
defending these principles. In
October that battle was won by
an over subscription of the
loan by approximately ten
millions of liberty loving cit-
izens; and on Nov. 6th a great
victory was won, because
New York's voice declared that

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America had been made
safe for democracy. For what
is this Democracy for whose
^{defense} our brave men are offering
their lives on land and sea?
Its principles were laid down
in the Declaration of Indepen-
dence; and its corner stone is
that "all just governments ^{derive} their
just powers from the consent
of the governed." Like all great
principles, it wrought slowly in
molding the National institutions
into harmony with itself.

Manhood suffrage was not
attained at a bound; and
before it attained its completion
womanhood suffrage had be-
gun to make its way
in school suffrage in Ken-

truly in 1836 and full suffrage
in Wyoming in 1869. It grew through
heroic struggles in many states
until in 1916 equal suffrage
for men and women was de-
clared to be the ideal of the dem-
ocratic-republican principles of
the United States. For in 1916 the
chosen delegates of every political
party in the Union put a woman
suffrage plank in their party
platforms from which they ap-
pealed for the support of the
people, ^{and} ^{the support of the} ^{people,} ^{then,} ^{is the democracy}
which our nation has entered
the world-war to defend; and
this is the democracy whose
triumph in America New York
made tangible on Nov. 6th
If our numbers were made to

If the Liberty Loans have proved
the material resources of our
country to defend democracy,
the New York victory has proved
its spiritual resources. Let us
dig down to bed rock in estima-
ting the war value of
our suffrage victory.
The war has shown to
the world in a way it
never knew before that wo-
men's part in war is as
necessary as men's. Under
modern conditions, there
is not an army in the
field that could be
sustained there without
the support of the
women in the indus-

tries at home. Perhaps it
has always been perceived,
even if dimly, that the
national spirit is as de-
pendent upon the spirit
of women as upon that
of men. But the material
support of women in the
war has been a ~~great~~ ^{great} ~~thing~~ ^{thing} in
itself. In food produc-
tion, in food conservation,
in work in munitions fac-
tories, in floating hospitals, in Red
Cross work, in Christian Ass-
ociation work, in short, in the
most ~~important~~ ^{important} ~~of the~~ ^{of the}
~~work~~ ^{work} ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~war~~ ^{war} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~never~~ ^{never}
~~before~~ ^{before} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~so~~ ^{so} ~~important~~ ^{important}
the morale of the fighting men
and so evident. And this
equal share of women in
the burdens of work has

been emphasized by the
sight of the sufferings of
women in the war zone
which have never been
equalled in the annals
of history. The highest ideal

of ~~Patriotism~~ ^{Patriotism in women,}
which shall ~~claim all their activities~~
is a voice of National strength

whose ~~work~~ ^{as the ef-}
forts of all who desire and
to develop to the highest degree
victory in this war. By
patriotism I do not mean
etc.

The strength of that devotion
and the height of its usefulness
is measured by the
nobility of that ideal. For
the spirit of man responds
to its ideal, but can

mount no higher. The ideal of
 Prussianism is an antoersary
 of a class of a man; and the
 women of the Central Powers
 have shown to what a degree
 of self-sacrificing efforts their devo-
 tion to that ideal will carry them.
 We should be false to women-
 hood if we failed to give all
 honor to the spirit of womanhood
 animated even by the ideal
 of antoersary; and we shall be
 false both to womanhood and
 to Democracy if we do not
 expect ^{much} a finer spirit and higher
 achievements from American
 women as we believe democra-
 cy is a higher ideal than

autocracy. 11. But there is this
difference between those autocratic
countries and America. Those
women have attained their ideal
they are in possession of all the
advantages of autocracy. Both the
men and the women are content
with the ~~benefits~~ of a government
which is not responsible to the
people, and relieves them of the
duties of self-government. In the de-
sire that an autocracy fills the
desires of the people it can depend
upon their willingness to make
the needful sacrifices to maintain
and defend it. But in America our
ideal is the right of the people to
govern themselves through gov-
ernmental instrumentalities
always responsible to the
people. This ideal has been

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attained by men. Now in this
war they are asked to give all
~~for their government~~ ^{country} because
they have received all the ^{common} ~~govern~~
ment can confer. But the exigen-
cies of the war are proving that
women also are asked to give
all; and so far they have not
received all. Democracy is only
half fulfilled. A perception of the
vital discrepancy of what is
asked of women and what
is given to women has
already wrought upon the
nations involved in the war or
close to it that Denmark has
extended suffrage to women;
England has promised it; Rus-
sia has granted it, and almost
the whole of Canada has done

the same. It ^{is} to the honor of
the United States that even be-
fore we were engaged in the
war in 1916 every political party
declared its faith in equal suf-
frage. If because of the intricacies
of our Federal government these
aspirations have been fulfilled in
a portion of the States, yet those political
declarations can be and will be
accepted by women as full rec-
ognition for fulfillment if the people
prove that they express their honest
intention. This has been done in
a magnificent manner in New
York, and with this manifesta-
tion of true faith the patriotism
of the womanhood of America
has been lifted to loftier possi-
bilities of devotion and service. What
labors, what sacrifices, shall be made

possible to American women ^{14.} to ~~stand~~
estake the world's safety for
"Democracy" when Democracy is
made sure of themselves? Therefore
we have a right to say that the
woman suffrage victory in New
York is a great war victory. It is
many triumphs whenever it sees
a denial of democracy in this
country, when we are claiming
to be its champion. In my
opinion, the suffrage associa-
tion has a great duty to per-
form in making it clear to the
people that every opposition to the
right of women to an equal voice
in government is of aid and
comfort to the enemy. It matters
not from what quarter this oppo-
sition comes; or what excuses
it makes. The American people by

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accepting the platforms of the political parties, has accepted woman's suffrage as an essential part of Democracy; and the American people are united in a war "to make the world safe for democracy." Differences of opinion are allowable as long as any subject remains in the realm of discussion. But when any policy has become entwined with the objects for which the nation is at war, opposition to it weakens the force we are able to bring against the enemy. It has been a favorite objection by those who oppose suffrage for women that the majority of women do not want it. Such a claim has always been without ascertained foundation, and this war has proved its utter

worthlessness. It may be said with equal truth that the Germans prefer an autocracy to a government responsible to the people, and an autocracy of a class or of a Kaiser is of the same essence as the autocracy of a sex. But this war has brought us to see that the German autocracy is one which can give no guarantees which can be trusted by a nation or a man; and one with which we cannot come to a conclusive peace. If there are women in this country who are not willing to bear their share in making our government a true democracy, they are no more entitled to consideration than the slackers ^{among men} who desire to shirk their share ⁿ in defending our

government ¹⁷ against its ene-
mies. It is time for every man
and every woman to stand with a
united front in support of
every measure

Madam Chairman and Ladies,

War Savings Fund Speech
Esping - Summer 1917

I am pleased to have this opportunity to address an audience of women on one of the great calls which the government is making upon our people; for I think the War Savings Fund is of all the financial plans of the government the most appealing to women and the most far reaching in its effects upon the national life.

Our government wants the people to exercise thrift, because without it it seems that even our magnificent national resources will not suffice for the needs of the war.

Women, as mothers and teachers, have their noblest task in rearing and guiding the home-life children in the understanding and practice of virtue? We have cause to be grateful that the government has devised this plan whereby the nation may be educated to the dignity of applying self-control and trained intelligence to saving the products of human labor, which constitute the soul of thrift and separates it forever from parsimony or niggardliness.

It is a wise lesson to be taught in the family; and so important an element in the moral education of children that every mother and teacher has occasion to rejoice in the simple and practical method of making little savings such as are in the power of every person, children as well as grown-ups, with the visible evidence of their cumulative value and security of future profit.

Our government wants every citizen at this crisis to give a guarantee of his or her patriotism. A universal expression of it now is equal in moral value to an army in the field. Patriotism is a sentiment so splendid in its display when it is an outburst of a nation's feeling in response to the call of a national emergency that it requires some effort to realize that it is more than a spontaneous expression of a noble instinct, and to remember that it is rooted in the home, in the lessons learned at the fireside, in the elevated impressions made upon the mind in the home circle; that its spirit of

self-sacrifice and devotion to ideals is the product of the home life. In the War Stamps our government has devised a plan whereby every citizen, young and old, rich and poor, may by a visible sign declare that he or she is helping our country to bear its financial burdens. In order to raise the 2,000, 000,000 of dollars which is the goal of the loan, every man, woman and child must subscribe about \$20.00. It is a noble ambition which I wish every woman would cherish, to use her influence and effort so that every member of her household should be entolled by name in this patriotic enterprise, and that the aggregate of the family should reach at least the \$20.00 for every member.

The Government needs our money; These War Savings stamps are designed to enlist the patriotism of our people in providing part of the great sums it needs by teaching ~~thrift and applying the savings~~ the habit of saving, so that the financial burdens of the country may be as lightly borne as possible. And here the far reaching benefits of the War Savings plan stretch out into greater hopefulness than any other which has been devised; for ~~it~~ it is based upon an improvement in the character and the intelligence of our nation. As a nation we have many national virtues; but thrift is not one of them. The very affluence of our resources has blinded our eyes to the ~~fewer~~ ~~of their~~ dignity and power of their economical and intelligent expenditure. In all the productive arts our people are pre-eminent. Our business men are without superiors in ~~great~~ the successful management of great financial enterprises; But in wise conservatism of our resources we have much to learn, and women have a very large share in that part of the work. It is computed that outside of strictly business expenditures, women in this country spend %90 of all the money. Surely, it is peculiarly their province to take a deep interest in the War Savings plans. To me it seems the most inspiring task which has been offered in all the financial schemes. The vast sums our

government must spend are enough to stagger the imagination; and to fill our minds with apprehension for the future financial condition of the country. But if the first lesson, the lesson of unity in effort of the whole nation in well-directed and intelligent saving and thrift is taught and accepted by our people, the burden, stupendous as it is, could be lightly borne. Many families know that thrift is a sure means of ensuring family well-being; what results might be obtained if those same lessons could be applied by the nation moved by one impulse. Already we have begun to apprehend it to some degree. Our nation has learned that by unity of action an hour's saving of daylight helps the prosperity of the whole country and does not diminish its comfort when all practice it at once. The country before long will learn the lesson which the Temperance people are teaching, that the nation cannot afford the wholesale destruction of food stuffs in making intoxicating liquor. I wish statistics were at hand to show how many economies, too little to be appreciable when individuals practice them, but enormous when a nation unites on them can be devised when once the lesson is learned that the nation must study how to save its resources. There is the problem of rats, for instance. It requires the whole product of the labor and equipment of two hundred thousand men to feed the rats which devour our grain. A united national war against rats could eliminate them. I wish I had at hand statistics of many other things which could be saved by a nation acting as one man; but these I have mentioned are enough to illustrate what may be accomplished by united effort, which is impossible without that unity.

The Government has set aside five days, beginning with June 24th, and culminating on June 28th, for a great campaign to secure pledges for the two billion dollars which it is the aim to raise by the War Thrift Stamps. The money is not to be paid down, but pledges taken

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for monthly payments . Before that time, evry patriotoc citizen should resolve earnestly to aid all she can to help; and it would be well before that time to make a study of how much can be pledged on or before the
Juen 28th.

As an investment, the Baby Bonds as they are called, have the same security as all the Liberty Loan Bonds. Though they call for only $\frac{1}{2}$ of our instead of $\frac{1}{4}$ I)4 , they seem to bear less interest ; but that is more than made up, because the interest is compounded every thre months. The whole amount is to be paid in five years; but if there aré ises a necessity for realizing on them earlier, there is provision made for doing so on ten days' notice, with the payment of three per cent.

Let us all think of these things, and be ready to do our full share on June 28th.

shall work be dropped I. on the Federal Amendment
and efforts confined to state legislation
Talk at
Nat'l Convention
of NAWSA
1916

While I am convinced that there is a field for appropriate National legislation in obtaining suffrage for women I am one of the many who do not believe that the pursuit of a Federal Constitution Amendment is a profitable expenditure of the energies of the National Suffrage Association. It is perfectly clear that such an amendment is by no means necessary to the success of our cause. It is usually advocated chiefly as a means of lessening the labor of the suffragists; in a word, as a "short cut" to Woman Suffrage. It is my purpose to show by a brief review of the making and amending of the Constitution that the S.B. Anthony Amendment gives ~~no promise~~ affords little promise of such a result.

As we know, the present United States Constitution was submitted to the people in 1787 to surcede the Articles of Confederation under which the country had been governed since 1778. The Articles of Confederation were ~~unquestionably~~ distinctly a league among independent and sovereign States, in which each joined in its sovereign capacity. But this league of sovereign states was found not to be equal to the requirements of the new nation; and so in 1787 Congress called a convention to formulate a new constitution. By the statesmanlike genius of the delegates, especially of Alexander Hamilton, the Convention finally formulated a Constitution deriving its powers and acting directly upon the People of the United States, ~~instead~~ instead of the several States in their sovereign capacity. But notwithstanding the Revolutionary war had proved that a league among sovereign states had failed to meet the requirements of national life, the attachment of the people to State sovereignty was so strong that it appeared probable that the Convention would find it impossible to come to an agreement between the advocates of a centralized government and those of State sovereignty if Dr. Johnson, a delegate, had not suggested a means of

compromising the opposite claims by having the sovereignty and equality of the States recognized by the provision that each State should send an equal number of members to the Senate of the National Congress. But even with this and other concessions to the rights of the States, it was difficult to persuade the Convention to make the great sacrifices of the rights of the States which Hamilton and others of like views felt to be necessary for a more perfect union of the people. The state of New York so resented the disposition of the Convention to surrender some of the rights of the States that all her delegates except Hamilton withdrew from the Convention. Even after the factions had come to a reluctant agreement the refusal of the people ~~the~~ ~~constitution~~ to ratify ~~such~~ a constitution which had surrendered so much of the sovereignty of the States seemed imminent, and was averted only by the strenuous efforts of such statesmen as John Jay, James Madison, and especially, Alex. Hamilton. It was ~~should~~ only by the promise that ten amendments, ~~usually~~ ~~called~~ ~~the~~ ~~Bill~~ ~~of~~ ~~Rights~~ ~~amendments~~ ~~which~~ should immediately be submitted, that the necessary nine states were induced to ratify it. These ten amendments are usually called the Bill of Rights Amendments, and they limit the new powers of Congress and affirm those of the States. Virginia finally ratified with the declaration that she was at liberty to withdraw from the Union whenever its powers were used for oppression; and New York ratified after Hamilton had declared that no state could ever be coerced by an armed force.

The country from this period was divided into two parties, the Federalists, who were in favor of a strong centralized government, and the anti-federalists, who held to the sovereignty and rights of the States. As we all know, this division has persisted ever since in parties of various names.

The 11th Amendment was passed to defend a State right which had been attacked by a Supreme Court decision; and the 12th ~~was~~ ~~merely~~ ~~an~~ ~~amendment~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~constitution~~ ~~which~~ ~~merely~~ altered the method of electing the President and Vice President.

Until after the war of the States no more amendments were passed.

Then came the three called the War Amendments. The 13th Amendment forever forbidding slavery was submitted in 1865. It was rejected unconditionally by only two States of the 36 which then formed the Union. The secession States, having taken steps for readmission on the principles of the Amnesty Proclamation of President Lincoln, the new legislatures rescinded the acts of secession and ratified the 13th Amendment. The legal right of secession for which they had fought had passed into history as The Lost Cause; The slaves had been emancipated as a war measure; and the Amendment was accepted as the logical outcome of the war and the conclusion of a controversy which had raged for the establishment of the government.

The history of the other two war amendments, which are those involving the doctrine of States Rights, are known. Congress proposed the 14th Amendment. Only 23 States out of the 37 would ratify it. Then Congress passed the ~~Reconstruction Acts~~ Reconstruction Acts. The ~~State~~ governments of ten of the secession States were not recognized; they were put under military government and re-admission to the Union refused until the 14th Amendment was ratified. Under this coercion those ten States ratified the Amendment and carried it; though four non-secession States never ratified it.

By a provision of that Amendment by which the States were to lose representation in Congress in proportion to the number of male citizens who might be excluded for suffrage for the first time there was incorporated in the Constitution a provision protecting male citizens which did not extend to female citizens; and the women of the United States by one and the same act were discriminated against by the supreme law of the land and given nearly a million more of new political masters in the persons of the emancipated negro men.

The 15th Amendment was carried by the same tactics; though the number

of non-seceding States which did not ratify increased to eight.

The so-called S.A. Anthony Amendment is a repetition of the 15th, with the substitution of the word "sex" for "race, color or previous condition of servitude". Before it can become law it must be ratified by 36 State legislatures. It is hardly to be supposed that the ten coerced States now will subscribe voluntarily to a principle which they ~~thexxx~~ rejected then; and if even three of the eight which refused to ratify the 15th Amendment remain of the same mind, it cannot be carried. Nothing but coercion made the 15th Amendment possible; and what reason have we to suppose that any thing less than coercion will pass the Anthony Amendment? In fact, I believe it is usually admitted by those most zealous to push that amendment at all costs that coercion will be necessary; and as military coercion is no longer among the possibilities they propose a political coercion by the votes of the women who have been enfranchised by the peaceable ~~method~~ method conformable to the well-defined limitations between State and Federal powers recognized by our government. Yet why should such revolutionary action be expected of enfranchised American women? The results of those two amendments are far from conclusive proof of their wisdom; and the principle of limitation of centralized power is growing stronger all over the world in every government which ^{adopts} ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the method of Federation in any form. The Reconstruction Period in our history can never be forgotten as an illustration of what may happen when one section of our country is ruled by an unsympathetic majority in other sections. Whether it be called State sovereignty as in our country, or Home Rule, as in the British Empire, or by whatever name it is known, it is everywhere the same principle necessary for safe and happy government. Even now while Europe is convulsed with war, the interest of at least the English speaking people is attracted to the advocates of Home Rule in Ireland, who under another name than that we use are showing themselves willing martyrs for the great cause of non-centralized self-government.

The two Amendments recently adopted, the 16th and the 17th, are not in the same category as the the preceding two, as they bear only on matters of method which the States could not enact for themselves. Since the establishment of our Government only these 17 amendments have been passed, though it has been computed that more than 1700 have been introduced into Congress.

In view of the enormous difficulties in the way , with no necessity for another amendment, and with the certainty that our association cannot continue ~~its~~ ^{of the Anthony Amendment} advocacy without involving itself in partisan politics I believe it is wise for our Asso. to work only for such Federal legislation as does not require from the States ^{the surrender of} any portion of those reserved rights accorded to them by the Constitution, and which our whole history proves are strongly entrenched in the convictions of our people in all sections of the country.

A 1917 Speech ^{late April}
^{or} ^{early}
^{May}

to women at a
Conference to decide
what women can do in
the war effort
made before June 15 (a
reference to need for women
to buy Liberty Loan -

with support of Shaw,
Cobb, Tachell, et al. on
"Woman's Committee of the
Natl Council of Defense"

Production & Conservation
of food men on the
two big tasks -

It has become clearly recognized that women have a duty peculiar to womanhood to perform in all activities of the State, -that in fact she is joined to the State, the broadest social relationship possible, as a citizen, with a duty to perform which women, and women alone, because of their womanhood, can perform.

This recognition of women as citizens marks an advance in social consciousness. It is an advance out of a previous social consciousness where woman's place in society was so limited to the family that any other social relationships were almost excluded from thought. Her citizenship, or connection to the State was through her connection with the family. The maxim that the family is the unit of the state has been and probably always will be accepted as a truth in theories of systems of government; for it expresses clearly one form of the basic truth that our humanity is dual, never wholly revealed either in man or in woman; and can never be wholly expressed in its powers and possibilities except in two terms, -the masculine and the feminine, forever co-equal and forever complementary each to the other. Humanity

~~The home is the natural~~

is never seen in its completeness except in the co-ordination of the two, as in the family.

The home is the natural sphere of the family; and the woman's functions there obviously are so important that in the simpler forms of society they absorbed most of her energies, and customs which took their origin in the effort to protect her in undistracted devotion to these functions after awhile crystallized into obstructions to her adding to or varying them, and all outside of them were left to men. So that the belief that the family is the unit of the state came to be very nearly that men were the state, and that woman's connection with it was through her

is not a new fact; for however crude and unformed a state may have been yet at all times it has been equally the creation of the ~~men~~ institutions has been created by the co-ordination of the masculine and ~~the feminine forces~~ ^{the forces of the} masculine and ~~the~~ ^{men} feminine forces; sometimes one or the other may have been apparently suppressed or misdirected; yet ~~it~~ ^{and women} it is our new apprehension of the need of this co-ordination and our intelligent guidance of it

which is the point of interest in woman ~~citizenship~~ ^{and through citizenship} in relation to citizenship. If women in this new aspect were merely additions to the numbers of citizens, being merely repetitions more or less forceful of the men, without any distinctive contribution of their own, women as citizens would not be of the importance they are when we understand that they may bring to the solution of the problems of the state a better directed action of the feminine force, which is forever equal ^{to the} ~~complementary to the~~ masculine, and necessary to its completeness..

Now in order that women may exert this feminine force for the greatest benefit of the nation in this war it seems to me that they should approach the task ^{in a} with certain mental ~~characteristics~~ ^{characteristics of this} attitudes.

Of these mental attitudes ~~I believe~~ ^{I believe} I would give the first place to self-respect, - respect for womanhood in themselves and in other women, in a sense different from the self-respect a woman may think due to herself or other women on account of qualities or conditions she ~~may share~~ ^{share} with men. ~~If women have a special gift bestowed upon them in their womanhood~~ ^{If there is a special force in women because of their womanhood,} surely the first requisite to

its best use ^{is} to have an understanding of its importance ~~and the~~ ^{properly co-ordi-} ~~fulfillment of their power;~~ ^{power} and of the necessity of co-ordinating it. They should understand that it is ~~not~~ ^{power} which is not dispar-

aged by comparison with men, nor should be denied fair and equal expression because of differences between women and men. Such an attitude of mind need not be aggressive ~~nor~~ ^{nor} unapprecia-

tive of others; but it is a mental conviction without which ~~no~~ ^{no more} women

and that it should be co-ordinated but not suppressed on account of these differences.

^{not} can put forth ~~their~~ best efforts. Realizing ^{of} ~~the~~ duality of human-
ity and that women have something distinctive and vital to contribut
e in every sphere of human activity would overcome any apathy
that now arises from the feeling that women's work in war is merely
an adjunct to what may be done and better done by men, and prob-
ably superfluous. The world is not yet familiar with the idea that
women have a distinctive part to perform in strengthening the na-
tion's resources in time of war. But the world's thought has travelled
a long way since Florence Nightingale
Barely 62 years have passed since Florence Nightingale in 1854
startled ~~the world~~ England by reforming the sanitary condition
of the British army in the Crimean war with her corps of trained
nurses, with herself as their leader. The world looked on with a-
mazement, not unmixed with derision and contempt at the innovation.
But woman's faith in womanhood and its power in the wake of the
battlefield triumphed over all world traditions. In our war betwee
n the States the women followed the noble example of Flor-
ence Nightingale. The Red Cross, established in
now seems to us ~~an~~ inseparable from war or any public calami-
ty. But not until this war were the possibilities of woman's
part in war revealed. There is not an army in the field which
could be sustained here six months without the support of the wom-
en ~~in the~~. The part women have borne has been a revelation to
the most far-sighted statesmen. The evidence of what women have
done is also proof that henceforth no nation can succeed in war
where the spirit of the women is not invoked as well as that of the men.
War systems hitherto have been concerned only with organizing
the nation's strength in men. We have good reason to believe that
not even the most militaristic of the European governments thought
of mobilizing their women for any part in the war. What has been
done by women is almost wholly of their own volition. Hence, when

the shadows of the greater war began to darken over us, American women, learning from the example of the women of Europe, began themselves to turn their minds to what part they should take in the coming conflict. The world's thought has travelled a long way since Florence Nightingale gave the first trained corps of women to the British in our own time when we see without a comment in the daily papers such a standing notice as this: Where to Enlist. Men. United States Army. United States Navy. Company A. Company B., etc. and then: Women. National League for Women's Service: Red Cross Society: First Aid and Signalling. The call goes out at the same time to both men and women to enlist for our country. Then that is the first thing to do. ^{for women} Let us all enlist. Not yet has women's service been standardized. It is part of the reason why this Conference was called to decide what women shall do. In large part we must decide that for ourselves. These are heroic times; let us live in them heroically. As the first preparation for that let women understand that they are not an adjunct of men but a co-equal force, and that the best hopes of the nation depend upon the wise co-ordination of the efforts of both. It is not necessary for us to seek to differentiate women's task from men's in order to make it effective. Nature has already done all that is necessary on that line. Let women do what appears to them wisest, with the advice of men when it seems best, and we need not doubt that they will fulfill their distinctive part without any labored effort to perform a part different from that of man. It is like a great chorus of men and women singing together; their voices may all sound the same note, and the most untrained ear will discern the difference in the voices, though the most scientific musician may not be able to define it. With that understanding, let women answer every call that is made upon them,

not asking whether it is man's or woman's task, only asking is it patriotic. What must they do now? There is one service that must be done before June 15th. Let them answer to the call that has been ^{made} to subscribe to the Liberty Loan. It is not the same if this is subscribed by men only. The loan is an expression of the National spirit; and it fails in a vital point if the women do not respond as well as the men. The government is making an appeal to every citizen, and the women should do their part. ^{For thousands} Dollars are not sold ~~as~~; ^{yet} it is an axiom in war that dollars are the sinews of war. Every dollar subscribed to this Liberty Loan is a silver bullet fired in defence of our country. When the Books are closed on the 15th of June with the Liberty Loan fully subscribed and oversubscribed the shout of triumph will be like the shout of ~~triumph over a~~ victory on the battlefield. ^{It} will be a thing that ~~you~~ your children's children ^{will} tell with pride if your name is on the roll of those who subscribed for the Liberty Loan. Yes, it would be well if every one who can do so should subscribe for a bond in the name of each one of her children. The bonds are in small denominations, 50 dollars being the smallest; and the payment may be made in monthly installments. Any of the banks will give you information how to buy one.

On the 5th of June there will be the great registration day in preparation of the selective draft by which the men shall be chosen to carry our flag into the battle field. By the democratic system of the selective draft all men stand on an equal footing of liability to serve in battle when his country calls; and they who help ~~to~~ ~~keep~~ ~~up~~ ~~the~~ ~~industries~~ to keep up the industries of the country until he is called serves as truly as they who go to the front.; and they will find faithful helpers in the women. Yet to women it will always be true that the state is an extension of the home and the ^{tenderness} ~~love~~ that

that cherished the boys at home goes out to the soldier boys who are soon to be at the front. The General Federation of Woman's Clubs spoke for all of us when it said: The women of America are loyal and true; we will follow our men to the last ditch. So women naturally turn to those things which have in them a touch of personal service to the men at the front. All of us will want in these. The Navy League has asked the women to supply the sailors with sets of knitted mufflers, jackets and mittens, each state for the battleship named after the State. Mrs. Christine Bradley South, who christened the battleship Kentucky with water from the spring at Hodgenville, where Lincoln was born, has been asked to lead the women of Kentucky in supplying 500 sets for that battleship. She has interested the Ky. Equal Rights Association in the undertaking, and asks all women to help. The wool and directions for knitting may be obtained in Richmond from -----

Then it is the tender thought of the Nat. W. C. T. U. to ^{comfort bags} ~~supply~~ our soldiers and sailors, with simple supplies of needles, thread, a small New Testament and a temperance pledge. In the Spanish-American war every Ky. soldier had one of these little reminders of the never ceasing of Ky. women in their welfare. The testimony of the usefulness of these bags assures the women that the gift will fulfill its purpose of usefulness. Directions for making these can be obtained from your Richmond W. C. T. U.

The United States government has appointed a Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense, with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as its chairman, and among whose members are such well-known women as Mrs. Carrie C. Catt, Miss Ida Tarbell and others. This Committee will act under government advice always, and will be the means, through all the large woman's organizations, of conveying to women information of what aid women can best give for National de-

fense.. Let us all be ready to respond when calls come from this official body, and so avoid overlapping efforts. Already the Red Cross work has been endorsed, and under the branch established in Richmond women can do most efficient service in alleviating suffering among the sick and wounded soldiers. The various forms of relief work are more or less familiar. This war requires of women to take responsibility in several great enterprises upon which our government officials tell us our success in this war greatly depends. They may be classed under two great heads, Production and Conservation of Food. Men alone cannot deal with these two great problems under this world crisis. Women can and must assist. Under various groups, this Conference will consider these subjects. It behooves each and every one of us to learn what we can, so that we may give our most effective help.

It is not in the conservation of material things, however, that women must do their best service. Women are the conservators of the nation's ideals; and in times of war ideals are in the greatest danger. Patriotism often is, and always ought to be something more than love of the land which gave us birth and is the scene of all the endearing associations of our youth. It is more than tender attachment to those we love, and loyal devotion to the country to which they owe allegiance. It is all these and more. The highest patriotism includes an understanding of the principles of our government, and of the genius of our people which they express. It includes an understanding of wherein those principles differ from those of other nations, wherein they are better and wherefore, and an ardent love of them because of the hope of the betterment of mankind through them. We should know how dearly our liberties have been bought; what precious labor, and sacrifice and noble bloodshed has gone into the building up and main tain-

ing this government that we call our own. We should know something of what it has done in giving a refuge to the oppressed of every clime; of the hope it has held out to those who love liberty in every land. When we revolve these things in our hearts, when we recall the heroism of those from whom we have received the heritage of the land we love, then only can we be duly prepared to make what sacrifices we may be called upon to make to retain and strengthen those grand principles which are the sure and only foundation for the prosperity and happiness which has been bestowed upon us. We have entered this war for the defence of our rights and for the principles of political freedom. We have entered in it a spirit of unselfish devotion to principle, without asking or desiring any other reward than the safety of those principles with a loftiness of purpose which marks an epoch in the history of the world. Let us read the noble speech of President Wilson to Congress of April 2nd. Let it continually be an instruction and inspiration to us. We are living in great historic times. Nothing like them has been known in the world. To be living now and to be living worthily is indeed sublime. The ideals toward which our country has set its face are indeed towering; but the temptations to fall below those ideals are bound to be great in the strain and stress of war. It is for the women here to do their noblest part. We have pledged ourselves to a war without hate. Though life must be taken and life must be given, yet it must be without animosity, but with a clear vision that Liberty and Justice are more than life, and the less must be sacrificed for the greater. We are pledged to a war where the stronger nations shall respect the weaker, and which shall be conducted without aggression; we have pledged ourselves to seek no indemnity in money or territory. All these things require that we shall ever maintain before our eyes the truth that

our nation builds its greatness upon principles and not upon material aggrandizement. ~~Already it is apparent~~ These things pertain to our relations to other nations; there is also need that we keep close watch at home, lest we lose gains in civic righteousness we have already made. Even now we see attacks begun, in the name of industrial exigency, upon the laws to protect children and women in their hours of labor. It behooves women as never before to be vigilant that the life and hope of the nation bound up with the health and physical well-being of the mothers of the race and the children shall not be sacrificed to ~~selfish~~ greed, seizing upon the nation's emergency to find excuses for its selfish purposes.

It is the most fearful of all the effects of war that it produces a tendency to relax the restraints on public morality. Here the watchfulness of women, and a firm expression of their moral convictions will be necessary, to restrain as far as may be the license which accompanies war.

All these things are responsibilities which have come to women with the new vision of Woman's Duty in the Present War. The burden is heavy, yet if it is nobly borne the reward is sure and abundant. As the result of women's efforts for production and conservation of food there is promise of far-reaching economic improvements. There is work enough in the world for all, and compensation for all. And yet even without war the cost of living had grown alarmingly high and without prospect of relief. Whatever other causes there may have been, yet one was that the land was not producing enough ~~food~~ increase in food to meet the increase in population. Too many of the people who ought to be tilling the soil were going to the cities to earn wages there. At least part of this tendency was due to the fact that under the

II.

prevailing circumstances the farms did not offer to women fair opportunities of earning a living. One of the hopeful things of the demand for women to aid in the production and conservation of food is that it will bring about a revelation of the possibilities of intensive gardening, improved dairying, poultry raising, and preservation of fruits for a profitable and congenial employment of multitudes of women who now find a precarious living in the overcrowded employments of the cities.

When women have proved in the war that ~~citizenship~~ ^{that humanity in the state} needs to be expressed in two terms, the masculine and the feminine, as well as the home, then it will become evident that women must ^{share} have ~~all~~ ^{xxxx} the rights of citizens as well as all its duties.

The war has brought convictions in the belligerent countries that not only do women bear a full share of the hardships and burden of war, but that they bear a full share in carrying on the war itself. The result has been a quickening of the sense that justice demands that those who share in war shall have an equal voice in the government which decides questions of peace or war. Canada has given women suffrage; England is about to do so. It is morally certain that in some way or other this war will complete the enfranchisement of the women of America, and in this triumph of justice

we see a vision of human endeavor which
leads to permanent peace among nations, of
arbitration and international law instead
of war for the settlement of
international disputes. The overmas-
culinization of governments in Europe have
allowed unchecked action to the masculine
passions of commercialism, imperialism,
militarism, and the feminine forces,
which by nature would have served as
checks and balances
to them, have been excluded from
the co-ordination of the two, in free and
equal shares in government. we see hope
for the future peace of the world where
the sword shall be beaten into plow
shares, and the spears into pruning
hooks, and the nations shall not
have war any more.

1918

In appreciation of the splendid work done by the children in the
of \$50 worth of war certificates
schools Mrs. Lebus is offering a prize to be awarded in December
to the college or school turning in the greatest amount of money for
the sale of war stamps. ~~The president of the college or school~~
~~is requested to appoint a chairman~~ In addition the
prize offered to the school as a whole, she offers a Baby Bond for
each \$1000 worth of Bonds a child sells by itself, without the help
of others. Pledges will be counted the same as cash. All pledges
or cash secured by children will be credited to their school.

The president or principals of the colleges or schools are asked
to appoint chairmen to take charge of the sale of stamps in their
respective colleges or schools and report to Mrs. J.M. Kelly; and
every pupil is urged to enter these contests to earn the prizes
and to do their bit to Help Uncle Sam to win the war.

Mr. Chairman and patriotic friends;

This is a time when our
all
country calls upon ~~every~~ one of its citizens, men, women and children,
to do their part to help ~~us~~ to help to win the war. There are so
many ways to do this that all of them cannot be told at one time; so
our government has appointed times when each one of these ways may be
explained to the people. And just now is the time to turn our atten-
tion to the ~~loan~~ ^{investment} to the government ^{of} called the War Savings Stamps or
Baby Bonds. ~~Whenever one talks of an investment, the first thing to~~
~~think of is Safety First.~~ Whenever one talks of an investment, the ~~first thing to~~
~~think of is Safety First.~~ These Baby bonds,
^{worth five dollars each at maturity}
like all the other Liberty bonds, has the whole credit of the United
States behind them to make them safe, and they bear four percent inter-
est compounded every three months for five years, when both the princi-
pal and interest are paid at one time in January, 1923.

The government had three objects in ~~presenting~~ offering this

form of investment to our people. The first of these objects is to encourage thrift- the elimination of waste. Our country is so rich in all the things that go towards making wealth that our people have never learned as they should the virtue of thrift, which means intelligence applied to the ~~exercise of money which is the~~ and the products of labor; so it ~~is that by the exercise of goods sense and self-~~ control every dollar spent shall bring the best returns, instead of being stupidly squandered for every worthless thing that may attract our attention for the moment.

Then our government wants to train our people in patriotism. Patriotism is quite an easy virtue when it consists in singing stirring songs and following a band when the soldiers march through the streets.

But patriotism is worth more when it makes each one of us ourselves ask: What am I willing to do to help our country to win this war? Am I willing to give up an afternoon of holiday to buy a War Savings Stamp?

Am I willing to save the dime I intended to spend for candy or to go to the movies so I can buy another stamp? Yet sacrifices such as these are what are needed from all of us to win the war.

from the sale of these war stamps as there are about a hundred million of people in the U.S.

Then our government needs money. It wants two billions of dollars from every man, woman and child in the United States. That means \$20 from each one of us. If you will take your pencil and cipher it out, you will find that that means about six cents a day for every day in the year. And ~~it is~~ our government does not want only a few people or rich people or grown up people to lend it this money. Our Government wants every man, woman and child to help and thereby enrol his or her name among those who do share in winning the war. ~~if you~~ Every one of you young people who by your own exertions earn or save enough, and invest it in one of these baby bonds of our government, will have a right to be proud of it ~~every~~ all your life. And to encourage you to do so, and to encourage you to do so in a systematic manner,

[1918]

The American people are fighting this war. Whatever success is won, whatever failure may be made, ^{will} belong to the whole people, for all have some part in it ~~they~~ they ought to bear. Not all the same, ^{part,} - but all according to their ability. The objects of the war are not wholly material, to be won on the battle field with shot and shell. They include the maintenance and demonstration of great ideals of the whole people, which call for sacrifice from all who desire to perform their part nobly, whether in foreign lands or at home. The war must be fought daily by determined endeavor on the part of the home reserve, which stands behind the fighting men, ever ready with a helping hand to encourage, to assuage suffering, and to send always the message of high courage and comradeship from those at home to those at the front. The message is borne through the instrumentalities united in the War Work Campaign; and it is the part of patriots at home to see that their activities are sustained abundantly until our brave boys, victorious in arms, are brought back safely to ~~the~~ ^{their} people worthy of their heroism because ~~they~~ ^{the} people also ~~has~~ ^{have} served heroically in the home guard.

the people at home, who have proved
to ~~the~~ ^{the} American people, shown worthy of their heroism,
~~because~~ ^{because}

worthy of their heroism, because they also have served heroically in the home guard.

Then when the war is over ⁽¹⁹¹⁸⁾ there
will have to be a tremendous
readjustment of all the finances
of the country. We cannot
foresee how things will turn
out. But we do know that
if our people have learned
to work together for practical
objects, if we have learned
now to spend wisely as well
as to how to earn, and if
every family, in addition
to its usual means of livelihood
has saved up some
thing in bear saving bonds
then we can face the
future without fear. These
are the things our govern-
ment is aiming at in
making the great drive for

Clay Speech for War Effort
U. S. S. They are an investment
which mean more for patriot-
ism than the other Liberty
loan bonds. They have the
same security; they bear
about the same interest, or a
little better.

Patriotism, taught at the bedside
in the home. In times of great trials
this patriotism must work in
unison with all other patriots
to give full expression to our
power. Now is the time to do
this.

To teach thrift, by which
is meant intelligent spend-
ing, equally far from dissipation
on one hand, and extravagance
on the other. Saving is
what labor has produced is
as great and effective a virtue
as skill in producing, and
when done by a whole nation
in unison is capable of mar-
vellous results, without diminu-
tion of the comforts and

efficiency of the people, Day-
light saving, rate setting, temper-
ance, well-known examples

Our country needs what we
save. We must feed and clothe
our allies as well as ourselves
for every man fighting man
of our allies saves us send-
ing one of our own brave
and precious boys over there.
There is not enough wheat, sugar,
meat, wool, cotton, leather, and
food and materials of all
kinds for our needs. If we are
not saving in these things, we
are buying in competition
with our government and
our allies, and using up ma-
terial & labor which would
go to help to win the war.

While I am convinced that there is a wide field for appropriate National legislation in obtaining suffrage for women, I am one of the many who do not believe that pursuit of a Federal Constitutional Amendment is a profitable expenditure of the energies of the N. A. W. S. A. It is perfectly clear that such an amendment is by no means necessary to the success of our cause. It is usually advocated ^{merely} as a means of lessening the labors of the women, in a word as a "short cut" to Woman Suffrage. I believe such an expectation ~~cannot be~~ indulged ^{after} ~~without~~ due consideration being given to the history of the Constitution of the U. S.

The first of the 13th Amendment forbidding slavery was submitted. ^{on 1865} It was rejected by ~~reality~~ ^{the} ~~33~~ ³² states of the 36. ^{States} The seceding States having taken steps for re-admission on the principles of the Emancipation Proclamation of Pres. Lincoln, the new legislatures rescinded the acts of secession, and ratified the 13th Amendment. The legal right of secession, for which they had fought, had passed into history as The Lost Cause. The Amendment was accepted as the logical end of a ~~controversy~~ that had con-

used States will voluntarily
now subscribe to a principle
which they then rejected, and if
even 3 ~~are~~ out of the 15
which refused to ratify the
15th Amendment remain of
the same mind, it is impos-
sible ^{to carry it,} Nothing but coercion
made the 15th Amendment
possible, and what has been
tried to make the woman
suffrage is believe that
~~any~~ ^{what you have} ~~the measure, the~~
~~any~~ ^{nothing less than coercion}
will accomplish the S. B. But
my Amendment? In fact, I be-
lieve that it is usually admit-
ted by those most zealous to push
this Amendment at all costs
~~recognize~~ that coercion will
be necessary, and as much

71

The 12th Amendment does not
touch the question of State sov-
erignty, but rectifies certain dif-
ficulties in the method of elec-
ting the president and vice pres-
ident ~~and down in the 2nd~~
~~Article of the Constitution. The~~
~~original method had led to such~~
~~an incongruous political situa-~~
~~tion that the administration~~
John Adams, a Feder-
alist, had as vice-president
Thomas Jefferson, the great
Democratic leader. From 1804 till
after ^{the war} there were no ^{more} amendments.
Then came the three called the
War amendments. The 13th ~~three~~
ever ~~for~~ ^{abolished} ~~slavery~~ ^{which}
~~had already been abolished~~
during the war, was readily
passed in 1865, by 31 of the 36
States then in the Union, the

5.
The next amendment, the 11th,
was made in the defense of the sov-
erign right of a State, after the
famous case of Chisholm v. the State
of Georgia. It declaring that "the ju-
dicial power of the United States
shall not be construed to extend
to any suit commenced or prose-
cuted against one of the United
States by citizens of another State
or by citizens or subjects of any
foreign State". It had been believed
both by Hamilton and John
Marshall that the Constitution
could not be construed to give
such power to the United States,
but the supreme Court having
pronounced a decision assu-
ming this power, such power
was promptly withdrawn by
the passage of the 11th Amend-
ment in 1795, sustaining State sov-
erignty.

the Union refused until
the 14th Amendment was
ratified. Under these coercion
measures, those 10 States ^{ratified}
the 14th Amendment, ^{and carried it} through their
respective States which never
ratified it. By that Amend-
ment for the first time there
was incorporated into the Consti-
tution a provision for protecting
rights of male citizens which
did not extend to female cit-
izens, and that

He immediately ^{to} submitted ~~proposed~~ for
that at last ^{the} states, ^{upon} ~~we~~
^{adoption} ~~induced~~ to ratify the Constitution.
These first ten amendments were
of the nature to limit the new
powers of Congress and affirm
those of the States, and histori-
cally are considered as ~~essen-~~
^{important} ~~tial~~ parts of the new constitu-
tion. Virginia ratified with the declara-
tion that she was at liberty to withdraw
from the Union whenever its powers
were used for oppression; and New York, ^{rather}
after Hamilton had declared that
no state could ever be coerced by an
armed force. The country ~~from~~ ^{from} this
period was divided into two parties,
the Federalists, who were in favor
of a strong centralized government
and the anti-federalists, who held
to the sovereignty and rights of the
independent states; and as we well
know, this division has persisted in
parties of various names.

and of the ² ~~different~~ ~~met~~ ~~in~~ ~~ma~~
~~king~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~to~~ ~~it~~ ~~country~~,
~~which~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~made~~ ~~to~~ ~~it~~,
~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~point~~

As we know, the present U. S. Con-
stitution was submitted to the
people in 1787 to supersede
the Articles of Confederation
under which the country had
been governed since ^{July} 1778.

The Articles of Confederation were un-
equivocally a league among independ-
ent and sovereign States, in which
each one acceded in its sovereign
capacity, ~~by its duly accredited~~
~~representatives~~. But this bond of
sovereign States was not found equal
to the requirements of the new na-
tion, and the Convention ^{to} ~~form~~ ~~to~~
to formulate a new Constitution
was called by Congress in 1787.
By the genius of its statesmen, espe-
cially of Alex Hamilton, the Con-
vention finally formulated a
Constitution ~~emanating~~ ^{depending on the} from

Union of the People of the United States,
and not from the States in
their sovereign capacity. But in
spite of the fact that the Revolu-
tionary war had proved that
a men league among the
States failed to meet ^{the} require-
ments of national
life, the attachment of the
people to the idea of individual
State sovereignty was so strong
that it appeared ^{probable} the Convention
would find it impossible to come
to an agreement ^{until the delegates} if Dr. Johnson
had not suggested a compro-
mise of the opposing factions
by having the sovereignty and
equality of the States recog-
nized by the provision that
each State should send two
members to the Senate of
the National Congress. But
even with this ^{and other} concessions, ^{with the veto}
of the States

another name, ¹⁵ are showing
themselves willing martyrs
for the cause of ^{local} self-government.
~~The last two amendments to the~~
16th & the 17th ^{of amendments} do not affect
the principle of state sovereignty
at all; but ~~have~~ ^{only} touch mat-
ters of method which the
States could not ~~assent~~
for themselves. Since the es-
tablishment of our Government
only 17 amendments to the
Constitution have been adop-
ted, though it has been con-
sidered that over 1700 have
been offered in Congress.
In view of the enormous dif-
ficulties in the way, with
no overwhelming necessity
for another Amendment
and with the ex-
haustion

freemen of the United States,
by one and the same act,
were discriminated against by
the Supreme Law of the land,
and given nearly a million of
new political masters in the
persons of
lately emancipated negro men.
The 15th Amendment was carried
by the same tactics, though
the ~~majority of States~~ ^{majority of States} did not ratify it, it
only ~~as a part of~~ ^{as a part of} States only
participating in the ~~so-called~~ ^{so-called} States
ratifying it. The Susan B. Anthony
amendment is a repetition
of this 15th Amendment, varied
by the substitution of sex for
race or previous condi-
tion of servitude. Before it can
be passed ~~it will have~~ ^{it will have}
to be ratified by 36 State
legislatures. It is hardly to
be supposed that the 10 co-

turned through the country's
whole history. The slaves
had been emancipated
as a war measure, and the
Amendment was accepted as
the logical outcome of the war and settle-
ment of the controversy which had continued
through the government's ~~whole~~
~~history~~. The history of the other
two war Amendments is well
known, those which enforced
the doctrine of states rights
14th Amendment. Only 23 States
out of the 37 existing
Then Congress passed the Recon-
struction Acts. The State gov-
ernments of ten of the seceding
States were overthrown; 11
itary governments were estab-
lished, and an admission to

31
was difficult to persuade
the Convention to make the
great change from a Union
of ^{sovereign} States to a Union of the
People. It is worthy of notice
that the delegates from N. York
so resisted this trend of the
Convention that every one
of ~~the delegates~~ except Alex
Hamilton, withdrew from
the Convention. Even after
the Convention had come to a
reluctant agreement, the refusal of
the people of the States to ratify
the proposed constitution seemed
imminent, and was averted
only by the strenuous efforts
of such statesmen as, John
Jay, James Madison, and es-
pecially, Alex Hamilton. It
was only by the promise that
ten amendments, usually called
the Bill of Rights Amendments, should

X 6 (addition)

This ended the institution
which had been a disturbing
element from the establish-
ment of the government. The
further importation of slaves
had been forbidden.
It was the final settlement of
the question of slavery which had
divided the people since the
establishment of the Constitution.
The Constitution itself had pro-
vided that the further im-
portation of slaves might be
forbidden after 1808; and
the slaves had been manumitted
during the war. This Amendment
was readily accepted by 31 of the 36
States which then formed the Union,
including those seceding States
which had formed new con-

that our Assoc^l cannot
pledge itself to its advocacy
without involving itself in
partisan politics, I believe
that it is wise for our Assoc.
no longer to work for any
Federal legislation which
~~would deprive the powers~~
~~reserved to the States~~, involves
a relinquishment by the
States of any portion of
that sovereignty now ac-
corded under the Consti-
tution and which our whole
history proves is ^{is, at principle} ~~is~~ ^{expressly} ~~is~~
of government ~~strongly~~ ^{expressly} ~~under~~
that all parties of our people of all
sections of our country
in the convictions of our
people in all sections.

be forgotten ¹⁴ as an illustration of what may happen when one section of our country is ruled by an unsympathetic majority ~~party~~ in other sections.

In our country we call it the doctrine of State Rights or sovereignty; in other countries, whether ~~it is called~~ State sovereignty, ^{as in our country} or Home Rule, as in the British Empire, or by whatever name it is known, ~~it is the same~~ ^{it is the same} principle of safe and happy government is ~~the same~~. Even while Europe is convulsed with war, the interest of at least the English speaking peoples are attracted to the advocates of Home Rule in Ireland, who, under

Southern States readily ratifying
it. But the violent passions aroused
by the war were not satisfied
with the political status of the
emancipated slave men, and
the 14th amendment, giving the
men the rights of full citizen-
ship was submitted. This
was promptly rejected by 10
Southern ^{seceding} States and four
others. Then Congress used its
compulsive power, and by
passing the reconstruction
acts, which refused re-admis-
sion to the seceded States un-
til they ratified this amend-
ment, the 10 States yielded
to the pressure, in 1868. This was
followed by the 15th Amendment,
of which the ^{proposed} S. B. Anthony
Anthony Amendment is an

the same principle, with
the substitution of sex
for race, color and previous
condition of servitude. It is
apparent that the sovereign-
ty of the States was wholly
disregarded by the

itary coercion¹³ is no longer
a ~~possibility~~ ^{possibility} of the possibilities, they
propose a political coercion
by the votes of the women
who have been enfran-
chised by the peaceable
route in conformity with
the well-defined limitations of Feder-
al and State ~~laws~~ ^{powers} laid down
in our system of government.
Yet why should such a revolution-
ary action be expected of enfran-
chised American women? The
results of these two amendments
are far from conclusive proof
of their wisdom; and the
principle of limitation of central
power in every government
recognizing the principle of
federation is growing stronger,
^{all over the world}
The Reconstruction Period in
our own history can never

Even now, while Europe is convulsed with the war¹⁹¹⁷
The principle of non-centralized self-government
is so vital to free institutions that the heroic
struggle for it in Ireland under its name of
Home Rule attracts an interest and sympathy
from freedom loving people that cannot be
diverted even by that war which is convulsing
Europe. terrible conflict,

Gentlemen,

In The memorable National Convention of the Republican party held in Chicago in 1916 put a plank in its platform which favors the extension of suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself. That platform was a declaration of the party policy to all the people of all the states. We as women who are part of the citizens to whom that platform was addressed, and who set a high value upon it have come to ask you to carry into effect its woman suffrage plank by passing a resolution at this convention pledging your party to use its power in the next General Assembly to submit a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution and to use its efforts to carry it to success at the polls.

Kentucky men spoke in that platform by their chosen delegates; and we understand their promise was to make Kentucky the real political peers of ^{women} themselves.

We do not count as any portion of the fulfillment of that promise the Republican votes given to the Federal Amendment proposed in Congress; because the only amendment reaching a vote there was patterned after the 15th amendment. If this had passed and had been ratified by state legislatures it would not have placed women in the same political group with white men and made them their political peers, but on the contrary it would have placed women, white and colored, in the political group of those who in the language of the United States Supreme Court concerning the 15th amendment, have acquired the "right of exemption from discrimination" on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

We call your attention to the instructive fact that in the delimitation of the frontiers of the new states in Europe created by the war, statesmen have been careful to regulate them by racial affiliations; because racial sympathy is recognized as one of the universal principles of human nature. If this principle is regarded in the enfranchisement of white women, then women must receive the right to vote from the same source as white men. White men have the right to vote in State elections by the will of the people expressed through their State constitutions and not through the Federal constitution. The racial sympathies of colored women will be protected no matter by which process suffrage is conferred, because they come within the provisions of the 15th amendment. But white women cannot be the political peers of white men, united with them in sentiment toward the source of their rights, and in the legal questions into which the source may run, unless they are enfranchised by state action, and not by a Federal amendment patterned after the 15th amendment or ^{by} any in which the right to vote in State elections is conferred in part by the people of other States.

We believe that no suffrage plank which does not make women the political peers of white men will be acceptable to our brave soldier boys returning from the war or to the men who have served their country at home by standing behind the men at the front. Women have been the loyal comrades of the men, soldiers and civilians, in bearing the hardships and dangers of the war. We might say much of what women have done; but men already have said it for us. Their words have expressed their appreciation of the labors of women in every department of patriotic service, both in the field of war and

in what has been done at home to maintain the war. Women have shared all the burdens of the government. They are entitled to share the privileges of that government. Before the war laborious and expensive state campaigns were carried on by women in their earnest desire for the ballot, which was given to every man when he became of age. Many states have been won in this manner; but such campaigns are dreaded by women because women are not fitted by their usual avocations and habits of thought for such contests. The chief argument offered for a Federal suffrage amendment is the claim that it will afford some relief from these hardships. But after the declarations of the political parties in 1916, and since the war, such laborious campaigns for suffrage should not be imposed upon women. It is not in accordance with the appreciation expressed by men for women's heroism in the war to demand of them now, after all their patriotic toil and self-denial, to expend more labor and money in such campaigns. The men who have praised their services in the war we believe are willing to show their gratitude now by lifting this burden from them. We believe they are willing to vote at the polls to make women their political peers if the leaders of their party will present it as a principle to do so in their party campaigns.

Therefore, we respectfully petition and urge your honorable committee to embody in ~~your~~ your platform of principles a plank re-affirming the National suffrage plank, and pledging your candidates to support in the next General Assembly the submission to the voters of an amendment to the State constitution granting ~~the~~ suffrage to women on the same terms as to men; and pledging your party organization, when the amendment is submitted, to support it at the polls.

[Summer, 1919]

Miss Clay said in part:

The Anthony amendment consists of two sections each containing provisions which make changes in the Constitution widely different from each other in their results, though both violate the principle of States Rights. In addition to this fault the amendment is not necessary to the speedy success of woman suffrage, and at best it would not make women the political peers of men.

The principle of woman suffrage by State action has been so thoroughly established that in 1916 the Republican and Democratic national platforms in set terms pronounced in favor of its extension by State action. It may be observed that these platforms are more reliable interpreters of the sentiment of the people than any suffrage associations organized for propaganda can be.

Under these auspices, with fifteen States having full suffrage, thirty where women can vote for president, and only eight remaining where they have not some form of partial suffrage, it would seem that this momentous question might be left to work itself out in the States, without haste in a change of the fundamental law of the nation which excludes the voice of the people from an opportunity to be heard upon it.

If the amendment is ratified it would indeed make the word "male" in the election clause of the State constitutions a dead letter, but the word would remain there a silent witness of a demarkation between the political rights of men and women; a barrier against complete unity of men and women in sentiment toward the source of their rights, and in the legal rights flowing from that source. The amendment would not make women the political peers of men who have received their right to vote from the people speaking through their State constitutions; and it would be a mark of submission to some other authority than the people of their own State and would leave an inference of inequality either in the right to vote or the desirability of the class of voters thus created. This position, humiliating both to men and to women would in the end lead to the demand for a State amendment

The second section of the Anthony amendment in conjunction with that of the 15th amendment would place about fifty-five percent of the voters of the whole country under the ascendancy of Congress, leaving only the white men, or forty-five percent, entirely free in the exercise of their State electoral rights. Thus power would be largely centralized in the Federal government, and Congress would become the most autocratic legislative body in any constitutional government. For in other centralized constitutional governments/ like that of Great Britain, Parliament is constrained to obey the will of the majority of the voters, through a system of dissolving parliament when it fails to do so, and leaving the mooted law to the decision of the people in a new election. But in our system of dual government there is no such check upon autocratic power except in the form of the States Rights, which would be so deeply impaired by such amendment as the one now under discussion. ~~Our Congress is~~ elected for a term of years, and until that term expires there is nothing less cumbersome than impeachment to restrain them in any act they have constitutional license to pass. Before any redress is possible by impeachment or the expiration of their terms, an objectionable act may have become fixed by United States treaties, by the acquisition of property or by any of the means which give stability even to bad laws.

Because this amendment is called a woman suffrage amendment it would be a grave mistake to suppose that all its political advocates are in favor of it for the sake of woman suffrage. There is nothing in its history to bear out any such idealistic supposition. The ratification of the Anthony amendment is less a question of extending suffrage to women where the States have not done so than of conferring upon Congress certain autocratic powers over the votes of women however they may be gained. It is evident that it gives to States and sections having many Congressmen a great accession of power to dictate public policies in states or sections which have a less numerous representation in Congress.

[Summer, 1919]

Wherein Does The Anthony Federal Amendment Invade States Rights?

Suffragists who are opposed to the ratification of the Anthony Federal so-called suffrage amendment have their contention that it invades States Rights frequently called into question. The friends of that amendment take the position that as the legal forms of amending the Federal constitution are used there is no invasion of States Rights. The gist of this position is that there is nothing fundamental in rights of States, but all depends upon compliance with certain legal forms. But if a State means anything, and certainly our Government recognizes the dual system of State and National governments, then there are fundamental rights which must inhere in States to ~~exist~~ create their existence. There must be some rights without which they cannot exercise the functions of separate governments; and these cannot be rightfully extinguished by any mere legal forms. If ~~an~~ a State has any independent government at all it must control the means by which that government is established and maintained. In representative governments the chief means is the electorate, and when the control of this passes to an outside power, especially by a process which never created it in the beginning, then certainly States Rights are invaded. This is the case in the proposed Anthony amendment. The state constitutions were created by the people and not by Federal authority nor by state legislatures. Yet the Anthony amendment proposes that the legislatures of thirty-six states themselves shall change the constitutions of all the states without any authority from the people by taking the right of fixing the conditions of suffrage in State elections from the State constitutions and placing it in the Federal Constitution; and further, of transferring the power of controlling the laws relating to the electorate thus created from the State legislatures to Congress. The latter power is given in the second or enforcing section. Advocates of the amendment attempt to

minimize the importance of the second section by claiming that it is innocuous or even superfluous, saying that the power there conferred upon Congress already exists in the original constitution. But the Supreme Court of the United States does not leave this point in doubt.

In speaking of the Enforcing Clause of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, of which the Anthony amendment is a copy, and which is not found in any other articles of the Constitution, the Supreme Court in its decision *Ex Parte Virginia & Coles*, 1879 says: "All of the amendments (the three mentioned) draw much of their force from this latter provision. It is not said the judicial power of the general government shall ~~be authorized~~ extend to enforcing the prohibitions and to protecting the rights and immunities granted. It is not said that branch of the government shall be authorized to declare void any action of a State in violation of the prohibitions. It is the power of Congress which has been enlarged. Congress is authorized to enforce the prohibitions by appropriate legislation. Some legislation is contemplated to make the Amendments fully effective."

Congress never had any power at all to legislate upon state elections until the passage of the 15th amendment, of which the Anthony amendment is a repetition in principle. If it is ratified Congress can legislate on state elections wherever the voters created by the 15th and Anthony amendments are concerned; and only the votes of white men will be left to represent the sovereignty of the States. How long this power will be left to white men and State constitutions if State constitutions continue to be changed by a process originally designed only for changing the Federal constitution the future alone can reveal.

Woman suffrage has been inevitable since 1916, when all political parties declared in favor of the principle. Probably every state in ten or twelve years will have carried out this principle by State amendments. A revolutionary measure like the Anthony amendment is not necessary to attain full justice for women in the United States.

Gentlemen,

The memorable National Convention of the Republican party held in Chicago in 1916 put a plank in its platform which favors the extension of suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself. That platform was a declaration of the party policy to all the people of all the states. We as women who are part of the citizens to whom that platform was addressed, and who set a high value upon it, ^{have} come to ask you to carry into effect ~~its~~ woman suffrage plank by passing a resolution at this convention pledging your party to use its power in the next General Assembly to submit ^{to the people} a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution and to ~~use its efforts to carry it to~~ ^{to the support of} ~~success~~ at the polls. ^{as a party principle}

Kentucky men spoke in that platform by their chosen delegates; and we understand their promise was to make Kentucky ^{women} the real political peers of themselves.

We do not count as any portion of the fulfillment of that promise the Republican votes ^{cast for} given to the Federal Amendment proposed in Congress; because the only amendment reaching a vote there was patterned after the 15th amendment. ^{it was not included} If this had passed and had been ratified by state legislatures it would not have placed women in the same political group with white men and made them their political peers, but on the contrary it would have placed women, white and colored, in the political group of those who in the language of the United States Supreme Court concerning the 15th amendment, have acquired the "right of exemption from discrimination" on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

in your hands the election

2.

We call your attention to the instructive fact that in the delimitation of the frontiers of the new states in Europe created by the war, statesmen have been careful to regulate them by racial affiliations; because racial sympathy is recognized as one of the universal principles of human nature. If this principle is regarded in the enfranchisement of white women, then women must receive the right to vote from the same source as white men. White men have the right to vote in State elections by the will of the people expressed through their State constitutions and not through the Federal constitution. The racial sympathies of colored women will be protected no matter by which process suffrage is conferred, because they come within the provisions of the 15th amendment. But white women cannot be the political peers of white men, united with them in sentiment toward the source of their rights, and in the legal questions into which the source may run, unless they are enfranchised by state action, and not by a Federal amendment patterned after the 15th amendment or ^{by} any in which the right to vote in State elections is conferred in part by the people of other States.

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in what has been done at home to maintain the war. Women have shared all the burdens of the government. They are entitled to share the privileges of that government. Before the war laborious and expensive state campaigns were carried on by women in their earnest desire for the ballot, which was given to every man when he became of age. Many states have been won in this manner; but such campaigns are dreaded by women because women are not fitted by their usual avocations and habits of thought for such contests. The chief argument offered for a Federal suffrage amendment is the claim that it will afford some relief from these hardships. But after the declarations of the political parties in 1916, and since the war, such laborious campaigns for suffrage should not be imposed upon women. It is not in accordance with the appreciation expressed by men for women's heroism in the war to demand of them now, after all their patriotic toil and self-denial, to expend more labor and money in such campaigns. The men who have praised their services in the war we believe are willing to show their gratitude now by lifting this burden from them. We believe they are willing to vote at the polls to make women their political peers if the leaders of their party will present it as a principle to do so in their party campaigns.

Therefore, we respectfully petition and urge your honorable committee to embody in ~~your~~ your platform of principles a plank re-affirming the National suffrage plank, and pledging your candidates to support in the next General Assembly the submission to the voters of an amendment to the State constitution granting ~~the~~ suffrage to women on the same terms as to men; and pledging your party organization, when the amendment is submitted, to support it at the polls.

of the Anthony conferring suffrage upon the states which do not already have it is a wedge to granting power of congressional legislation on state elections in every state and in every election where women vote.

Perhaps if you will consider this side of the question you will feel that though we may be mistaken, yet there is no selfishness or race prejudice in our opposition to the Anthony amendment.

Our purpose is to have a State suffrage Constitutional amendment in Kentucky for three reasons. (1) The Anthony amendment may never be ratified. (2) As it cannot be ratified by legislatures in regular sessions before 1921 at the earliest, and if it is not done then, we may obtain suffrage before it is ratified. (3) Even if it is ratified, the word "male" will not be removed from the election clause of our State constitution, though it will become a dead letter. It cannot be removed except by state constitutional action, but will remain a silent witness that suffrage was not granted to Kentucky women by the will of her people, but was forced upon her by the legislatures of other states. This is a stigma under which none of us can wish to rest in any longer than is inevitable.

c 1919

Gentlemen,

The year 1916 was a abnner year for the Woman suffrage movement; for in that year all the national political parties declared their adhesion to the principle of woman suffrage. The Republican party in June and the Democratic party in July declared in specific terms that they advocated woaman suffrage by state action. Had either the one or the other declared for ~~the States~~ Federal amendment on the question it could have been made a partisan issue, as the Democrats have always been the standard bearers of the States Rights doctrine. But as it is, both these great parties stand pledged to the people to favor suffrage by the state route. ~~On this~~ Therefore, we must conclude that ~~the State method is~~ ^{the} State action is the method desired by the ~~great body~~ ^{mass} of the people who express their views on great public issues through their political parties assembled in National conventions. It is a strange turn of affairs ~~that by propoganda and lobbies~~ this express on of the will of the people has been more or less obscured a demand for a federal ~~to settle the question after~~ by ~~the demand for a Federal amendment, which has been rejected by the~~ ~~organized suffragists, who have never~~ ~~since of these two dominant political parties.~~ ~~How ever that may be,~~ after State action had been endorsed by the two great parties.

The partial success of the demand for a Federal amendment, in that it has been submitted to the State legislatures for ratification or rejection by Congress has obscured the issues involved in the minds of many persons. But as this partial success has been obtained by ~~propaganda~~ ^{persistent} lobbying in Congress ~~and lobbies~~, without any substantial evidence that the ~~mass of suffragist~~ ^{mass} millions of suffragists ~~who have never been enrolled in any suffrage organization, though in the~~ ^{that the vast mass of the} ~~have in any degree changed~~ ^{arrange they number millions of voters} their attitude towards the State method, we feel that it is right that we whose ~~views~~ ^{feelings} views ~~correspond with the~~ ^{are} are in accord with the National pledges of the Republican and Democratic platforms

E 1919

Believes in the State amendment

2.

suffrage

and long workers for that cause,
 that we, as ardent suffragists, who are in hearty accord with these national-
 suffrage ~~with the masses of suffragists~~
 al pledges of the Republican and Democratic platforms should appear before
 should, in our humble way give expression to what we believe is the
 fore your honorable committee and urge that the Democratic party in
 desire of the majority of suffragists in Kentucky,
 Kentucky should declare in its State platform a resolution to fulfill the
 hopes given to suffragists in the National convention of 1916.

~~xxxxxxx~~We desire to state at once that our petition for a State amend-
 ment will not be affected ~~ixix~~ by either the ~~success~~ ^{failure} or the ~~failure~~ ^{success} of
 the ratification of the Anthony Federal amendment. ~~That xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx ratified; xxxxxxxx~~ ~~and xxxxxxxx~~ ~~and xxxxxxxx~~ ~~for xxxxxxxx~~
 or is deferred,

If ratification fails, ~~waxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~that xxxxxxxx~~ ~~for xxxxxxxx~~ ~~of~~
 all suffragists will
~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ the hopes of women be centered

on the honorable fulfillment of your National pledges/ If ratification
 succeeds, it will not strike out the word "male" from the election
 clause of our State constitution. The word will indeed become a dead
 letter, but it cannot be removed except by State constitutional action.
 It will remain there a silent witness that the people of Kentucky never
 conferred suffrage upon Kentucky women; but that it was forced upon them
 by the legislatures of other States. ~~The women will not be the political~~
~~peers of white men, who have received their franchise~~ This would be a
 stigma under which our people would never be willing to remain. In fact,
 it is one under which we wish never to fall. We wish that from the first
 women shall be the political peers of men, in that they receive the right
 of the ballot from the people, freely given after free discussion of all
 the issues involved. In this way only can women be the full political
 who have been enfranchised by the constitution of their own state
 peers of men, united in sentiment towards the source of their rights in
 in
 in the legal questions which are involved in that source is involved.
 Without the heart of the people is in the gift, suffrage for women
 would be a poor boon indeed.

~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~Kentucky women; xxx~~ ~~By~~ ~~Kentucky men~~ took part in the Dem-
 ocratic suffrage pledge of 1916. We are Kentucky women. We have no

Gentlemen;

The memorable National convention of the Republican party held in Chicago in 1916 put a plank in its platform which "favors the extension of suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself". That platform was a declaration of the party policy to all the people of all the states. We as women who are part of the citizens to whom that platform was addressed, and who set a high value upon it, come to ask you to carry into effect its woman suffrage plank by passing a resolution at this convention pledging your party to use its power in the next General Assembly to submit to the people a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution and to support it at the polls as a party principle.

Kentucky men spoke in that platform through their chosen delegates; and we understand their promise was to make Kentucky women the political peers of themselves.

We do not count as any portion of the fulfillment of that promise the Republican votes cast for the Federal amendment proposed in Congress; because that is not a part of the platform. Some people want it and some do not. The wisest statesmen cannot forecast the undesirable and dangerous consequences which may follow if Congress and state legislatures, besieged by strong and persistent lobbies, should decide to thrust woman suffrage upon the country without allowing the voice of the people to be heard on the question. On the other hand, woman suffrage by state constitutions is tried and safe. Fifteen states, north, south, east and west, make woman the political peers of man by their state constitutions. We want Kentucky to join that noble company.

We believe our brave soldier boys returning from the war and

the men who have served their country at home by standing behind the men at the front want women to be their political equals. Women have been the loyal comrades of the men, soldiers and civilians, inbearing the hardships and dangers of the war. We might say much of what women have done; but already the men have said it for us. Their words have expressed appreciation of the labors of women in patriotic service both at home and in the war zone abroad. Women have shared all the burdens of the government. They are entitled to share the privileges of the government. The men who have praised their services in the war we believe are willing to show their gratitude by conferring the right of the ballot upon them. We believe they are willing to vote at the polls to make women their political peers if the leaders of their party will present it as a principle to do so in their party campaigns.

Therefore, we respectfully petition and urge your honorable committee to embody in your platform of principles a plank reaffirming the National suffrage plank, and pledging your candidates to support in the next General Assembly the submission to the people of an amendment to the State constitution granting suffrage to women on the same terms as to men; and pledging your party organization, when the amendment is submitted, to support it at the polls.

Need of Self-Expression.

Friends and Students of Hamilton College:

It is always a matter of peculiar satisfaction to me to address an audience of young students upon that great political question of the day—woman suffrage,— because I realize that the evolution of woman suffrage is history in the making. The democracy for which our nation whose safety our nation entered into the world war had its beginnings in an era which is now the subject of ~~xxx~~ study in your class rooms, unlightened by daily helps from newspapers and current events. Undoubtedly, study of events at a distance ^{of time} has the advantage of detaching the subject from personal prejudice, and clearing the issue from all the conflicting ~~testimony~~ currents of action and re-action of the times when it is ~~is~~ shaping itself into history. But there is an intensity of interest in studying ^{history} a ~~great world movement~~ in its formation which not only has its fascination to the emotions but I believe has its educational ^{value} advantage in training the mind ~~to be able~~ ^{circumstances} to distinguish ~~the~~ merely adventitious movements and the permanent underlying principles which are in operation when a great political ^{event} change is being accomplished. Such a training is now possible in watching ~~the~~ contemporary history ~~now~~ in process in establishing woman suffrage as an integral part of that great democracy for which the world is now in turmoil.

^{As for the principles of woman suffrage}
I feel that it is ~~not~~ necessary to tell the audience before me that the fundamental principles of woman suffrage in the United States were announced at the same time as those for manhood suffrage. They are to be found in our Declaration of Independence and our Federal Constitution. Taxation without representation is tyranny, for women as well as for men. Governments derive their just powers ~~from~~ the consent of the governed, whether they be women or men. And ~~when~~ our great Constitution of 1789 was ~~formulated~~ established by the people of the United States, its first article ~~confers~~ up

United States, its first article confers upon the people of the several of whom women are an indivisible part states the right to choose by election the members of the United States Congress.

So the ^{slow} progress of the actual enjoyment of women of the right of voting does not arise from the deficiency of well-defined principles, ^{for} ~~these were~~ ^{there were} ~~these were~~ ^{these were} recognized more than a century ago. We must find an explanation in ~~some other quarter~~ ^{in some other} ~~quarter~~ ^{requirement} in some other ~~requirement~~ ^{requirement} of the human mind. I believe we ~~may~~ ^{shall} find ~~some explanation~~ ^{one of those necessities} in the ~~requirement~~ ^{necessity} of human nature of the right of self-expression. A little thought will show us that all life consists in the power of self-expression. We know nothing of life apart ~~it would be difficult for us to imagine life apart from any degree whatever of self-expression. To our limited faculties we apprehend, at least, life without any manifestation of self-expression at is~~ ^{is} ~~an inanimate substance. Life is real only in those directions in which it seeks expression comes full and only as it finds adequate means of expressing itself in action.~~ ^{exists lifeless. Life is real only in those directions in which it seeks expression only as it seeks expression and powerful only as it finds adequate means of expressing itself in action.}

With this thought in mind, we see that the need of ^{voting} ~~suffrage~~ for women the right of taking part in government was far less in the early years of our national existence than it is now and that the political need of self-expression of women is very largely the result of their increasing touch with those affairs which are classed as governmental. In the early period of our national ~~life~~ ^{history} there was ~~areal~~ ^{a conventional} as well as ~~apparent~~ ^{apparent} division in what used to be called the "spheres" of men and women. To men fell naturally all those tasks which concerned life outside of the home; and they included making of the laws, regulation of taxation and the defence of the country. To women fell the industries of the home and the care of the family. In those days women found occupation and means of earning a livelihood in the industries ^{at that time} ~~confined~~ ^{carried on} to the home, - weaving, spinning, sewing, knitting, and carrying for domestic supplies of food. It scarcely came within the range of their thought that these things in less than a cent-

ury would be removed from the home to factories, workshops, packing
^{canning factories} houses and all the modern phases of woman's labor, now become so famil-
 iar to all of us. If I may be allowed one word of guidance to the stu-
 dents of current history, as I hope all my youthful hearers are, I
 would say that you must beware of thinking ^{as} ~~that~~ is very natural to the
 youthful mind, that ~~all~~ things ^{have} been always what they are now, or at
^{a time} least for so long that any thing different is scarcely a part of the
 problem now. But it is quite withing the memory of living persons when
 all these changes in women's earning powers ~~was~~ a very vital question
 indeed to women who found their ancient means of livelihood taken from
 them before they could easily adapt themselves to the newer methods. ~~Not~~
~~only so~~, but young people always find it difficult to realize that
 the ~~appear~~ aspects of life as they see them are not the merely
 natural order of things, ~~or that they are~~ the result of effort and
 struggle of ~~any~~ sort. ~~Not every language~~ ^{so long} ~~for~~ instance, I think
~~would~~ think it quite likely that many of the young girls before me ~~would~~
 accept it as a matter of course that ~~that~~ ~~Transylvania~~ that Transylvania
 University, so closely allied to your own Hamilton, ^{College} is open to girls as
 well as to boys. As a matter of fact, it was not until 1889 that its
 classes were opened to girls, ~~and then indirectly~~ ^{directly} as the result
 of ~~the~~ petition of the Fayette Equal Rights Association. The State ~~University~~
^{by the efforts of a few progressive-minded} College was only opened to women in 1869; though women were always taxed ~~over~~
 to support it. Nobody seemed to think there was anything inconsistent
 with taxing women for the support of an institution ~~to~~ whose advan-
 tages neither they nor any of their sex were permitted to share. The de-
 mand for collegiate education for women went hand-in-hand with the
 need of women to obtain an education which would fit them for the new in-
 dustrial and social world into which the advance of industrial systems
 was forcing women.

[1919]

These alterations in the industrial and economic status of women led to their feeling the need of expressing their own point of view in the laws relating to the security of property and its taxation, and to the protection of person in the new surroundings to which their changed industries led them,- in short, their need of expression in many things governmental which had been thought belonged exclusively to men. Now the only means really fitted to deal with governmental affairs is the instrument designed for the ^{very} purpose of giving every individual opinion the opportunity of intelligent and operative expression, that is, the ballot. Hence, woman suffrage made great progress in all these countries where the right of the people to self-government ~~was~~ ^{in the last forty years} recognized. Our own country was the first to recognize the principle, and Wyoming, as a territory as ~~early as~~ ⁱⁿ 1869 ^{became} the first self-governing community in the world to give women equal rights in government ^{with} men. Our country had made considerable progress in granting suffrage to women ^{world} before the war. Though several smaller countries had given a larger ^{a larger number} portion of the women, ^{relatively} in proportion to population, yet there were more ^{absolute} women enfranchised in the United States than in all other countries combined up ^{suffrage} to the time of the world war. ^{kept} Now the right of self-expression of women had thus ^{kept} in a degree equal step with their need of self-expression in industry, education and taxation. It remained for the great war to convince both men and women that women needed the right of self-expression in governmental matters touching the defense of their country ~~in war~~. The very last of the strongholds of conservatism against the right of women to vote was the familiar ^{argument} ~~one~~ that behind every ballot there should be a bullet, as force was in the last analysis the defense of a nation's life. It is one of the wonderful ^{results} things of this war that even to the most conservative there ~~has been~~ a fallacy proved in ^{of this argument has been} this argument. It has been proved to the convincing of every people that the help of women is essential to the success of any

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modern military power. The women must make the munitions of war and keep the wheels of industry moving for the production of those things without which no army could remain in the field a six-months. Even on the battle field itself, the services of women are so vital in maintaining the comfort and the morale of the armed men that it is difficult to believe than any army without the help of its countrywomen could equal the force of an enemy which possessed this support. Under the impetus given by the general recognition of the need of women of self-expression in war, ~~many of the leading nations~~ the cause of woman suffrage received a mighty impetus in several of the leading nations. England passed suffrage laws for which the women had been seeking in vain for many years. ~~Even~~ near neighbor, ~~Canada~~ became practically a wholly ~~women~~ ^{equal} suffrage government, as province after province gave suffrage as a recognition of women's inestimable service in war. Even Germany, long known as the least progressive nations for women, in her weakness felt the necessity of utilizing every element of strength, and has enfranchised her women in her new democracy. In our own country, the duality of our government, ~~appertine~~ ^{depending on} in which authority is apportioned between the supreme power of the people in the several states and the ~~enumerated powers~~ granted by the sovereign states to the Federal government ~~for certain specified~~ national interests, the process of enfranchising the women in the states where they have not been enfranchised yet, has been slower. ~~But~~ ^{there are countries where this can be accomplished} ~~For state constitutional amendment is a~~ slow process. But the rapid granting of presidential suffrage, which ~~is conferred upon~~ ^{which has done this} the legislatures of the states, by the Federal constitution, is an evidence that our country, also, is responding to the new need of self-expression of women in the ~~enlarged~~ ^{enlarged} affairs of the country. Already more than fifteen millions of the ~~possible~~ 24000000 million millions of women of voting age can now vote for president of the U.S.; Very likely before the next presidential election all of them will have

as nurses, Red Cross workers
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1919

the right to vote in it; and full suffrage, granted by state amendment has been ^{given} ~~granted~~ to more women since the war than in all the years previous. For though there were previously 11 states mostly of sparse population which had gained full suffrage, the four ^{more populous} ~~g~~ states of New York,

Michigan, S. Dakota and Oklahoma have actually more women voters than the ~~eleven~~ combined; and the ease with which the amendments were carried in 1918 is an augury of favorable action by the electors whenever the question is presented in other states, many of whom have already in con-

templation such a submission. The right of women's self-expression in politics is winning the day. Its principles are sound and laid in the same principles from which men gain their political rights. Any appearances of retardation of complete victory are like the little whirlpools and eddies one sees in the current of a stream, which seem to contradict the fact that the water is moving on irresistibly to ^{goal.} ~~the same~~

~~rights for both sexes.~~ Thus women ~~are~~ winning the right of self-expression in all those sections of human life to which they have obtained access by the advancement of industrial and social movements. ^{Through} ~~in their~~

^{these} slow movement ^{held before us} the world is beginning to recognize another fundamental truth always an ideal in the minds of seers and poets, that women are ~~not~~ ~~not~~ a half of a dual humanity whose interests can never

be separated from those of men in any department of human action, no matter what the appearances to the contrary may be. Self-expression is a need of the human race as a whole, and it can never be found in the utterance of men alone or of women alone. ~~It must ever be the expression~~

^{in unison} of both men and women together. The voice of the people is the voice of God is an ancient ^{formulation of a profound truth} ~~axiom which expresses~~ a profound truth. But that voice is like ^{proof of a real truth} ~~the voice of~~ music, it cannot be expressed ^{by} the voices of men alone or of women alone. The musical scale is not complete

without both the bass and the treble; and the ^{voice} ~~expression~~ ~~of~~ the ^{life} of humanity will not be complete until both men and women have attained the right of self-expression ~~in every~~ ~~of every~~ faculty. Woman suffrag

the people

in unison

2/19/95

~~isxanex~~ Woman suffrage is one of the advances in that grand
~~xx~~

Woman xysuffrage is not a movement which stands ap~~xxxxxhyxisselfxht~~
~~ixxantixhexemisidexndxiexordisxperfastlyxtexkndisrxtandixis~~ as effectiv
for the benefit of women only; but in order to understand the philoso-
phy it must be studied as one of the aspects of a forward movement
of a whole humanity, whose ultimate destiny is to bring to all athe
people ~~xukfikmentxf~~ a realisation of a requisite ~~ofrathexxpres-~~
~~sxexnxixperfect life.~~ In~~gaxkxmentxthaxkxpraxixoxkxntixhexinxax~~
~~guxkxmentxiixkxpraxixforxixhexpraxixandxyxixhexreoxlax.~~ A voice in
government must be a part o of the self-expression of that life; and
and is as necessary for men as it is for women.
that expression belongs as sacredly to women as to men. ~~Thaxixxixkx~~
~~praxixxxx~~ The recognition of that fact is the profound basis of rhe e
demand for woman suffrage; which will achieve its highest victory only
when it impresses this truth upon the conseiousness of the whole people.

[June 13, 1918]

G O D - S P E E D O U R B O Y S .

I bring you greeting, soldier boys, from one now eighty-three;
My heart goes out to every lad who fights for liberty;
God give you strength, protect, provide, when you go o'er the sea!

A German Nero seeks to make the world a race of slaves,
A Prussian ruler apes the way the cruel Hun behaves;
Democracy must find, through us, the helping hand that saves.

German stealth would fain corrupt our land through traitor spies.
They know us not. We're not the kind to fall for German lies;
With mighty millions called to arms our president replies.

I love the blessed Stars and Stripes, yes, just as much as you,
And in the stirring days gone by of sixty-one and two
I risked my life to prove my love for our red, white, and blue.

I flung them to the Southland breeze with Rebels all about
And at my window that flag stayed in spite of threat'ning shout;
And what a power our flag now is, Berlin shall soon find out!

God give you strength, such blow to strike for wronged humanity
That days of terror soon may pass, and that the world may be
Free from the Hun, and safe at last, for true democracy!

God Guide our arms; give might to right; our realization be
The application of the words of He of Gallilee,

"As ye've done for the least of these, ye've done it unto Me!"

(Greeting, by Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer, presented by her before
entertainments for soldiers in training at Ft. Snelling, and
at Aviation Training Camp at Minn. Agricultural College.)

The Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment

Headquarters: 130 North Upper Street

Lexington, Kentucky

Gentlemen,

The year 1916 was a banner year for the woman suffrage movement ; for in that year all the National political parties declared their adhesion to the principle of woman suffrage. The Republican party in June and the Democratic party in July declared in specific terms that they advocated woman suffrage by State action. Had either one or the other declared for Federal amendment on the question it could have been made a partisan issue, as the Democrats have always been the standard bearers of the States Rights doctrine. But as it is , both these parties stand pledged to the people to favor suffrage by the State ^{route.} route. Therefore, we must conclude that State action is the method desired by the mass of the ^{citizens} ~~people~~ who express their views on great public issues through their political parties assembled in National conventions.

It is a strange turn of affairs that after this expression of the will of the people a demand for a Federal amendment to settle the question has been pressed upon Congress.

The partial success of the demand, in that an amendment has been submitted to the State legislatures for ratification or rejection by Congress has obscured the issues involved in the minds of many persons. ^{But} as this partial success has been obtained without any substantial evidence that the vast mass of the ^{citizens} ~~people~~ who believe in suffrage for women have changed in any degree their attitude towards the State method, we feel that it is right that we as believers in the State method and long-^{time} workers for the cause of woman suffrage should appear before your honorable committee and in our humble way urge that the Democratic party of Kentucky should declare in its State platform a resolution to fulfill the hopes raised in suffragists by their National convention in 1916.

emphasize

We desire to ^{emphasize} state that our petition for a State amendment will not be affected either by the failure or the success of the ratification of the Anthony amendment. If ratification fails or is deferred, the hopes of all suffragists will be centered upon the fulfillment of your National pledges. If ratification succeeds, it will not strike out the word "male" in the election ^{clause} of the State constitution. The word will indeed become a dead letter, ^{but} it cannot be removed except by State Constitutional action. It will remain there a silent witness that the people of Kentucky never conferred suffrage upon Kentucky women; but that it was forced upon them by the legislatures of other states. This would be a stigma under which our people would never be willing to remain. In fact, it is one under which we wish never to fall. We wish that from the first women ^{should} be the political peers of men, in that they receive the right to vote from the people, freely given after free discussion of all the issues involved. In this way only can women be the full political peers of men, who have been enfranchised by the constitution of their own States, ^{and can be} united with men in sentiment towards the source of their rights and in the legal questions in which that source is involved. Without the heart of the people in the gift, suffrage for women would be a poor boon indeed.

Kentuckymen took part in the Democratic suffrage pledge of 1916. We are Kentucky women. We have not greater faith in any earthly power than in the trustworthiness of Kentucky men.

This convention will send out ~~promises of what~~ the party promises for the future; the people will hold that the best security for them will be the strict fulfillment of what ^{has been} promised before. In faith that the women of Kentucky may rely on ^{the} pledges of 1916, we respectfully submit this resolution, and petition that you will incorporate it in your platform. *The resolution is as follows.*

[1919]

and in what has been done to sustain the war at home. ~~Women have~~ ~~shared~~

Women have shared the burdens of maintaining their government. They are
entitled to share the privileges of that government. ^{Laborious} ~~long~~ and expen-
sive campaigns to win the right of the ballot to which every man is en-
daily

titled when he becomes of age is a task dreaded by women whose ~~ambitions~~
Before the war women underwent those toils in the states which won
and habits of thought do not fit them for such contests. They ought
suffrage; and the dread of them has made many women all to willing to
not to be required to undergo them after what they have borne during the
seek to be relieved from them by the process of Federal amendment which
war; and they will not be so required if the political leaders of our
seems to promise some relief from them. ~~but since~~ and whose
parties fulfill the promises of their platforms given to the people

for
in 1916. ~~that~~ that men who have lauded the services of women in
we believe

the war are willing to show them gratitude by lifting such a burden
from them, and to make them the political peers of themselves ~~and~~

by voting at the polls to confer the right of the ballot upon them on the
same terms as to men. Therefore, we respectfully memorialize your ~~honorable~~

honorable committee to embody in your platform of principles a plank
pledging your ~~party's~~ candidates to support the submission of an ~~amendment~~

amendment to the State constitution to grant suffrage to women on the
same terms as to men; and ~~calling upon~~ and ~~pledging~~ the

efforts of your party organization ~~to support~~
~~it~~, when the amendment is submitted, to support it at the polls.

difficulties have not perhaps been apprehended by many of them.
~~difficulties~~ have perhaps been not altogether apprehended by them. But since

4.

was to enact according to its own local requirements. The control of times, places and manner of the elections for Senators and Representatives, and other Federal officers were carefully prescribed ; and on the other hand no interference with State elections in any form was among the delegated powers of the United States. For it is evident that if any power to regulate the conditions of elections for either of these governments should rest in the hands of the other, the right of self-determination of the laws of that government would be destroyed to the degree of that regulation. Therefore the reservation to the States or the people of entire control of State elections was the all-sufficient check provided by the framers of the Constitution against the possibility of any section or party having the stronger representation in Congress subordinating to itself the interests of sections or States less numerously represented. Until 1870 there never was any infringement of this protective principle; but then, in the disorder of the nation during the reconstruction time after the Civil War an infringement upon it was made by the passage of the 15th amendment, of which the Anthony amendment is a repetition with the exchange of the word "sex" for "race, color or previous condition of servitude" in their first sections. The Enforcement Act of the 15th amendment, commonly called the Force Bill of May, 1870, was enacted under it. For the first time Congress had power to legislate on State elections when they involved differences of race. , and the effect of ^{the breach} of one of the fundamental protective provisions of our Constitution was quickly manifested. Whether or not it is an inherent vice of ~~representati~~ elective governments it is a fact recognized by all observers that in State elections the party which appoints the officials to conduct the elections and controls what is familiarly called the "machine" controls to a very appreciable extent the result of the elections. Now under the Force Bill Congress controlled the "machine" and State legislatures elected under the Force Bill responded in their State legislation

the right to vote in it; and full suffrage, granted by state amendment has been granted to more women since the war than in all the years previous. For though there were previously 11 states mostly of sparse population which had gained full suffrage, the four ^{more populous} states of New York, Michigan, S. Dakota and Oklahoma have actually more women voters than the eleven combined; and the ease with which the amendments were carried in 1918 is an augury of favorable action by the electors whenever the question is presented in other states, many of whom have already in contemplation such a submission. The right of women's self-expression in politics is winning the day. Its principles are sound and laid in the same principles from which men gain their political rights. Any appearances of retardation of complete victory are like the little whirlpools and eddies one sees in the current of a stream, which seem to contradict the fact that the water is moving on irresistibly to its ^{goal.} ~~its goal.~~ ~~rights.~~ Thus women are winning the right of self-expression in all these sections of human life to which they have obtained access by the advancement of industrial and social movements. In their slow movement the world is beginning to recognize another fundamental truth always an ideal in the minds of seers and poets, that women are ~~not~~ a half of a dual humanity whose interests can never be separated from those of men in any department of human action, no matter what the appearances to the contrary may be. Self-expression is a need of the human race as a whole, and it can never be found in the utterance of men alone or of women alone. It must ever be the expression of both men and women together. The voice of the people is the voice of God is an ancient ^{formulation of a profound truth} ~~axion which expresses~~ a profound truth. But that voice is like the voice of music, it cannot be expressed ^{by} the voices of men alone or of women alone. The musical scale is not complete without both the bass and the treble; and the ~~expression~~ life of humanity will not be complete until both men and women have attained the right of self-expression ~~in every~~ of every faculty. ~~Woman suffrage~~

~~isxxxx~~ Woman suffrage is one of the advances in that grand
~~xx~~

Woman ~~suffrage~~ is not a movement which ~~which~~ is ~~apart~~ ~~from~~ itself, but
may not be only judged by regarding it
~~it must be considered, in order perfectly to understand its~~ as effective *ing*

~~for~~ the ~~benefit~~ of women only; but in order to understand its philoso-
phy it must be studied as one of the aspects of ~~a~~ *the* forward movement

of a whole humanity, whose ultimate destiny is to bring to all the
people ~~fulfillment~~ *a fulfillment* of a requisite ~~for~~ *for* ~~the~~ ~~expression~~

~~of~~ perfect life; ~~In government, that expression must be in the~~

~~government of the people for the people and by the people.~~ A voice in

government must be a part of the self-expression of that life; and

~~and is as necessary for men as it is for women.~~ *that women*
~~that expression belongs as sacredly to women as to men.~~ *That is the*

should possess it as it is for women.

~~xxxxxxx~~ The ~~recognition~~ *of that fact* is the profound basis of the e

demand for woman suffrage; ~~which will~~ *which will* achieve its highest victory ~~only~~

~~when it impresses this truth upon the consciousness of the whole people.~~

*will be in the recognition of that truth by
the whole people.*

[1919]

Gentlemen,

in their plank of the
~~pledge given by the~~

As citizens who have a deep interest in ~~the fulfilment~~ of the
pledge given by the Republican party in its National platform of 1916,
wherin it favors the extension of suffrage to women, but recognizes
the right of each State to settle this question for itself, we come to
petition you to put a pledge in your State platform to support the sub-
mission of a state amendment at the coming session of the Kentucky
legislature, and to use all your influence to carry it successfully at
the polls. Now that the war is over, we feel that there is no suffici-
ent reason why the Republicans should delay any longer activity in the
fulfillment of that pledge. We do not consider that the votes given by
Republicans in Congress to the suffrage amendment is any part of the
redemption of this pledge. For there has no amendment been proposed
in Congress which was not patterned after the Fifteenth amendment, and
which, ~~if it ever should be ratified~~ if it ever should be ratified, would result in
putting white women in a political group separate from white men.

We have been hoping that this ~~national pledge~~ meant the promise of
Kentucky men, who gave their assent to it by their chosen delegates to
the great convention in Chicago, ~~meant that they intended to give to wom-~~
in 1916
en equal political rights with men. We have waited through one legis-
lative season without those hopes being realized. We do not count as
any portion of their fulfilment the votes given by Republicans to the
Federal
suffrage amendment proposed in Congress. Because the only amendment which
has been proposed there is patterned after the 15th amendment, ~~which~~
not
would, if ratified, ~~give~~ place women in the same political group with
white men, but on the contrary with those who were enfranchised by the
operation of the 15th amendment. This is very well for colored women;
for they will be grouped with men of their own race however women may
be enfranchised, since they come within the provisions of the 15th
amendment. But it is not a fair deal or a square deal to white women

(Over)

Kentucky Equal Rights Association

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 MRS. JOHN GLOVER SOUTH,
 State Headquarters, Frankfort

First Vice President
 MRS. E. L. HUTCHINSON, Lexington

Second Vice President
 MISS LAURA CLAY, Lexington.

Third Vice President
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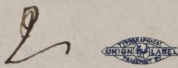
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MRS. S. M. HUBBARD,
 Hickman



to draw a line of political division between them and white men, and put them ^{politically with} ~~in the class~~ of those who, in the language of the U.S. Supreme Court, in defining the effect of the 15th amendment, have had bestowed upon them the "right of exemption from discrimination " on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. When women are

~~enfranchised~~ ^{white women} we want ~~them~~ ^{political} to be exactly on the plane of white men. The settlement of national frontiers in the new nations of Europe are a ~~lesson~~ ^{example}

^{in which racial sympathies are a determining factor} ~~lesson~~ to us that racial sympathies ~~have their roots in the soil of the continent~~ ^{are all over the world} ~~are recognized as one of the deep~~ ~~principles of human nature.~~ ^{principles of human nature.} When women are enfranchised, ~~we do not~~ ^{we do not} want any white women to be exactly on the plane of white men, without any ~~line of demarkation~~ ^{line of demarkation} between them ~~arising from the difference~~ ^{arising from the difference} of those rights.

rights or in the legal results ~~which may arise~~ ^{which may arise} from the difference of the fact that white men have been enfranchised by the will of the people ~~expressed~~ ^{expressed} of the sovereign states expressed through their constitutions; whereas the "right of exemption from discrimination " has been

~~legally~~ ^{legally} accomplished by act of legislatures. This cannot be the case ~~with white~~ ^{with white} women are enfranchised, as white men have been, by the will of the people expressed through their constitutions; and not by a "right of exemption from discrimination" granted by act of legislatures. We believe that the people of Kentucky wish white women

to have ~~exactly~~ ^{exactly} the political status of white men; and we believe that any different solution of the suffrage ~~question~~ ^{question} suggested in your

Handwritten notes and signatures in blue ink are scattered throughout the typed text, including the words 'politically with', 'example', 'principles of human nature', 'We do not', 'legally', and 'question'.

3.

and in what has been done to maintain the war at home. Women have shared the burdens of maintaining the government. They are entitled to share the privileges of that government. Before the war laborious and expensive campaigns to win the ballot were carried on by women in the earnest desire ~~for the right~~ to win the right to the ballot which was given to every man when he became of age. ~~Such campaigns were carried on by~~ women because they are not fitted by their usual avocations and habits of thought for such contests. ~~Such campaigns were carried on by~~ A Federal amendment which seemed to offer some relief from these hardships easily appealed to them, when perhaps the disadvantages of such a method were not ~~apprehended~~ ^{many of} apprehended by them. But since the war no such laborious campaigns for state suffrage should be imposed upon them. It is not in accordance with the ~~great~~ appreciation expressed by men for women's heroism in the war to demand of them now, ~~exhausted~~ and weary with sacrifices of time and money to undertake such campaigns. The men who have lauded their services in the war we believe are willing to show their gratitude ~~taxkxam~~ by lifting such a burden from them and to make them their political peers by voting at the polls to confer the right of the ballot upon them. Therefore, we respectfully ~~request~~ ^{petition and urge} your honorable committee to embody in your platform of principles a plank pledging your candidates to support the submission of an amendment to the state constitution at the coming General Assembly to grant suffrage to women on the same terms as men; and pledging your party organization, when the amendment is submitted, to support it at the polls.