

[1917]

(c) COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING AS A PERMANENT POLICY. We should continue our opposition to compulsory military training. In this position we have the President on our side, at least to the extent of discouraging haste in adopting it as a permanent policy. He takes this position, so he states, "chiefly for the reason that in these anxious and disordered times, a clear view cannot be had either of our permanent military necessities or of the best mode of organizing a proper military peace establishment. The hope of the world is that when the European War is over, arrangements will have been made composing many of the questions which have hitherto required the arming of the nations. When these arrangements for a permanent peace are made, we can determine our military needs." It is fortunate that at least in this position we can stand behind the President.

(d) MILITARY TRAINING FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN. We should continue to oppose military training in schools and should press in state legislatures the alternative of Required Physical Training for pupils in all school grades. This happily is a recommendation which is backed with extraordinary unanimity by both military and educational experts. Hence we have here a case where there is no legitimate opposition between those who believe that the world today should be organized and trained for peace and those who believe it should be organized and trained for war.

No man can tell whether the entrance of the world's greatest democracy into the war is to prove a means toward its quicker ending and the establishment of a more lasting peace, or whether it is to prove a colossal blunder. No man knows enough to judge his brother because he makes the one prophecy or the other.

The constitution of the United States offers a sacred guarantee of the rights of minority opinion. It often happens that the minority of today is the majority of tomorrow. Let us who are outvoted be neither abashed nor discouraged. Let us hold fast the truth as God gives us to see the truth. Let us never allow ourselves for one moment to feel discredited in working to promote the reign of Peace on Earth among Men of Good Will.


THE HILDMANN PRINTING CO.
722-732 SHERMAN ST.
CHICAGO

A Program During War Time

Published by

THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY
NATIONAL OFFICE
116 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Under the shadow of the war which we hoped our country might not be called upon to enter, members of the Woman's Peace Party do not need to affirm or reaffirm their patriotism and the devotion of their lives to our country's higher life. The Internationalism to which the Woman's Peace Party is pledged came to fulfill the highest nationalism and not to destroy it.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The Woman's Peace Party recommends that during the war its members carry on three kinds of patriotic work in which it can co-operate with all citizens.

First. There can be no more needful work than that of promoting the spirit of good will and mutual comprehension between persons of varying points of view. However we may differ as to methods, we all have a common purpose,—that of defeating the spirit of militarism in every land. We do not believe that this spirit can be destroyed by machine guns any more than heresy could be abolished by the thumbscrew or the rack. Let those of opposed opinions be loyal to the highest that they know, and let each understand that the other may be equally patriotic.

The effort to preserve mutual respect and good-will requires little time and no money, but it costs much in thought and in nerve force, and above all, it demands Christian grace. Let us make it our business to discourage the growth of a spirit of ill-will or violence, such as has characterized war time in other periods and other countries.

(Note.—Walter Walsh's Book entitled "Moral Damage of War," is suggestive reading in this connection.)

Second. The war will sharply complicate existing social needs, while it will withdraw the energy and interest heretofore devoted to them. It is important that such work, both local and national, should be carried forward. Otherwise there will be an increase of suffering, poverty and crime in our midst. Rising prices, absent husbands and bread winners, mothers withdrawn into industry, and children drafted from school to the labor market will affect our problem. Immigrants from enemy countries will be especially in need of intelligent sympathy and help.

Registration for this work has already begun at the Headquarters of the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party. It is expected that each state and local branch will develop its own type of such work, but always in co-operation with other organizations in such a manner as to avoid duplication.

Third. Work for a League of Nations to substitute law for war. Unless there shall be a just war settlement and a definite advance toward world organization, unless there shall be established a federation of nations open to all and a world court, peace will prepare the way to a new war. It is estimated that some forty million men, women and children have been starved or crippled or killed in this war. Shall these have suffered and died in vain?

Never was there more urgent need for the Woman's Peace Party to carry forward its propaganda. Even during war time political foresight and wisdom are the most essential features of "preparedness." The world's problem today is practically that which faced the founders of our Republic. Without miracle, without a change of human nature, our Fathers achieved the method by which forty-eight states have secured interstate peace with substantial justice. Today it is the supreme duty of the United States, by similar methods, to help federate the earth's forty-eight nations into a united world.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

(a) ESPIONAGE BILL. We should work against the dangerous Espionage Bill which passed the Senate of the last congress by a vote of 60 to 10. This Bill has been reintroduced into the present Congress, but it is in progress of being remodeled. The safeguarding of military and naval information, which is the purpose of this bill, can be secured without endangering our fundamental liberties of free speech, free press, and free assemblage. We should instantly urge our Senators and Representatives in Congress to secure in the bill an explicit statement that its provisions apply only to naval and military matters, and not to a discussion of general questions, nor to propaganda directed toward securing change of laws or of governmental action and policies.

(b) CONSCRIPTION. The President has already the power to draft to full war strength the regular army and the National Guard. His recommendation that an additional 500,000 men be secured by selective draft on the "principle of universal military service," is before Congress. Our country is in no danger of invasion. Even Australia and Canada have not yet adopted the policy of sending conscripts beyond the sea, and Canada has neither conscription nor compulsory military training. Whatever may be said about volunteers, if the voice of the people can make itself heard above the din of a commercialized press, we believe that Congress will never conscript our young men to serve on foreign shores. It is our business to endeavor to make the voice of the people heard in Washington.

C 1917?

SUFFRAGE SONG

To be sung to the tune of
"AMERICA."

My country 'tis for thee,
To make your women free,
This is our plea.
High have our hopes been raised
In these enlightened days
That for her justice, praised
Our land might be.

My native country thee ;
Grant us equality !
Then shall we see
In this fair land of light
Justice and truth and right
Ruling, instead of might,
Trust liberty!

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

Battle Hymn of the Republic

By Julia Ward Howe

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.
He is tramping out the vintage where the grapes of wrath
are stored ;

He has loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift
sword .

His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling
camps ;

They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and
damps ;

I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring
lamps ;

His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel ;
“As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace
shall deal ;

Let the Hero born of woman, crush the serpent with his
heel,

Since God is marching on.”

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call
retreat ;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment-
seat ;

Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him ! be jubilant, my feet !

Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me ;
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men
free,

While God is marching on.

[Dec. 13, 1918]



THE FOUR SEAS COMPANY
ANNOUNCE FOR EARLY PUBLICATION
ONE HUNDRED POEMS BY

Agnes Ryan

THREE PLAYS BY

Henry Bailey Stevens



A WHISPER OF FIRE

By AGNES RYAN

"Thought, originality, and a genuinely poetic temperament, are revealed in these poems. It has been called impossible to say anything new under the sun; but the ideas expressed in some of these verses are absolutely novel."—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

"There are passages as poignant sometimes as Fiona McLeod's *Rune of the Passion of Women*. There are beautiful little flashes of landscape and of insight into the human heart."—WILLIAM MARION REEDY.

A CRY OUT OF THE DARK

By HENRY BAILEY STEVENS

"These are remarkable plays. Whether he agrees with the doctrines underlying them or not, the reader cannot fail to be impressed by the high idealism of these little dramas, and the force and felicity with which the thought is expressed."—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

"I rejoice that Mr. Stevens' play, *The Meddler*, is to be published. Many silent hearts will find it and be grateful."—OLIVE TILFORD DARGAN.

THE two volumes are uniform in size and *format*, attractively bound in boards and decorative labels, with gilt tops, and special attention has been paid to the typography. The price of each volume will be \$1.25 net, postage extra, but a special price of \$2.00 for the set, postpaid, will be accepted *in advance of publication only*.

ORDER FORM

The Four Seas Company,
Copley Theatre Building,
Boston, Mass.

Gentlemen:

Please send me.....sets of the two volumes by Agnes Ryan and Henry Bailey Stevens, *A Cry Out of the Dark* and *A Whisper of Fire*, for which I enclose \$. at \$2.00 per set, to be delivered to me postpaid.

NAME

ADDRESS

(The list price of each volume separately will be \$1.25 net, postage extra)

Kentucky's Fame

BY
ADA MAY CROMWELL

The Suffrage League of Kentucky
Sends you this little note
To remind you that in the Blue Grass
The women are asking for votes.

Here in the land of romance
Where men of heroic breed
Have ever been quick to succor
A child or a woman in need.

Here, in that "Old Kentucky"
Of song and story and fame,
Where men have the right of suffrage
The women are asking the same.

Were she asking a crown or a bauble
He would grant it in calm delight,
Will Kentucky's men refuse her
When she asks for woman's rights?

When she pleads for the right to help him
In upbuilding a better State,
Will he reject her pleadings
And bid the suppliant wait?

While out in the "Wild West Country"
Woman with strength and mind
Is voting beside her husband,
Shall Kentucky be left behind?

The question will be before you,
Up to your "yea" or "nay,"
And the future fame of Kentucky
Depends upon which you say.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY of KENTUCKY

From Miss L. Clay's papers

March 1946



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



These were sent to 1900
Election Judges + Clerks.

Returned for Better Address

As an election official your difficult task at elections will be made more difficult because there are separate ballots and ballot boxes for men and women. If the men and women voted the same ballot and their ballots were deposited in the same box, it would not only be easier for you but it would be more just to the women.

A Suffrage Amendment to the Illinois Constitution pending in Springfield would give women the right to vote for all officers. Will you not at once write to your Senator and your three Representatives asking them to vote and work for the success of this measure?

Please drop me a line that you have done this.

CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH

Chairman Suffrage Amendment Alliance,
112 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

February 5, 1917.

519195

The Passing of
Anna Howard Shaw

By
IDA HUSTED HARPER

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
171 Madison Avenue, New York City

The Passing of Anna Howard Shaw

The joy which recent victories have brought to the advocates of woman suffrage has suddenly been changed to a grief so intense that it cannot be lightened by any future triumphs, for on the evening of July 2, there passed from among them forever their beloved leader, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. Not even the death of those other great leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, left such a vacancy, for they had lived far beyond four-score years and their great work had gone into the hands of younger women, but Dr. Shaw died in the fullness of her power and there is none to inherit it. She was seventy-two years old but her wonderful voice was as rich and musical as in her youth, and her keenness of mind and force of expression seemed to increase with every year. During the more than two-score years that she urged the cause of temperance and equal suffrage she had no peer among women as an orator, and during the past two or three years that she has been pleading first for loyalty to the government and courage to win the war, and then for the League of Nations to end war forever, she has had no peer among men.

It was because of her power of oratory that Mr. Taft, president of the League to Enforce Peace through Arbitration, called Dr. Shaw last winter from her home in Florida where she was obliged to go each season because of repeated attacks of pneumonia, to speak in one or two of the Southern States, and as the weather was not severe she did not return but kept on speaking for it and for suffrage. She was about to finish up her suffrage engagements and go abroad for a rest with Miss M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, her devoted friend, when the urgent summons came again from Mr. Taft to put aside everything and accompany him and President Lowell, of Harvard University, on a speaking tour of fourteen States from New Hampshire to Kansas. She cheerfully cancelled all engagements and the European trip, spent every night on a sleeper and spoke in a different State each day, often several times a day, to large audiences. At Springfield, Ills., she was suddenly stricken with pneumonia and after several weeks in a hospital was able to be taken home. Here she seemed to recover quickly and on Sunday appeared almost well, was singing and laughing and planning for the first summer she ever had been able to spend in the beloved home she had built twelve years ago in Moylan, a suburb of Philadelphia. On Monday she

had a serious relapse, on Tuesday she became unconscious and on Wednesday the dauntless spirit yielded to the master hand of death.

Dr. Shaw literally died of overwork. She could not refuse a request to speak for a worthy cause; she never spared herself and never gave up to fatigue, but was sustained by her will power, her inexhaustible fund of humor, her optimism and her faith that justice must ultimately triumph. She died at the height of her glorious career. There is some consolation in the thought that she lived to see the victory of the two reforms to which she had especially devoted her life—prohibition and woman suffrage—but she knew that much work was yet to be done before the victory was complete and she wished to help in this work. It is some consolation too that she lived to see the end of the war and the dawn of peace, but to make both definite and final she realized that a vast amount of time and effort must still be expended and she wanted to give from her own store to its full extent, so even this consolation is shadowed with regret.

Dr. Shaw died for her country as truly as did any soldier on the field of battle and the suffragists would rather have it so than that she should have been sacrificed for their cause. It was because of her splendid work for the political freedom of women

that President Wilson and the members of his Cabinet who constituted the Council of National Defense chose her to head the Woman's Committee and organize and direct the work of the women of the nation during the war. These were the most critical two years in the whole course of the suffrage movement, as the Federal Amendment was before Congress most of the time, but when some anxious one would express sorrow at the loss of Dr. Shaw's much needed assistance she would answer: "I am doing the best work for suffrage that I ever did in my life. I am in daily companionship with men and women of influence whom I could never otherwise have met and have countless opportunities in many ways to make friends and sentiment for it."

The movement has now passed from the period of propaganda into that of systematic, organized political work and in this Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the national president, is unsurpassed, but it is a grave mistake to say that Dr. Shaw's task was finished. She spent two precious days at the New York headquarters before starting on this last tour and never had she seemed to be planning so much to do in the future. She was looking forward to the great celebration when the last State should ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment; she wanted to help put the new League of

Women Voters on its feet; she was desirous especially to bring the women of the world together again in the International Council of Women and the International Suffrage Alliance and begin the healing of the wounds of the war. Above all else she longed to take part in the vast social reconstruction which promises to absorb the time and effort of the leaders of thought and action in all countries. Dr. Shaw felt that with the new influence and power that had come to women they would be a strong factor in the solution of world problems, and, now that she was soon to be released from her forty years' work for the suffrage, she rejoiced that she would be free to devote herself to these national and international questions. Her loss is irreparable.

Only the relatives and nearest friends attended the funeral services, conducted by her lifelong co-worker, the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, with a tender and eloquent address by Mrs. Catt, her closest associate for the past quarter-of-a-century. The Secretary of War had sent an officer from the War Department as his representative, and the League to Enforce Peace was represented by its executive secretary. A wireless message of sympathy from the President of the United States was read and there was a magnificent floral tribute from the White House. Dr. Shaw lay under a covering of golden-hearted roses from the

National-American Suffrage Association, of which she was vice-president-at-large, president and honorary president during the last twenty-seven years. Every room was filled with flowers, some of which had been ordered by telegraph from as far away as the Pacific coast. Pictures of Susan B. Anthony looked down from the walls and articles from her home were scattered about the rooms. Built on the edge of a ravine through which flows a brook, with immense oak trees at the back and embowered in vines and shrubs it is a simple, comfortable house, which Dr. Shaw toiled many years to pay for and beautify. She had never had leisure to spend a whole month here at any one time, but Lucy Anthony, her private secretary and companion for thirty years, niece of Susan B. Anthony, had kept it always ready to welcome its cherished mistress. As she lay there among the flowers in the stillness of death the vision of her public life faded away, and those gathered around her thought only of the charm of her hospitality, of her generous, loving nature, of the sweet womanliness of character which held her friends by unbreakable ties and won the admiration of those even who opposed the measures which she so fearlessly advocated.

I stood long by her side and gazed on that noble head and face in the majesty of

death, the Medal for Distinguished Service and the "suffrage flag" with its tiny diamond stars resting on her breast. I recalled an incident that occurred some years ago in Amsterdam, where a congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was being held. Dr. Shaw was to preach on Sunday evening in one of the large Dutch churches. Two men back of me were talking contemptuously in English of "women ministers," when she came in and walked slowly up the narrow winding stairs to the high pulpit. In her flowing robe with her crown of white hair she looked like an angel and one of the men exclaimed: "What a beautiful face!" She seemed to speak with even more than her usual inspiration and when she had finished he exclaimed again: "What a beautiful mind!" Could he have known her he would have said: "What a beautiful soul!"

The night after Mrs. Stanton died Miss Anthony wrote: "It seems impossible that voice is stilled which I have loved to hear for fifty years!" And so today women in all parts of the world, who at the great congresses of the International Council and the Alliance had listened entranced to this matchless orator, are asking: "Can it be that voice is stilled forever?" There are no more appropriate last words than those which were uttered by Dr. Shaw herself as she stood among the snow drifts by the

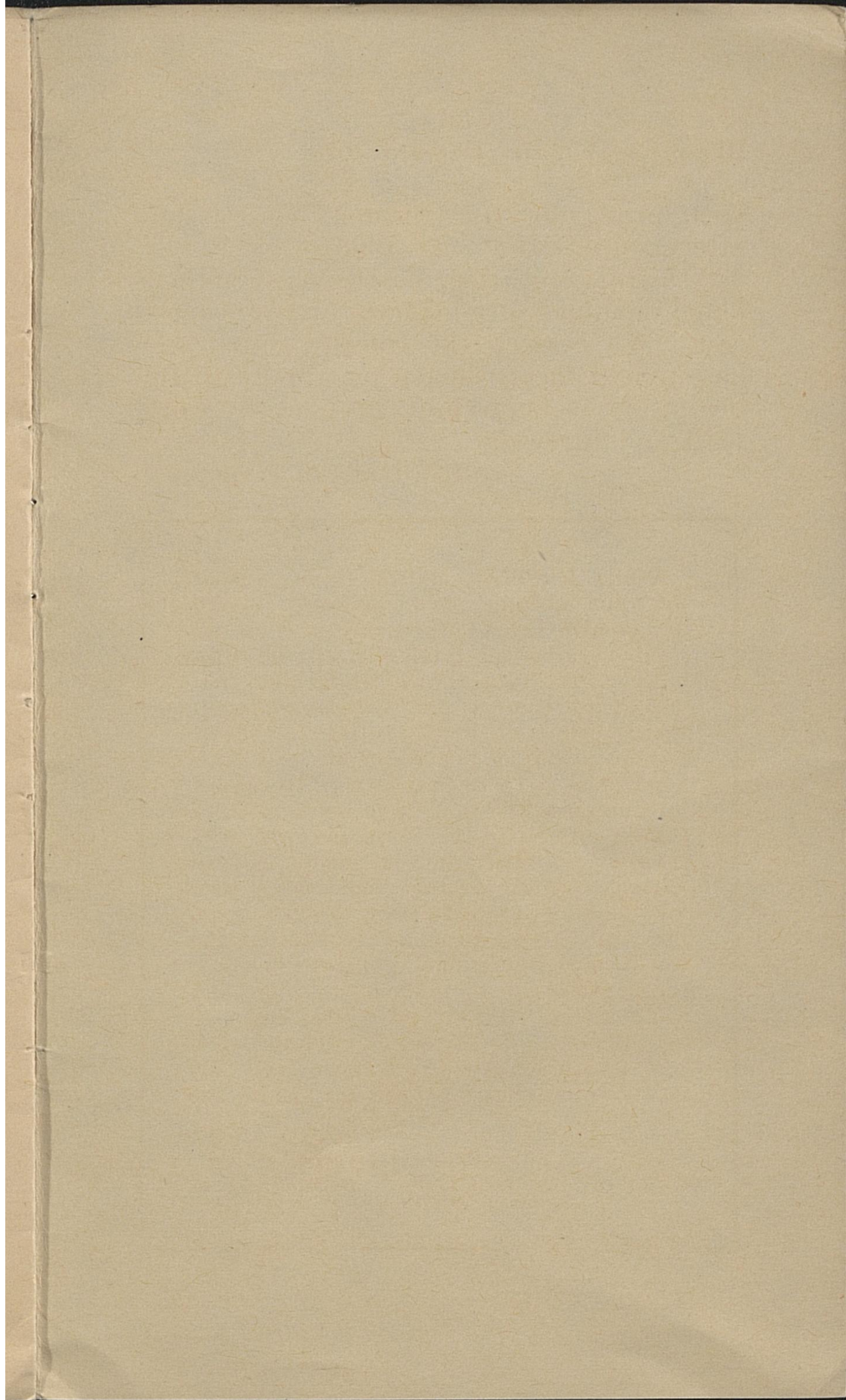
open grave of Miss Anthony in the late afternoon of March 15, 1906:

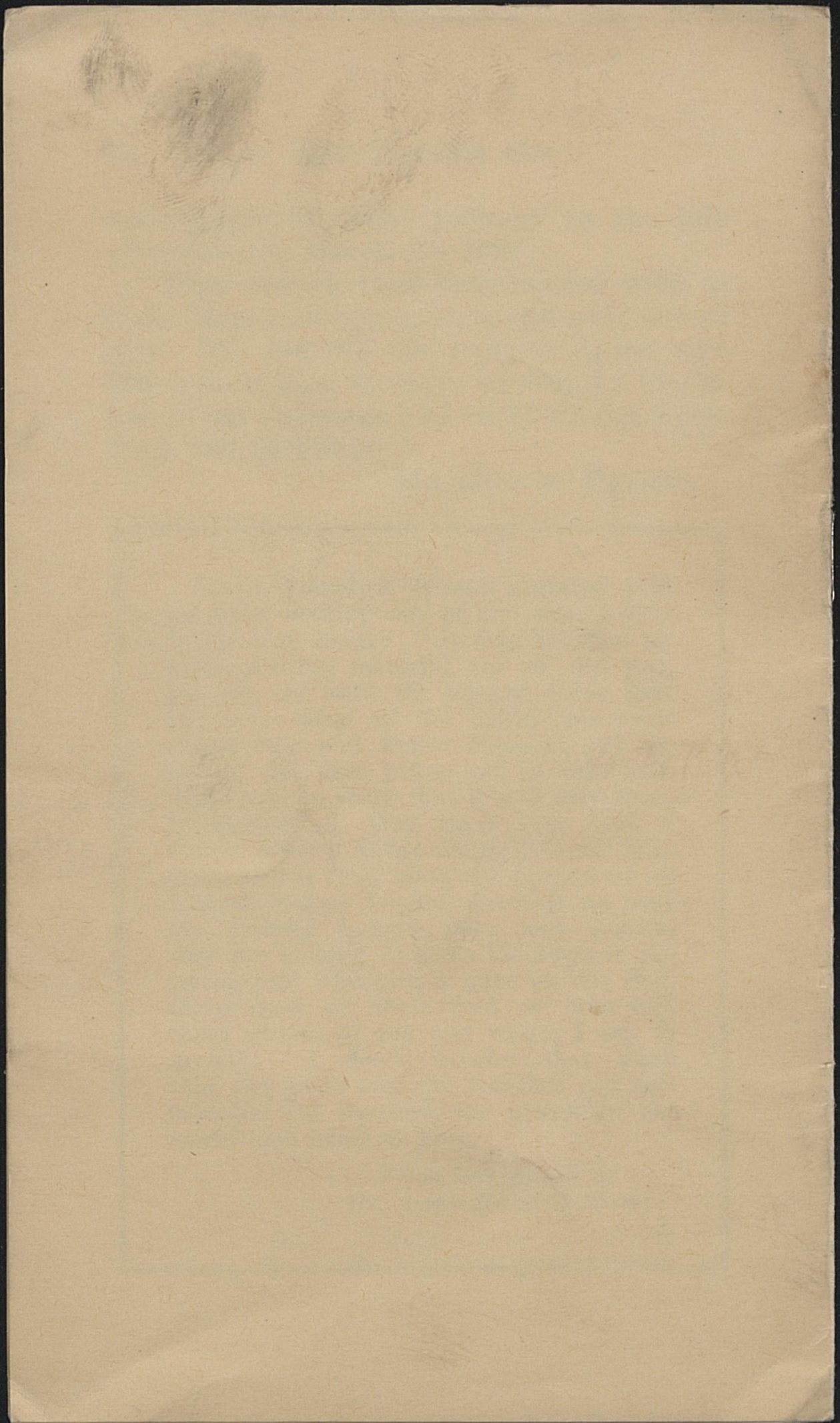
"Dear friend, thou hast tarried with us long; thou hast now gone to thy well-earned rest. We beseech the Infinite Spirit who has upheld thee to make us worthy to follow in thy footsteps and carry on thy work. Hail and farewell!"

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

While President Wilson declared that we want nothing out of the war, I said in my own heart: "It may be that we want nothing material out of the war, but, oh, we want the biggest thing that has ever come to the world—we want Peace now and Peace forever! If we cannot get that peace out of this war, what hope is there that it will ever come to humanity? Was there ever such a chance offered to the world before? Was there ever a time when the peoples of all nations looked toward America as they are looking today? Men and women, they are looking to us as the hope of the world, and whenever I gaze on our flag, those stars on their field of blue and those stripes of red and white, I say to myself: 'I don't wonder that when that flag went over the trenches and surmounted the barriers, the people of the world took heart of hope.' "

*From last speech of
Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.*





The Theodore Roosevelt Memorial

1918-19?

What Does Theodore Roosevelt Mean to You?

We believe his name must always stand for:

Active, not passive, citizenship

Vigor of life

Robustness of belief

Courage in thought and in action.

Energy of will

Protection for the weak

A stern and square justice

A warm and vivid human understanding.

These are the qualities of a sturdier citizenship.

They are the qualities of a sounder American youth.

They are the foundation qualities of a robust Americanism.

In memorializing the quality of Theodore Roosevelt's American citizenship we are therefore making no merely personal tribute—

We are perpetrating the spirit of a greater America.

"Roosevelt House"

The Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association is acquiring Colonel Roosevelt's birthplace at 28 East Twentieth Street, and the adjoining property at 26 East Twentieth Street, New York City.

The place of his birth is to be restored and the interior reproduced.

A Living Memorial

"If any friends of ours wish to commemorate us after death, the way to do it is by some expression of good deeds to those who are still living."

So wrote Colonel Roosevelt to a friend a few years ago, protesting against what he called "meaningless mausoleums and monuments to the dead."

Only a living memorial will fittingly do honor to this most vital American.

We have chosen this birthplace project because we want a place set aside for the objects and ideas that characterized him, pervaded by the influences that developed him, a gathering place for the men and women and boys and girls he loved, where his voice may, year after year, be clearly and strongly heard.

It is fitting that the women, and the mothers, of America should thus in this concrete, symbolic yet practical way, in the place and the house of his birth, "hand on the torch" of that vigorous flaming never-dying spirit to the youth of America.

The citizens of Fayette County, men and women, of all races, religions and political parties, who have been impressed by the outstanding quality of Theodore Roosevelt's Americanism and Patriotism are earnestly requested to contribute to this memorial. The name of each contributor of one dollar or more will be recorded in a permanent way at Roosevelt House.

MARY S. COMBS,

(Mrs. Leslie Combs)

Chairman for Fayette County.

ANNA T. ROBERTS,

(Mrs. Samuel J. Roberts),

Vice Chairman.

- 10 What to do? (Small leaflets. Fine) 5 for .01
 11 Rainbow Flyers (in colors) Very good. 6 for .01
 12 Democracy Demands Suffrage Dr. R. Phelan 5 for .02
 13 Do you know? Carrie Chapman Catt. 2 for .05
 14 How it Works in Colorado. Sarah Platt Decker
 Judge Lindsay, 2 for .05
 15 Why Women Should Vote. Alice Stone Black-
 well For Debate
 16 The Real Point. Mary Ware Dennett.

DEBATES—Debates may be managed for effectiveness and stimulation of interest, but unsupported statement, acrimonious retort, flippant ridicule are not to be substituted for sound authoritative argument or the general courtesy due an opponent.

PLAYS. There are three short plays suitable to Eighth Grade and High School Pupils. "Before the Dawn," "A Woman's Influence," and "How the Vote Was Won." The last, a story of how a man was won for Woman Suffrage by having all his dependent women KIN come to live with him, has been given with great success. Address Beatrice Forbes Robertson, 21 W. 8th St., N. Y.

SUFFRAGE RESOLUTIONS: It is expected that this department will endeavor to secure the adoption of resolutions favoring Equal Suffrage at meetings of the people, especially those composed largely of women, such as women's clubs, teachers' meetings, etc. This, because 'tis said "WOMEN DO NOT WANT IT."

It is urged by the State President, Mrs. W. A. Johnston, that all the Suffrage organizations and officers join this department in the pushing of its work for the next few months. Whatever is done must be done before the close of schools in May. Will you help us? With the hope that all interested parties may help in some way, even if that way is not outlined here, and that you may offer suggestions freely as to modification or betterment of this, I am

Very cordially yours,

EFFIE GRAHAM.

State Chairman Dept. of Education K. E. S. A.
 829 Lane Street, Topeka, Kansas

Prize Essay Contests in the Kansas Schools.

**Declamations, Debates, Suffrage Plays,
Traveling Libraries, Etc., under the
Auspices of the**

KANSAS EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

ESSAYS. The Kansas Equal Suffrage Association will offer prizes to the pupils in the Kansas schools for the best essays on the subject "WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE." The plan as outlined here is offered for the help of those having the work in charge.

1. The contests will be arranged as follows:

Class A. The rural or ungraded schools and unincorporated towns.

Class B. Cities of the third class.

Class C. Cities of the second and first class.

II. In all classes the essays must be read before the school at a public contest to which the patrons and general public shall be urgently invited. The winning essays in classes A and B shall be read again at a county contest with others of like class, the winning manuscripts from which shall be sent to a Congressional District Contest, and the winning essay from that shall be sent to a state contest. In Class C large emphasis must be placed on the local contest, and all possible publicity given, as the distances between the larger cities make further contest impracticable.

III. It is suggested that in classes A and B the first prize in the school district be \$2.50, the second \$1.50, the third be \$1.00; that in the county contest the first prize be \$5.00 the second \$3.00, the third \$2.00; that the district prize be \$10 for the first and \$5.00 for the second; that the state prize be \$25.00 for first and \$10 for second. It is expected that the County Equal Suffrage Associa

tion shall provide prizes for the school district and county contest, that the congressional district organization shall provide for the Congressional District and the State Officers provide the state prizes. It is urged, however, that wherever possible, money be solicited for this purpose from people in the immediate locality. This secures greater public interest and has been very successful wherever tried.

IV. All essays must be written in ink on only one side of legal sized ruled ink paper, with one inch margin on the left and one half inch indented paragraph. Manuscripts must be folded once length-wise, endorsed across the top of outer page with fold to the left as follows: writer's name and postoffice address, name or number of school or school district, and class of essay (A. B. C.)

V. The essays must not exceed eight hundred words and must be the original work of the contestant. Quotations taken collectively must not exceed one hundred words, must be designated by quotation marks and so used as to be known as quotations by one listening. It is understood that this does not bar any pupil from the three well known methods of gathering material, namely: from reading, from conversation, and from his own personal experience or observation.

VI. In making decisions judges shall mark on composition, thought, and delivery (when read).

VII All contests, essays and prizes shall be under the personal supervision of the county chairman of the department of Suffrage education, who will arrange for as many contests as possible and the distribution of all necessary literature, secure the co-operation of all newspapers in her county in giving publicity previous to contests, secure prizes from local parties, etc., to the end that as large a crowd as possible may hear the program. This department would appreciate copies of newspapers containing these accounts.

TRAVELING LIBRARIES OF SUFFRAGE LITERATURE are now in contemplation. These are new in Suffrage Work and promise to be popular. Make application early by writing to

State Traveling Library, Topeka, Kansas. Samples of best Suffrage literature may be obtained from 505 Fifth Ave., New York. This is the most important part of the work and should be given prompt attention. (SEND AT ONCE). Let all Suffragists read, re-read and pass pamphlets on. We must know What We Ask and Why.

DECLAMATIONS.....DIALOGUES.....PLAYS.

All these may be used effectively in programs where the essays are read, thus securing variety and the bringing in of more pupils. For humorous selections take S. E. Kiser's "Ma can't VOTE," and "A ALLEGORY ON WIMMEN'S RIGHTS," and the "ROSE ACT" by Josiah Allen's Wife. Fine prose selections like "SOME REASONS WHY," "THE TEST OF EXPERIMENT," "TOO EMOTIONAL," may be assigned to boys. A striking dialogue may be arranged for pupils from "A FEW LEADING QUESTIONS." Another group of pupils may be asked to give short sentence speeches from words of "Eminent People," and a like exercise from words of noted Kansans. (Gov. Hoch, Chief Justice Johnston, Chief Justice Horton, et al.). An effective number would be, to use the leaflet "VOTES FOR WOMEN" having one pupil give "People Say", and the school respond by "We Say". All may be obtained from 505 Fifth Ave., N. Y. or Equal Suffrage Headquarters, Topeka, Kansas. (6c in stamps.)

SUGGESTED LITERATURE;

1 Woman Suffrage, Arguments and Results. (collection)30
2 Suffrage a Right. Ida Husted Harper.10
3 Why Equal Suffrage Has been a Success. T. Thomas10
4 Woman Suffrage Throughout the World. Ida H. Thomas10
5 Education and Democracy, Frances Squires Potter10
6 Hist. of the Movement in the US. Ida H. Harper 2 ..	.05
7 Woman Suffrage in New Zealand. Mrs. Shepherd ..	.05
8 Objections answered. Alice Stone Blackwell 2 for ..	.05
9 Eminent Opinions.....	.05

Dec. 29
1919

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

OF THE SOUTHERN WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR THE REJECTION OF THE PROPOSED SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

1. We believe in the political principle of Local Self Government and that **State Sovereignty is essential** to the Liberty, Happiness, True Progress, and Welfare of the American People.

2. **WE ARE UNALTERABLY OPPOSED TO THE ADOPTION OF THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES**, which Amendment will force the unrestricted ballot upon unwilling majorities in Southern States, and will place the control of the electorate outside the Sovereign State.

3. We deny the Justice of the Compulsory Regulation of the Electorate of our States by a **combination** of other States, who have no sympathetic understanding of our peculiar Social and Racial problems.

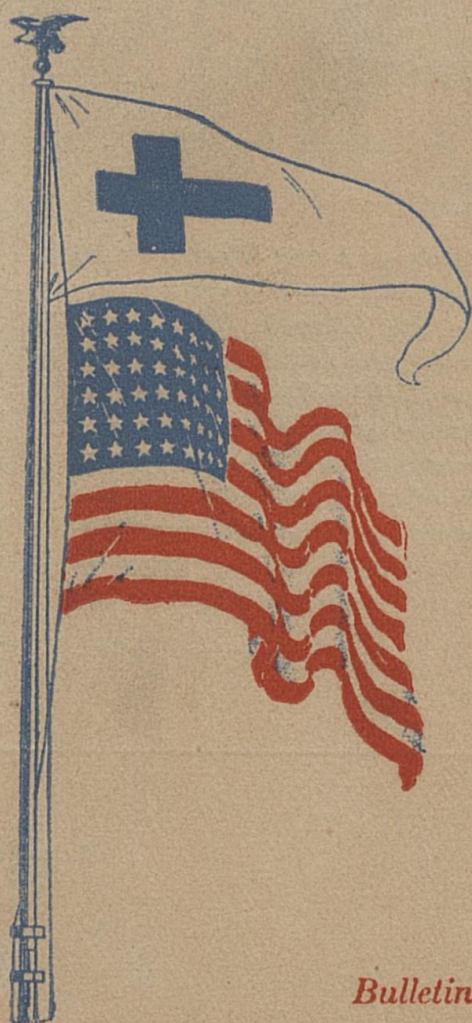
4. We oppose any measure that threatens the continuation of **Anglo-Saxon** domination of Social and Political affairs in each and every State of the Union without strife and bloodshed which would inevitably follow an attempt to overthrow it.

5. We oppose **SOCIALISM, BOLESHVISM, RADICALISM** and all the Social disorders that are now disturbing the world and are rapidly encroaching upon our own Republic, and believe that these disorders will be aided and multiplied and more effectually forced upon the Conservative States such as we represent, through the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

6. We declare that the **REJECTION** of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in **NO** way affects the rights of the several individual States, **TO SO AMEND THEIR CONSTITUTIONS**, as to enfranchise the women of those States, where a **majority** so elect; and to throw safeguards and limitations upon electoral qualifications as local conditions demand.

7. We believe that in its present form, we live under the fairest and most liberal Government in the world, and desire to see it perpetuated in order that generations coming after us may enjoy the same Liberty in the Pursuit of Happiness we have enjoyed; and to that end we pledge our most earnest and continued efforts in behalf of the **Rejection of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution of the United States**, and call upon **all true Americans** to join us in this fight.

5/9/93



*Bringing
Our
Men
Home*

Bulletin No. 3

THE WAR COMMISSION OF THE
EPISCOPAL CHURCH

BY CABLE FROM FRANCE

Paris, Dec. 5, 1918.

**Bishop Lawrence
Boston, Massachusetts**

Of the thousand American Army Chaplains in France, one hundred and twenty-five are Episcopalians, dependent on the Church War Commission for service equipment and funds to help the soldiers in emergency. Chaplains come from their troops to me in Paris every day for assistance of every sort. With twenty thousand churchmen in the Army, hundreds of them in hospitals, the Commission is in constant touch, visiting many, corresponding with all. Now is the time of special need and of great opportunity for the Church.

BISHOP PERRY

Bringing Our Men Home

*Work that the Church must continue
during demobilization*

Bulletin No. 3

THE WAR COMMISSION OF THE
EPISCOPAL CHURCH

14 Wall Street
New York

1919

The Budget of the Church
War Commission

Chaplains	\$40,000.00
Brotherhood of St. Andrew	30,000.00
Women's Work	60,000.00
Industrial Work	15,000.00
Seamen's Church Institute	7,000.00
Special Diocesan War Work	40,000.00
Church Periodical Club	7,000.00
General War-Time Commission	10,000.00
Additional Overseas Work	26,000.00
Local Office	15,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$250,000.00

The Church in the Year of Demobilization

Peace has come suddenly. The future of our Army and Navy is so uncertain that we can only roughly estimate the needs. Of two things we are clear:

First—That the period of demobilization will call upon the moral and spiritual forces of the Churches and communities with even greater insistence than the activities of war.

Second—That the Commission ought not to ask the Church for any more money than it urgently needs.

A Forecast of Needful Expenditure

With war still active we would have needed \$1,000,000.

With demobilization, we estimate the real need to be at least \$250,000.

Sharp adjustments have been made in the figures. With the demobilization of the men there will come a quick fall in the amounts required for chaplains and the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, for the construction and the reinforcement of the churches near the camps and for various other departments.

We are confident that, even though the stress of war is over, the Church will appreciate her duty during the months of demobilization. The Church War Commission has set Sunday, February 9, as the date for the great contribution for concluding the war work of the Church.



The War Work of the Church

Some idea of the war work of the Church may be gained from facts regarding the efforts made in the past year—a detailed report of which will later be submitted to the General Convention.

Bringing Our Men Home

This tabulation shows how 528 Episcopal clergymen in war service have been engaged:

Commissioned Army Chaplains—	
In this country.....	67
Overseas.....	128
	—— 195
Commissioned Navy Chaplains.....	22
Hospital Chaplains.....	42
Y. M. C. A. Workers.....	93
Civilian Chaplains—	
In Army Camps.....	73
In Naval Stations.....	20
	—— 93
Officers and in Ranks.....	39
In War Work.....	36
Home Guard.....	8
	—— 528

Overseas Chaplains were allowed a discretionary fund of not more than \$100 a month for work among the men. Chaplains in service in the United States were allowed a discretionary fund not exceeding \$50 a month. Commissioned Chaplains have been given \$100 for uniforms and equipment and an opportunity to borrow not more than \$500.

Bringing Our Men Home

Provision has been made for the payment of the pension assessments of clergymen while acting as chaplains.

On January 1, 1919, there were 269 chaplains still in service.

For chaplain service in the coming year \$40,000 is needed.

Altogether the Commission has supplied 16 portable organs, 146 typewriters, 144 portable altars, 153,000 prayer books.

Brotherhood of St. Andrew

The Army and Navy Council of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the agency of the War Commission for working through civilian personnel, has kept in personal touch with more than 60,000 of our men, even to the point of sending everyone in the service a Christmas card.

The Brotherhood in reaching out through correspondence to extend the message of the Church has written to more than 40,000 men in the service.

Bringing Our Men Home

The formation of groups of personal workers in the ranks stands out as one of the wonderful works of the Brotherhood. This group idea, as fostered by the men themselves, is one of the most striking examples of personal evangelism in the Army and Navy.

The central office of the Army and Navy Council has an accurate record of more than 61,000 churchmen in the service.

To complete this work will require \$30,000.

A prominent Episcopal clergyman, after completing an extensive tour of the Army camps, said:

"The efficient service of the Brotherhood is worthy of enthusiastic praise. In keeping a record of the men of our Church and bringing them into closer contact with the chaplains, and in ministering to them in every way, they do a work of incalculable value.

* * *

**Church Periodical
Club**

The Church Periodical Club, financed by the Church War Commission, has been a most effective agency for keeping our men in the service in touch with the Church. Summed up in brief form, here are some of the literature and other material supplied to our soldiers through this agency:

Bibles, Testaments, Prayer Books and Hymnals	9,960
Books (Religious and Secular)	1,493
Religious Leaflets and Cards	96,536
Christmas and Easter Cards	174,800
Subscriptions (Church and Secular Papers)	251
Stationery (Sheets of Paper with Envelopes)	182,700
Games	2,406

To continue the work of the Church Periodical Club this year will require \$7,000.

Bringing Our Men Home

"If you were here to see the way in which the few magazines and periodicals that are received are devoured, you and your associates would redouble many times your splendid efforts."

—A letter from a Chaplain overseas to the C. P. C.

Women's Work

The War Emergency Committee of the Girls' Friendly Society has opened rest rooms and canteens, placed women in railway stations near the camps, examined housing conditions, built and equipped lodges.

Four thousand Red Cross nurses have been instructed in French, befriended by our clergy and the women of our Church, and have been inspired with the religious idea of their mission and the thought that the Church is standing behind them.

The Church Mission of Help has employed secretaries to assist in keeping communities free from vice and to work with the individual girl.

So effective has been the work here that the War Camp Community Service has left

this territory to our War Commission, co-operating cordially with the Church's programme.

For these three, and for other aspects of women's work, \$60,000 is needed.

A Bishop of the Church says:

"The G. F. S. Lodge is the best piece of war work as yet undertaken in my diocese."

Industrial Work

Through the War Committee of the Joint Social Service Commission an expert has investigated munitions and shipbuilding communities.

Church work in sight in new communities erected by the Emergency Fleet Corporation, together with expenses of investigation, will call for \$15,000.

Overseas Work

The war has placed heavy responsibility on the Churches in Europe.

Bringing Our Men Home

Holy Trinity Church, Paris, has been doing a notable work for soldiers and sailors. Bishop McCormick and Bishop Perry have been assisting personally, and through them the War Commission has assisted financially. The Commission is at present paying the salary and expenses of a War-Time Assistant at Holy Trinity, Paris.

Expenses connected with the office and with the equipment of chaplains, with service sheets and prayer books, have been necessary.

Bishop McCormick and Bishop Perry have gone among the soldiers at the front, and have visited them in evacuation and base hospitals. They have held confirmations and have appointed chaplains to the hospitals.

To continue this work \$26,000 will be necessary.

Seamen's Church Institute

The war has created a strong demand for work in connection with the rapidly increasing merchant marine. Now is the time to meet the urgent religious and social needs of these men.

In every large port an institute similar to that of the port of New York should be established.

To organize such work \$7,000 is needed.

**Special Diocesan
War Work**

In addition to the work of the War Commission, the Diocesan War Commissions named below financed the following work either in whole or in part during the past year:

California: Eight chaplains and one lay-worker in eleven camps.

Massachusetts: Four chaplains in camps, naval stations and clubs.

*Newark:** Four chaplains and one lay-worker in three camps.

*New Jersey:** Ten chaplains in seven camps; assisted in erection of two buildings.

New York: Seven civilian chaplains in local camps and hospitals and among Red Cross nurses.

*See foot-note on page 15.

Bringing Our Men Home

Ohio: Three chaplains and one lay-worker in two camps; one building has been erected and supported.

*Pennsylvania:** Six chaplains in four camps; four buildings have been erected and supported.

Rhode Island: Three chaplains and one lay-worker in five forts and naval training stations.

The War Commission will assume the budgets and work of the Diocesan Commissions during 1919. For this purpose \$40,000 is needed.

* * *

General War-Time Commission

The General War-Time Commission deals with all inter-church matters which can best be handled co-operatively, relating to chaplains, industrial communities, education, race problems and other problems created by the war.

During demobilization our share will amount to about \$10,000.

*Newark, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania co-operated in the erection and maintenance of St. George's Chapel, Camp Dix.

War Commission of the Episcopal Church

- Rt. Rev. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.D., *Bishop of Massachusetts, Chairman, 122 Commonwealth Ave., Boston.*
- *Rt. Rev. ALFRED HARDING, D.D., *Bishop of Washington.*
- Rt. Rev. ALBION W. KNIGHT, D.D., *Sewanee, Tennessee.*
- *Rt. Rev. J. N. McCORMICK, D.D., *Bishop of Western Michigan.*
- *Rt. Rev. JAMES DEWOLF PERRY, JR., D.D., *Bishop of Rhode Island. Overseas address, c.o. Morgan, Harjes & Company, 31 Boulevard Haussmann, Paris, France.*
- *Rt. Rev. THEODORE I. REESE, D.D., *Bishop Coadjutor of Southern Ohio. Chairman of Executive Committee, 14 Wall St., New York.*
- Rt. Rev. WILSON R. STEARLEY, D.D., *Bishop Coadjutor of Newark.*
- Rt. Rev. C. E. WOODCOCK, D.D., *Bishop of Kentucky.*
- The Rev. W. R. BOWIE, D.D., *Richmond, Virginia.*
- The Rev. J. E. FREEMAN, D.D., *Minneapolis.*
- The Rev. W. H. MILTON, D.D., *Wilmington, North Carolina.*
- *The Rev. JOHN MOCKRIDGE, D.D., *Philadelphia.*
- *The Rev. CHARLES LEWIS SLATTERY, D.D., *New York.*
- *The Rev. GEORGE CRAIG STEWART, L.H.D., *Evanston, Illinois.*
- *The Rev. HENRY B. WASHBURN, D.D., *Secretary of Executive Committee.*
- The Rev. GEORGE E. WELD, *Santa Barbara, California.*
- EDWARD H. BONSALE, *Philadelphia.*
- W. D. CLEVELAND, *Houston, Texas.*
- WHITEFOORD R. COLE, *Nashville, Tennessee.*
- NORMAN H. DAVIS, *Havana, Cuba.*
- CHARLES D. DICKEY, *New York.*
- JOHN M. GLENN, *New York.*
- LOUIS F. MONTEAGLE, *San Francisco.*
- *ARTHUR E. NEWBOLD, *Treasurer. c.o. Drexel & Co., Philadelphia.*
- *MONELL SAYRE, *New York.*
- *CHARLES STEELE, *New York.*
- HENRY THOMSON, *Wilmington, Delaware.*
- **Member Executive Committee.*

[Maine 1917]

GRAND
MASS
SUFFRAGE
MEETING

Frye Hall
Thursday Evg., Mar. 15

AT EIGHT O'CLOCK

SPEAKERS

MISS LAURA CLAY, of Kentucky
MRS. DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, of
Maine

Admission Free.

All are Welcome

SHALL WE COMPROMISE?

BY MARIA GOODELL FROST.

Some form of suffrage is desired by all thinking women. The most conservative, when brought to the point of debate, admit that upon some questions they would like to vote. Thus we find some form of suffrage in twenty-two States.

Our best men assert that they would be glad to have women vote on moral issues. What is a moral issue? We reply that every issue that involves a question of right and wrong, of the ought and the ought not, is a moral issue. Upon such questions then as concern moral obligation women ought to vote.

The separation of these from the vague, indefinite issues that concern men alone, and have no bearing upon women's interests, or the good of society, would leave very little cause for contention. But it is these very moral issues that keep women disfranchised.

Women are disfranchised in order that men may make all the laws that govern marriage, that they may carry on the liquor traffic, and the brothel, to the destruction of the family, and the home. This is the whole object of male suffrage; it has no other foundation to rest upon.

Now that woman suffrage has been in operation twenty years in Wyoming, and is an established fact, incorporated into the constitution of the State, with the sanction of the best citizens; now that the successive Governors of Wyoming, for twenty years past, give their unqualified approbation of its results; all objections vanish. The old arguments are demolished. Women vote in Wyoming, homes are *not* broken up. Husbands and wives do *not* quarrel. Families are *not* neglected. The *best* women go to the polls.

The best moral men are supported by women, who consider carefully the character of candidates, so that both parties are obliged to put up their best men for office, in order to obtain women's votes. Thus we have before us a demonstration of the fallacy of all objections.

The names of Governors, Ministers and Senators are given, testifying to the good effects of woman suffrage, as a fact, in the State of Wyoming;—the quiet of elections, the better institutions, the better morals, and higher social conditions than could otherwise exist.

Conservative women who desire the ballot upon special questions may be summed up briefly in the following classes:

1st. Lovers of virtue desire a voice in the laws that regulate marriage, protect the innocent, punish the guilty; thereby making pure homes possible.

2nd. Peace women ask the ballot that they may use their power to avert war, and promote peaceful arbitration, thus rescuing their sons and brothers from the demoralizing effects of war.

3rd. Temperance women ask the ballot in the interest of home protection, from the ravages of the liquor traffic.

4th. Patriotic women are ready to vote, that their country may be preserved from the dissolution and decay that inevitably results from a departure from the underlying principles of republican government.

5th. Christian women who wish to do something for Jesus, ask to give their testimony to his pure principles where such testimony will have most weight.

6th. Mothers seek the ballot that they may obtain the legal custody of their children.

7th. Educators—that our schools may have the wisdom of motherly counsel in all that relates to child culture.

8th. Working women—that they may protect their productive industries.

9th. Tax payers—that their money may not be taken without their consent.

10th. Sabbath observers—that their day of rest may not be disturbed by the lawless and profane.

These, and other classes of women, outside of the ranks of suffragists, see some reason why women should vote.

[OVER]

To discriminate and allow suffrage on the particular issues of temperance and purity, as some good men suggest, would be unjust to other women who as conscientiously desire to vote on other issues that appear to them to be the unquestionable prerogative of women.

The full ballot would include all measures of reform, and all earnest women would avail themselves of it, for the good of society, as they do in Wyoming. Therefore we should not be satisfied with partial suffrage, although we would accept it for what it is worth, as a temporary relief, feeling that it would fail of its fullest effect, through the tricks of wily politicians.

The Australian ballot system removes the most plausible argument against woman's presence at the polls, and is being adopted in many States. So we are assured by Senator Carey "it will be with woman suffrage, which is no longer an experiment in Wyoming; it will be adopted by different States until it becomes accepted throughout the nation."

There is no obstacle, since it is now recognized that every State has the right under the Federal Constitution to give woman the elective franchise.

Bad women give no trouble in Wyoming, as the majority of women are not bad. This is doubtless true in Ohio, and other States.

We know there are some women who do not feel the burden of disfranchisement as their sisters do; they consider their individual happiness sufficient; the burdens of other women are not their concern. The same sentiment prevailed toward the colored race, among many who were not personally affected by the curse of negro slavery. Such people would find it for their *eternal interest* to consider the Scripture injunction "Remember those that are in bonds as bound with them."

The worst features of negro slavery are involved in woman's disfranchisement. Working women, dependent upon their male employers, are subject to insults that they will be freed from,

when they have the ballot. It is more for the protection of person than property that good women demand the ballot.

The security of property is an important feature toward that independence of position that is the means of placing women beyond the reach of temptation. The stigma that is put upon the laboring woman comes from her utter dependence on man for a subsistence.

The young man who does the family chores for his board is still eligible to the highest office in the land; he is subject to no insult. He is not ashamed of his position. The young woman is ashamed of being a hired girl, because she is thus put on a level with a class subject to insult.

But what has voting to do with it? asks a young lady graduate who expects to teach, and who could not be hired to keep a house at any price. If she were married she would be delighted to have the care of an establishment. The protection of marriage would raise her above the class subject to insult. An unmarried woman who does domestic work feels disgraced.

The ballot is not only the key to independence, but it is a *leveller*. The enfranchised servant girl holds in her hands a *weapon of defence* against insult; she is no longer a *slave*. As sure as the Lord reigns, every vestige of slavery will be uprooted in this land, and throughout the earth.

The good of society demands equality, and the placing of poor girls in as safe positions as poor boys. The maintenance of virtue is necessary to the endurance of a Republic. The enfranchisement of women is necessary to the maintenance of virtue.

Therefore the enfranchisement of woman is necessary to the endurance of this government. Thus it becomes evident that no compromise can be made with respect to the temperance issue. Temperance, in a broad sense, covers the whole ground. Temperance involves purity; purity implies free agency; free agency, equal share in the government. This is Woman Suffrage.

PRICE 15 CENTS PER 100 COPIES.

Address,

MRS. M. G. FROST, Oberlin, Ohio.

[1918]

WOMEN

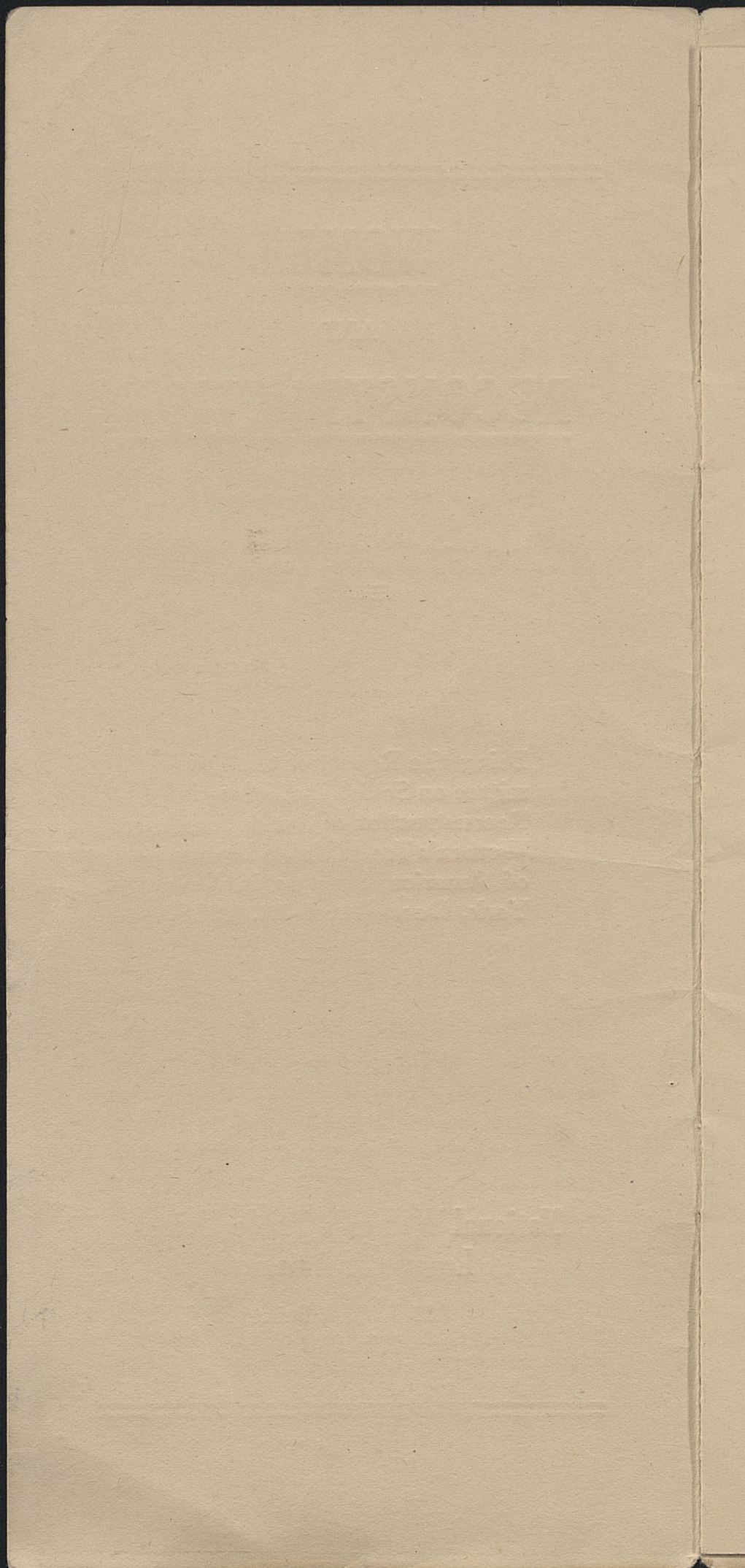
AND

RECONSTRUCTION

Being the Report of the Committee on Social and Industrial Reconstruction of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, Meeting in New York, December 9-12, 1918.

**National Women's Trade Union
League of America**

139 N. Clark Street
CHICAGO




~~~~~

*"These things shall be! A loftier race  
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise  
With flame of freedom in their souls,  
And light of knowledge in their eyes."*

(Sung at the Biennial Convention of the National Women's  
Trade Union League of America, June, 1917.)

—

THE Great War has ended. The peace of the world, to be based on the covenant of free peoples, is to be written into history. Democracy was challenged on the battlefields, and millions of men died that she might be triumphant.

The war of today has ended, but the world-old struggle for freedom and justice has not ended. In a thousand contests men and women have struggled for more liberty, for greater justice, for a deeper brotherhood. Under a thousand names the battle has been waged. Yesterday the challenge rang on the battlefields of Europe. Today it is heard in the political and social and industrial life of the peoples. Yesterday the nations answered through their soldiers; today they must answer through their citizens. Yes-

~~~~~

terday Democracy called to the nations to train their men to fight; today Democracy calls to the nations to train their citizens to think. Yesterday millions of men died that the democratic purpose of life might be achieved. Today Democracy must win through living men. Valor and sacrifice were demanded of the soldier in the trenches; valor and sacrifice are demanded of the citizen at home.

The citizens of today are not a group of men and women set apart for a specific service; the citizens of today are the men and women in the factories and workshops and counting houses, in the mills and the mines, in the fields and the forests, tillers of the soil, workers of hand and brain, hewers and thinkers.

Yesterday the nations united to train and equip the soldier, and all the resources of society were called into service to give him a fighting chance. Today the nations must unite and all the resources of society must be called into service to train and equip the citizen, to set free his powers of mind and spirit, for he is the defender of that democracy for which our brothers died, he is the builder of the new world to be founded in freedom and justice and self government; to him is entrusted the Covenant of the World. The summons has come to the citizen. The hour calls for consecration of will and purpose to the high resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain and that under God the Nations shall have a new birth of freedom.

THE FIRST ESSENTIAL OF A
DEMOCRACY

A Standard of Life for the Citizens of the
Commonwealth

We declare for a standard of life which shall ensure to all citizens, both men and women, free opportunity to work with hand and brain and secure to them a full measure of health, education, recreation and fruitful leisure; such a standard as shall guarantee to every child the certainty of a high school education and the possibility of a university education in preparation for citizenship.

As a step toward this end, we ask that the following Labor Standards be included in the Treaty of Peace, to take effect within a given time:

Standards: Compulsory Education
up to 16 years of age
and part time education up to 18 years;

Abolition of Child Labor;

An 8-hour day and 44-hour week.

No night work for women;

One day rest in seven;

Equal pay for equal work;

Equal opportunity for men and women in
trade and technical training;

Social insurance against sickness, accident, industrial disease, and unemployment;

Provision for Old Age and Invalidity Pensions and Maternity Benefits.

OTHER RECONSTRUCTION POLICIES

Free Speech

Free Press

Free Assemblage

We urge a complete restoration, at the earliest possible moment, of all fundamental political rights—free speech, free press, and free assemblage, and the removal of all war-time restraints upon the interchange of ideas and the movements of peoples among communities and nations.

We ask an immediate amnesty for all political prisoners.

Self Government in Industry

We ask that the principle of self-government in the workshop be established in all industry, both public and private, and that the right of the workers to organize in trade unions be recognized and affirmed.

Political Standards

We urge the full enfranchisement of women, and that they be accorded political, legal and industrial equality; and further, we urge the adoption of the most modern methods of representation for the establishment and maintenance of political democracy.

Social Standards

We ask for the establishment of universal social standards, a single standard of morality, the protection of motherhood, and the guarantee to every child of the highest possible development, physical, mental and moral.

Demobilization

Believing that a government that demands universal service from its citizens in time of war should provide universal employment at a living wage for its citizens in time of peace—we ask for the establishment in every country of a Commission on Demobilization, on which Labor shall be fully represented by men and women, to formulate plans which will ensure employment for all workers at standard rates of wages; that the Army be not demobilized in greater ratio than industry can absorb; and that munition workers and other war-contract workers be considered equally with the soldiers and sailors in the plans for demobilization.

We ask, further, that to crippled soldiers and sailors be afforded a just opportunity, through education, allotment of public land (intelligently directed as under the law of the State of California, or otherwise), and other means, to re-establish their individual lives and homes, and that equivalent provision be made for all men and women incapacitated through service in war industries.*

Public Ownership of Natural Resources

We reaffirm our stand in favor of the government ownership of public utilities and the nationalization and development of natural resources — water power and unused land.

* The above action was unanimously adopted by the National Women's Trade Union League of America at its Biennial Convention, June, 1917. As no Reconstruction Commission has been appointed as yet, we now ask that the Secretaries of War, Navy, Labor, Agriculture and the Interior be designated to formulate the proposed plans.

***For the
United States***

In order that the problems of women wage earners in the United States may be dealt with as intelligently as possible, we further urge:

That the Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor be placed upon a permanent basis;

That in every State Department of Labor there shall be established a Woman's Bureau for the protection and welfare of the women workers;

That provision be made for increased appropriations for State Factory Departments, and for the appointment of women inspectors in the proportion of one for every 15,000 women wage earners;

That the Federal and State Employment Agencies be co-ordinated and all private agencies be abolished.

That the use of the Injunction in labor disputes be abolished by embodying in state legislation the principles of the federal Clayton Act—this we ask for the protection of the organization of the workers.

***International
Congress of
Working Women***

We, the Committee on Social and Industrial Reconstruction of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, recognizing that the problems here presented concern, in whole or in part, working women the world over, urge again the calling of an International Congress of Working Women for the exchange of thought and the concerted action required by the task before us.

**Committee
Members**

Margaret Dreier Rob-
ins, President.

Emma Steghagen, Sec-
retary-treasurer and member Boot and
Shoe Workers' Union.

Agnes Nestor, International Glove Workers'
Union.

Rose Schneiderman, President New York
Women's Trade Union League.

Elizabeth Maloney, Hotel and Restaurant
Workers' Union.

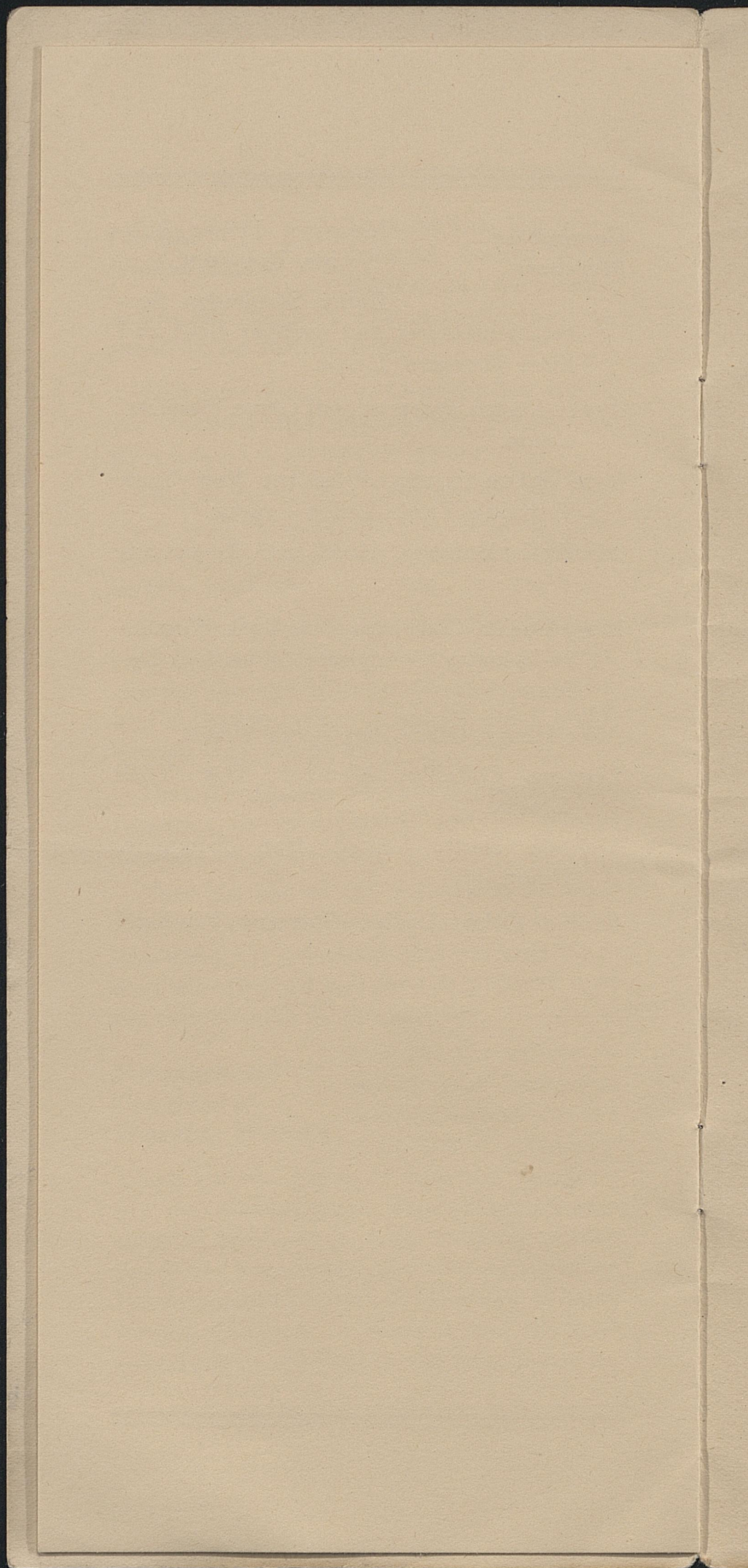
Mary Dreier, Chairman New York Women-
in-Industry Committee Council of De-
fense.

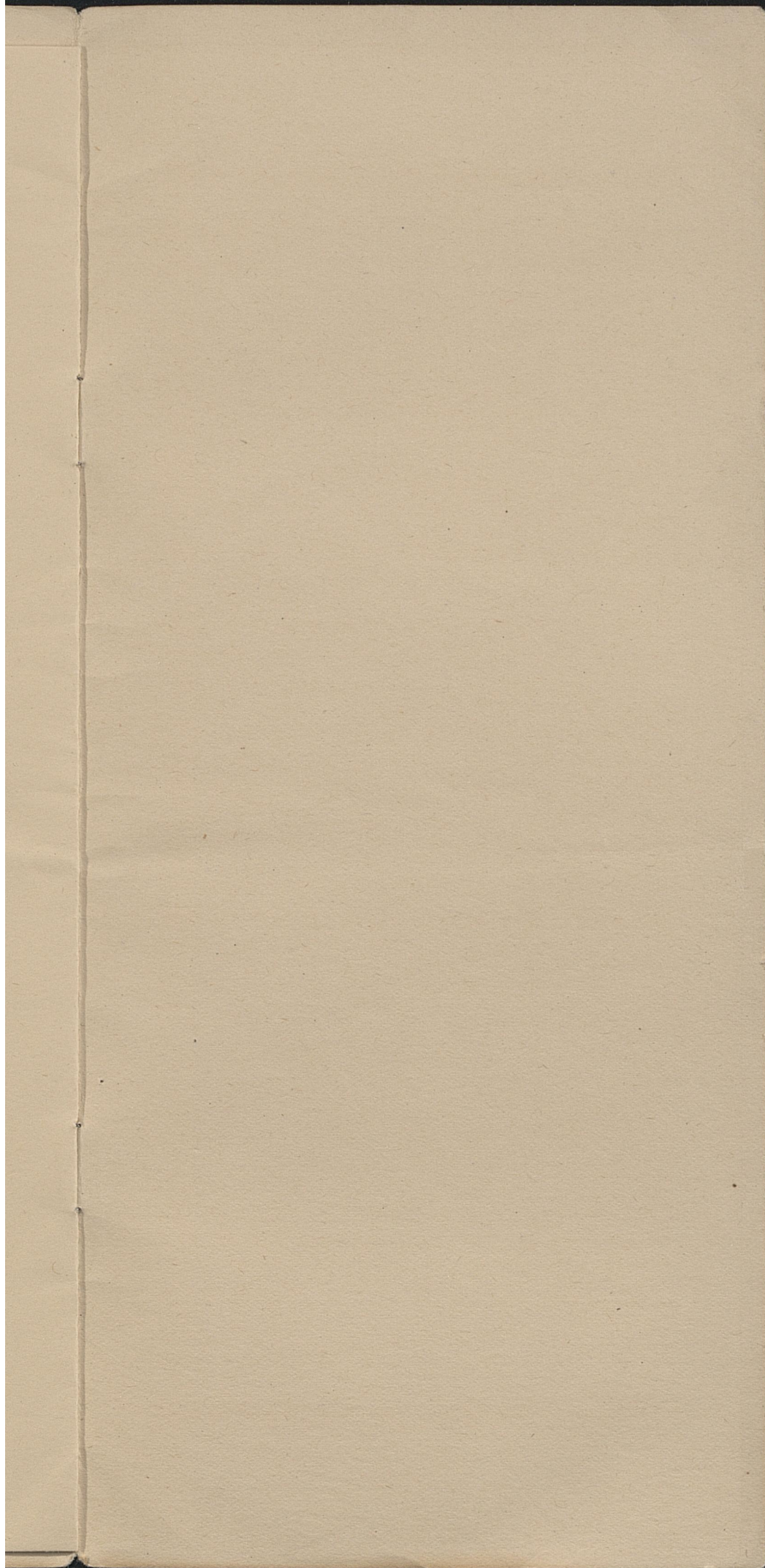
Alice Henry, Office Employees' Union.

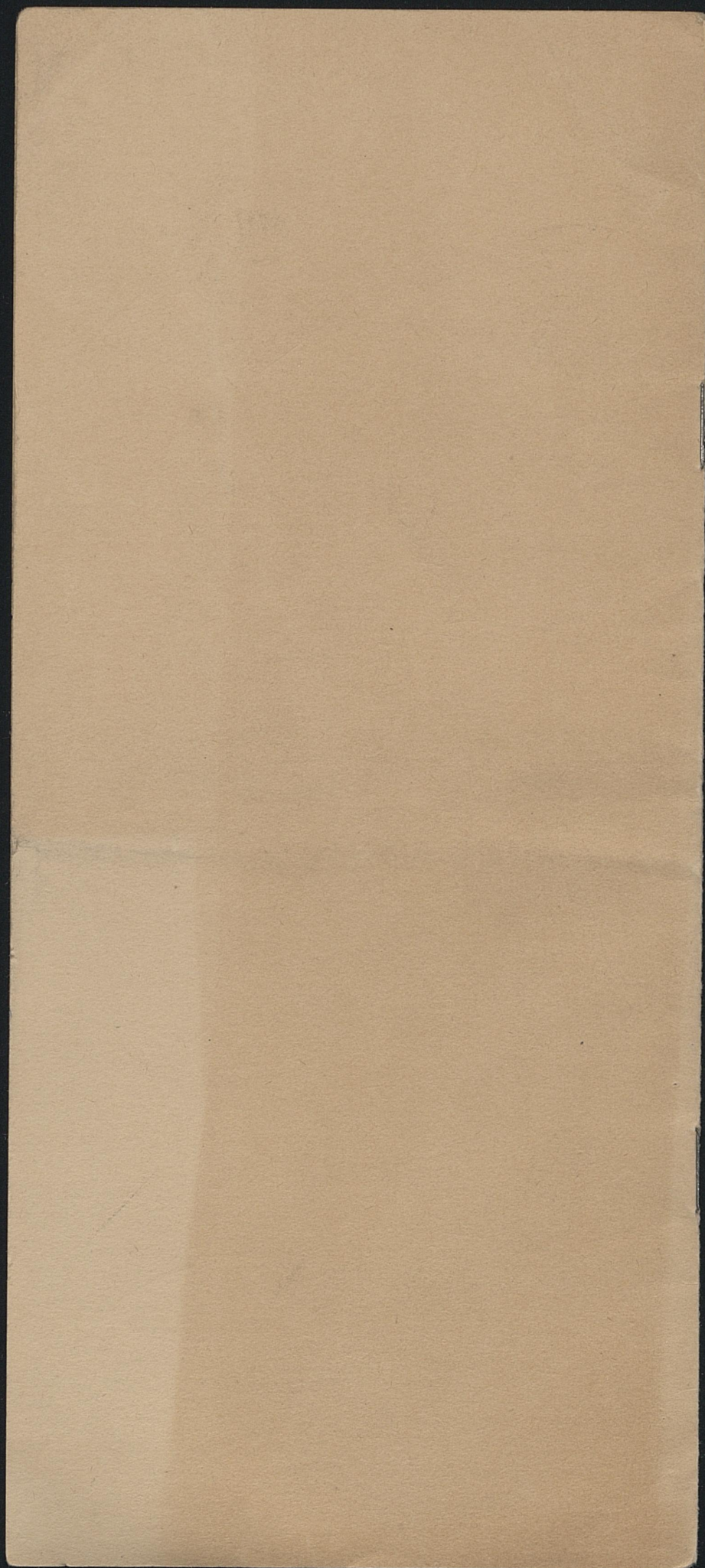
Leonora O'Reilly, Member New York
League.

Melinda Scott, United Hat Trimmers'
Union.

Fannia Cohn, Ladies Garment Workers'
Union.







An Interesting Comparison

It may be of interest to women, whose age-long exclusion from the governments of the world might well have been expected to disqualify them from expert knowledge of its methods, to examine the following parallelism in which the chief measures of the President are placed side by side with similar demands formulated by the women of the International Congress of Women at the Hague, April, 1915, out of which grew the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. Of this committee the Woman's Peace Party is the section for the United States of America.

Resolutions Adopted at the International Congress of Women at The Hague, April 17, 1915. *President Wilson's Address to the Senate, January 22, 1917.*

A CONCERT OF NATIONS.

This International Congress of Women recommends that National Commissions be created, and International Conferences convened for the scientific study and elaboration of the principles and conditions of permanent peace which might contribute to the development of an International Federation.

We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be given by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again.

There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

ORGANIZATION OF WORLD FOR PEACE.

This International Congress of Women urges that the organization of the Society of Nations should be further developed on the basis of a constructive peace.

That service is nothing less than this—to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world.

The statesmen of the world must plan for peace, and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry.

INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE.

This International Congress of Women urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to unite in bringing social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms instead of referring its case to arbitration or conciliation.

It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it.

If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

RESPECT FOR NATIONALITY.

This International Congress of Women, recognizing the right of the people to self-government affirms that there should be no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women residing therein, and urges that autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people, nor the right of conquest recognized.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

Since the combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war and since women can exert responsibility and effective influence only when they have full equal political rights with men, this International Congress of Women demands their political enfranchisement.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed.

These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

The International Congress of Women urges that in all countries there shall be liberty of commerce, that the seas shall be free and the trade routes open on equal terms to the shipping of all nations.

With a right comity of arrangement, no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must, alike in law and in fact, be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality and co-operation.

GENERAL DISARMAMENT.

The International Congress of Women, advocating universal disarmament and realizing that it can only be secured by international agreement, urges, as a step to this end, that all countries should, by such an international agreement, take over the manufacture of arms and munitions of war and should control all international traffic in the same. It sees in the private profits accruing from the great armament factories a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation.

There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.

The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and mankind.

This splendid advance should bring to our members renewed courage and inspiration. The task is no longer the difficult one of propaganda, but the simpler one of methods, and the immediate one of directing all forces into this new channel of effort instead of allowing further energy to be dissipated in nationalistic and militaristic occupations and preparations. And this latter need is urgent. In forty-one state legislatures at this moment, those who desire the continuance of war for various reasons, including that of private profit, are introducing bills providing for the compulsory military training of boys in the public schools. This means your son or brother or friend.

If your legislature is in session, do not allow another day to go by without letting this great forward step of the President's find response from you through the very practical method of writing letters to your state senator and assemblyman, and of urging your friends to write, protesting against the passage of any further militaristic measures, and particularly the one just mentioned.

For additional information send to

THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY
116 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Ill.



Mrs. Robinson said that in some of the suffrage States a wife may be required to support her husband. This is only when the husband is destitute and unable to support himself, and when the wife is financially able to support him. Under such circumstances a decent woman would do it anyway, law or no law. Some of the States where women do not vote have the same provision.

Mrs. Robinson says that the carrying of woman suffrage in Montana and Nevada was "due to the Mormons and the I. W. W. who are ardent advocates of woman suffrage." This astonishing statement is wholly unwarranted. While the American Federation of Labor, the conservative labor organization, has repeatedly endorsed woman suffrage, the I. W. W. has never done so. It believes that the ballot is not worth much as a means of righting industrial wrongs and its literature along that line reads remarkably like the arguments of the anti-suffragists!

A number of the States which Mrs. Robinson says gave "big majorities" against suffrage really gave very small ones. In Nebraska, for instance, where on the first submission the equal suffrage amendment to the constitution was snowed under more than three to one, it came so near passing in 1914 that a change of 5,053 votes in a total of 191,580 would have carried it. In South Dakota, where it was beaten more than two to one on the first submission it came so near passing last November that a change of a little over 2,000 votes in a total of 112,000 would have carried it; and the South Dakota Legislature has already voted to resubmit the amendment. Even in the conservative Eastern States, suffrage got a tremendous minority vote. In New York, the vote stood, Yes, 553,348; No, 748,332. In Pennsylvania it stood, Yes, 385,348; No, 441,034.

Mrs. Robinson says that suffragists "cannot carry a single State". Within the past three years we have carried three States, two of the three by popular vote. In the last eight years we have carried nine States, seven of them by popular vote. In fact, the suffrage movement has made more progress in America in the last few years than in all the previous centuries. The State of Washington gave women the ballot in 1910, California in 1911, Kansas, Oregon and Arizona in 1912, Illinois and Alaska in 1913, Montana and Nevada in 1914, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia in 1916 and North Dakota in 1917.

Mrs. Robinson's whole argument is honeycombed with errors. It is impossible to take up half of them. But when she says the suffragists are not asking any longer for the submission of amendments to the voters, she ignores very large and near-by facts. In Maine and several other States, they are doing just that thing; and at the legislative hearing in Maine the other day, two prominent Massachusetts anti-suffragists appeared and urged the legislators not to let the voters pass upon it—just as the opponents have done in New Hampshire—whenever we have asked for the submission of an amendment here.

At present we are asking for something much less. It is objected to a full suffrage amendment that, once granted, it can never be repealed. Presidential and municipal suffrage can be repealed by the Legislature at any time, if it does not work well; and they could repeal it without fear of the women's votes, since women could not vote for members of the Legislature. We do not wish to wait for the long and slow process of a constitutional amendment, we want what can be given now. And we believe that a full suffrage amendment will be much more likely to be adopted after the voters have had some years of practical experience of partial woman suffrage. After 25 years' experience of municipal woman suffrage, the men of Kansas gave full suffrage to women by the largest majority that the measure has ever received in any State.

A Reply to the mis-statements of Mrs. Margaret C. Robinson at the hearing before the Senate Committee on the Suffrage bill, January 23, 1917. This reply also corrects many of the mis-statements made by Miss Bissell before the House Committee on February 13, 1917.

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Every political party has declared for woman suffrage in its national platform. The opponents of equal rights say that they did it in order to win the votes of the people in the suffrage States. If so, the actual political leaders of all the parties believe that the majority of the people in those States favor equal suffrage.

Mrs. Margaret C. Robinson of Massachusetts has drawn a dark picture of moral conditions in the suffrage States—a picture much darker than the facts warrant. Those persons in the suffrage States who are most interested in moral conditions, and best qualified to judge of them, declare overwhelmingly that equal suffrage has proved a good thing. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe sent a circular letter of inquiry on this point to all the ministers of five leading denominations in the four oldest suffrage States, and published the result just before her death. She received 624 answers, of which only 62 were unfavorable.

Mrs. Robinson quotes a passage from the New York Survey, one of the country's leading philanthropic journals, a sort of unofficial organ of the National Conference of Charities. In the autumn of 1915 the editor of The Survey sent a circular letter to all his subscribers in the suffrage States, asking them whether the practical effects of woman suffrage were good or bad; and he published the outcome in his issue of Oct. 23, 1915. He received 633 answers, of which only 15 were unfavorable! The answers came from men of all classes—from bishops and college presidents, lawyers and ministers, officers of mercantile clubs and of the Y. M. C. A., commissioners of public works, librarians, superintendents of schools and members of child labor commissions. The editor of The Survey wrote:

"Seldom has The Survey had, on any subject, so many hearty, whole souled, eager responses to an inquiry."

And he adds:

"Not one subscriber reports any evidence of the breakdown of home life as the result of women's voting—a point of particular interest to the many Survey subscribers whose main task is the conservation of the family."

To anyone with an open mind, these testimonies from hundreds of disinterested eye-witnesses ought to be absolutely convincing. Whatever evils may exist in the enfranchised States, the persons most interested in good morals and in social welfare are far from laying them to equal suffrage, as Mrs. Robinson does. On the contrary, they almost all say that the women's votes have been a help instead of a hindrance.

But Mrs. Robinson is seriously misinformed as to the facts. She asserted for instance that Colorado ranks third from the bottom of all the States in school attendance. As a matter of fact, it heads the list. Of the children of school age in Colorado 87.5 per cent. are actually in school; in Mrs. Robinson's own State of Massachusetts only 73.6 per cent.; and in New Hampshire only

68 per cent. (Anti-Saloon League Year Book for 1916, pages 89 and 90). Moreover, of the young persons from 15 to 20 years of age in Colorado 40.7 per cent. are in school or college; in Massachusetts 29.2 per cent.; in New Hampshire 29.2 per cent. (Anti-Saloon League Year Book for 1916, pages 91 and 92). Mrs. Robinson said that Colorado is crushed under enormous taxes. If so, how can the parents of nearly half the boys and girls in the State between the ages of 15 and 20 afford to keep them in school and college? If the taxes were so tremendous there ought to be much pauperism. Colorado has only 63.8 per cent. paupers per 100,000 of the population. Massachusetts has 194.7 per cent.; New Hampshire has 230.2 per cent. (Anti-Saloon League Year Book for 1916, pages 87 and 88).

Mrs. Robinson said: "In dividing the political spoils with women, the school positions were given to them, and in the hands of women politicians they (the Colorado schools) have gone steadily down hill."

Mr. A. Lawrence Lewis is almost the only respectable man in Colorado who has written anything against equal suffrage. In an article in The Outlook which the antis have reprinted as a tract, he pays a special tribute to Colorado women's excellent management of the schools. Mr. Lewis says:

"Ever since the extension of the franchise, the State superintendent of Public Instruction has been a woman. Be it said further to the credit of the successive incumbents of this responsible position that theirs has been about the only one of Colorado's administrative departments the conduct of which has always been above even suspicion of rank favoritism, fraud or graft."

Mrs. Robinson mentioned the children in the Colorado beet fields. A few thousand children of the beet sugar farmers are made by their parents, who are mostly Germans, to work during certain months of the year in weeding the beets. A bill to stop it is pending in the Legislature. In the opinion of Owen Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, the bill has a better chance of passing than it would have if Colorado women had not the ballot. Mr. Lovejoy says:

"All the worst child labor conditions are found in States where women cannot vote. North Carolina alone has more working children than all the suffrage States combined."

In his address before the National Suffrage Convention last September, Mr. Lovejoy expressed his strong conviction of the help that equal suffrage would be in fighting child labor.

In Colorado, Judge Lindsey and practically everyone who has worked to bring about better conditions for children is a strong advocate of equal suffrage, and praises it as not only just but beneficial.

Mrs. Robinson intimated that the home-loving women of California could not be induced to vote. California elects her Governor once in four years. She enfranchised her women in 1911. At the gubernatorial election of 1906 the total vote cast was 312,030: in 1910, 385,715; and in 1914, 920,589.

The passage of the Red Light Abatement and Injunction bill in California is declared by both its friends and its enemies to be due to the women.

Mrs. Robinson mentioned that State-wide prohibition had been defeated in California, but she omitted to say that within four years after women were given the ballot the number of no-license towns and cities in California rose from 200 to 690 (Anti-Saloon League Year Book for 1915, page 120.)

Mrs. Robinson quoted the Los Angeles Times as denouncing the increased taxation in California. The Los Angeles Times is an intensely reactionary paper, always on the side of the big corporations against the people. It committed the characteristic unfairness of charging the heavy expenses of the Exposition year, which were due to the Exposition, to the extravagance of the Times's political opponents.

The two years after women were enfranchised were normal years. During these first two years, when any increase for election expenses, etc., would naturally make itself felt, the increase in the State appropriations was only 15.9 per cent., while for each two year period of the previous twelve years, the average increase had been 20.77. These facts were published by John Francis Heylan, chairman of the California State Board of Control, in the California Outlook of Oct. 4, 1913, and they are also given in U. S. Senate Document No. 488. This smallest increase in the State appropriations also covered the largest two year increase in the growth of the State institutions for which these appropriations had to pay. For instance, at the seven normal schools of the State the attendance had increased 30 per cent.

True to its general character the Los Angeles Times opposed equal suffrage bitterly till after it was granted; but, like almost all the other California papers that were formerly opposed, it has now swung around, and confesses editorially none of the predicted ill results have followed.

Conditions in Chicago are very bad, because the city has an unprincipled mayor but Mrs. Robinson omitted to mention that Mr. Thompson is mayor because the Republican men of Chicago did not show as good political judgment as their wives. At the Republican primaries the women gave a majority of more than 7,000 for Olsen, the reform candidate, while the men gave a majority of about 10,000 for Thompson, the machine candidate. Thompson thus got the nomination. He has "panned out" very badly. But, as he is the candidate the women did not want and whom the men insisted upon having, his misdeeds and the misfortunes of the city under his administration can hardly be quoted to show that women are less fit than men to vote.

Mrs. Robinson said that 23 of the 27 aldermen chosen at the last election were favored by the saloons. The saloon question was not an issue in the last Chicago election. The issue was Thompson or anti-Thompson: and nearly all of the successful candidates were opposed to Thompson or his corrupt regime. In every Chicago ward where the women's votes have carried the scale they have turned it in favor of the good government candidate.

The Illinois State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League says:

"The women suffrage law has proved to be a real temperance measure. The law provides for separate ballot boxes for the women, and this makes it possible to know just how the women vote. In the elections held since the passage of the woman suffrage law, more than 1,000 saloons have been closed because of the majorities in the women's ballot boxes. With the assistance of their votes, 25 counties have abolished the saloon, in addition to the 28 counties which were dry when the suffrage law was passed. Of the 1430 townships in the State, 1235 are dry. The suffrage law has contributed to law-enforcement more than any other one factor. Since women have enjoyed the right to vote for local officials there has been a remarkable improvement in the character of officials elected."

And yet Mrs. Robinson said that the best the Illinois Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League could claim for suffrage in his State was that the dregs were holding their own.

Mrs. Robinson refers to the referendum on woman suffrage taken in Massachusetts in 1895. The women's vote on that occasion stood; Yes, 22,204; No, 861. As Julia Ward Howe said, "It showed with absolute accuracy how many of the women opposed the suffrage really believed that the right to vote implies the duty to vote." A referendum of the men was taken at the same time, and their vote was against woman suffrage, more than two to one. The women's vote was in favor more than 25 to one. The women who voted yes were only a fraction of the women of the State, and the men who voted no were only a fraction of the men of the State, but it was the men's vote that carried weight with the Legislature.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

As the Chicago Branch of the National Woman's Peace Party, which is the section for the United States of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, we feel the need, since our country has become involved in war, to reaffirm all those principles upon which we believe the future permanent peace of the world to depend.

International Organization. We urge the careful study of the various proposals which have been brought forward for the establishment of a Society of Nations; we urge members to do all in their power to build a new social order based, not on mutual distrust and selfish competition, but on confidence and good will, upon the spirit of service and co-operation.

Terms of Peace. We urge an early statement by our Government to the American people setting forth the objects of the war which we are waging and the terms upon which we will terminate our participation in it, with the hope that negotiations for peace shall be entered into at the earliest possible moment.

Additional copies may be secured at the Office of
THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY
116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.



Suggestions for Work in War Time

SUBMITTED BY

The Chicago Branch of the Woman's Peace Party

Conservation of Food and Increase of Food Supplies.

Economists state that there is an actual shortage at present in the food supply of the world, the inevitable result of withdrawing millions of workers from productive labor to serve at the front and of employing millions of others in the manufacture of munitions, which being exploded leave nothing of actual value.

We urge the importance of economy in food supplies and of efforts to increase production.

We recommend co-operation in the following ways:

1. By the observance of rational economy in the use of food and by organizing groups of women for the study of food economy,
2. By the cultivation of land available for that purpose and by helping to organize groups of children to plant gardens and to raise chickens, rabbits, pigeons, etc.

A course of lectures on economy in the use of food supplies will be given each week at Hull-House by Mrs. Norton, formerly of the Department of Household Economics of the University of Chicago. Further information in reference to these lectures may be secured at the Office of the Woman's Peace Party.

Child Welfare.

In Great Britain some of the first war economies practiced were in the educational system. Teachers enlisted; school buildings were taken over for military purposes; school appropriations were cut down; the age limits for schooling were so changed that 300,000 little children who had been in school were turned out and thousands of others were excused from school to go to work. As a result, juvenile delinquency in England has greatly increased since the war began. Let us help to preserve our American ideal of child protection in practical ways.

1. By opposing all attempts to break down the school system, either by relaxing in enforcement of compulsory education laws, or by cutting down school funds.
2. By opposing all attempts to break down the child labor laws of the state either by giving young children special permits to work, or by exempting certain establishments from the laws limiting hours of labor.

1917

**Red Cross
Relief Work.**

The war will bring, through the mobilization of the troops, through speeding up and industrial accidents, through the dislocation of industry, and the reduction of charitable gifts, many problems of civilian relief. Adequate provision for the children and dependent members of the families of men and women "at the front" in war or in industry requires specially trained workers and provision for handling these cases of distress is made through the Red Cross. Members of the Chicago Branch of the Woman's Peace Party who are interested in entering service in connection with these problems of civilian relief may find it profitable to take a course in Social Service in War-time, which has been arranged by the School of Civics and Philanthropy in connection with the local Red Cross organization. Registrations for this course may be made at the Office of the Woman's Peace Party.

There is a general impression that pacifists are not willing to co-operate with efforts of this character. On the contrary, some of the ablest relief work in Flanders, France, and Russia is done by English Quakers, who represent the extreme wing of pacifism, non-resistance. Not only were they prompt in offering their services for the restoration of devastated farms and villages, but they established a Friends' Ambulance Corps and rendered other similar services.

**Defense of
Labor Standards.**

We recognize the danger to the health and safety of women if the enforcement of labor laws secured through many years of effort is relaxed during war-time. Accidents increase with the speeding up and the employment of new workers. Long hours mean over-fatigue and industrial poisoning. A British Parliamentary Committee on the Health of Munitions Workers has recently recommended that the eight-hour day be established to "safeguard the devotion of its workers * * * lest irreparable harm be done to body and mind, both in this generation and the next."

We, therefore, urge that the standards of protection for all classes of industrial workers, especially those for women and children, be zealously maintained. Violations reported to the Office will be promptly transmitted to the State Factory Inspector.

**Protection of
Immigrants.**

We urge the establishment of friendly relations with persons whose families have recently come to this country; that an effort be made to keep them in the positions they now hold and to find other situations for them should they be thrown out of employment. Work of this sort may be secured in co-operation with the Immigrants' Protective League, 1140 South Michigan Avenue.

**Prevention of
Compulsory
Military Service
and Military
Training in the
Schools as a
Permanent
Policy.**

We urge that every effort be made to prevent the adoption of compulsory military training as a permanent policy, and also the introduction of military training into the public schools, two measures which would involve a complete change in American policy and ideals. There is a constant demand for speakers on military training in the public schools. Anyone willing to help along this line may report at the Office of the Woman's Peace Party, where material in reference to the subject may be secured.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

**Raising the Age
of Soldiers:**

As women who are in the habit of protecting the young, for whom we would gladly give our own lives, we are unwilling to secure safety through the exposure of those who are legally minors. A lad of eighteen is not allowed to vote, to dispose of his property by contract, or to make a will. We urge that the military age be raised to twenty-one, when the young man first arrives at the age of political and legal capacity.

**Better Pay for
Soldiers.**

The man in the munition factory who stays at home receives a standard wage for his work, while the soldier who encounters much greater hardship receives only \$15 a month, which too often means the commitment of those dependent upon him to charity. In Canada soldiers "at the front" are paid twice as much as our soldiers and their families also receive a "separation allowance" from the Government, which comes in the form of pensions and not charity. Certainly, the soldier should be paid enough to enable his family to maintain the so-called American standard of living during his absence, and we consider it a patriotic effort in behalf of true Democracy to urge upon the proper authorities better pay for soldiers and the establishment of more equable conditions between the privates and officers.

**Defense of
Constitutional
Rights.**

A Local Committee is about to be organized in Chicago similar to those in other cities, to take up the question of constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly. Instances of violation of these rights will be received at the Office of the Woman's Peace Party, and, when necessary, submitted to this Committee.

War Finance.

The movement for financing the war from the resources of the present generation, rather than by bonding unborn children, is being pushed from several centers. A Committee of economists and others is being organized in Chicago. Anyone interested in the work of this Committee is invited to register at the Office of the Woman's Peace Party.

**Democratic
Control of
War Policies.**

A Local Committee has been organized to co-operate with similar committees in England and in the Eastern cities in emphasizing the necessity of control over war policy by the people who bear the burden and pay the costs of war. It urges the widest use of the referendum, the recognition of the constitutional responsibility laid upon Congress for the initiation of legislative and financial measures, and such publicity as will not interfere with military or naval operations.

KENTUCKY WOMEN'S WORK *and* PATRIOTISM



Beautifully Illustrated

With Photo-Gravure PORTRAITS of KENTUCKY WOMEN who have been identified in the many movements for the betterment of Humanity, and who rendered PATRIOTIC SERVICE during "THE WORLD'S GREATEST WAR." VIEWS of Kentucky Homes, Women's Club Houses, and other interesting subjects.

EDITION de LUXE



Published By

KENTUCKY FEDERATION
WOMEN'S CLUBS

1917

PRESS OF THE STANDARD PRINTING CO., LOUISVILLE, KY.

This begins to be behind the times.

*(from C. W. McCulloch, May 23, 1919)
Post
mark*

DOORS AND WINDOWS

BY CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH

ONCE upon a time there was a great fortress called Our National Government, which protected well those who were within its citadel. It was built by all the people, the sheltered ones within and the unsheltered close at hand.

The great front doors were the constitution and the federal laws presided over by congress, which devised the keys for opening these doors. These keys were called constitutional amendments and United States statutes.

Tickets of admission through these great front doors into all the privileges and rights of the inner circle had been for many years granted to all white males of certain age and condition.

Men of foreign birth desiring admission were not immediately welcomed but were put on a five years' probation before the United States statute key would be turned. Then after the legal formalities, their final naturalization papers were their admission tickets into the great citadel and also into the splendid forty-eight rooms labelled Wyoming, New York, Maine, Texas etc.

Indian men who desired similar privileges needed a different sort of national key to unlock the front door which barred them from entrance. So congress made a "renouncing-tribal-relations" key, whereby every Indian who foreswore allegiance to his own tribe could become a "United States" citizen in the technical legal sense. To be sure, in a real and practical way all Indians were native-born citizens, even of a thousand or more years' residence. They were really more native born than most of the other inhabitants who had been on the continent only 200 or 300 years. But legally an Indian only became a United States citizen, entitled to enter the great front doors after congress had prescribed the legal method and he had complied with the conditions.

There were great numbers of south-

ern people who voluntarily left the protection of this citadel over fifty years ago for that of another citadel labelled Southern Confederacy. When that failed them, congress made special keys called "reconstruction acts," coaxed them to return home, assuring them that they would always find the latchstring out. So they, too, entered through the front door and enjoyed all the privileges granted the most favored residents of the forty-eight rooms.

About this time it was discovered that there were millions of black people living and working near the citadel, ignorant, poverty stricken, resourceless and inefficient. It could not be said that they knocked at the front door. They scarcely knew enough. But the benevolent congress, seeing how much they needed every powerful protection made keys called the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments which could also unlock the doors into every one of the forty-eight rooms. So entered the negro men through the wide-flung doors of the great front entrance.

There was a small group of other men who had been expelled and put into prisons because they broke the rules of the citadel. They were criminals. They wanted to return. So the great ruler from within gave some of them a special key called "executive pardon." Such former criminals bearing this evidence of presidential clemency found also a safe entrance through the great front doors into full citizenship.

Then came a band of fresh-faced youth, the romping youngsters of yesterday, now grown 21, and the big doors, wide open, welcomed them to every privilege of their fathers. They renounced nothing, they foreswore nothing, they were forgiven nothing. The glorious key of 21 years opened every door.

So the foreigners, the Indians, the confederates, the negroes, the pardoned criminals and the boys of 21

have been received in a dignified and lordly manner through the great front doors of our national citadel and today are enjoying all the rights, privileges and immunities of every one of the forty-eight rooms. The moment any one of these classes becomes a United States citizen of 21 years of age he then by the rules of all the forty-eight rooms can demand every privilege and right of a citizen.

For many years there have been other great groups begging an entrance to this citadel of national protection. These were groups of women. These women knocked before the negroes. They were told the slaves' condition was serious and that women ought to wait. The negroes' hour had struck. So the women waited and even helped secure the negroes their abundant entrance. They were good waiters. They were women. The law of the sea, that chivalrous mandate, "Ladies first," had no recognition at this entrance. The rule seemed to be "Every sort of man before women." Women asked to use the negroes amendment keys, but were told that this great front door was no "Ladies' entrance." Then they asked for an amendment key like the negroes', the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and for forty years they were refused.

Some of them at last found a back door through which they hoped to enter. It was labelled "Judicial construction." Women in Illinois, Michigan, Missouri and New York made separate attacks at this back door guarded by the United States supreme court. The women claimed that they had always belonged inside with other citizens and that it was only an inadvertence in judicial construction which had kept the entrance open only to males.

But the supreme court at the door it guarded was as unyielding as the congress at the great front doors. The judges claimed that mere citizenship was not the only essential; that maleness was also an important requisite for entrance into the protective citadel. The supreme court said that women, being so near the walls, had much protection already. No foreign

citadel dared send its members to attack them.

The women answered back that they had helped construct the citadel itself, and even were part of the outside bulwarks protecting the great fortress. Such protection as women received they deserved and more. Though they had sought shelter near the walls, they were not protected as they should be from the winds of unequal taxation, nor from the tempests of unjust laws often beating upon them fiercely, nor were they always protected from judicial decisions which dripped down upon them from the eaves and often thoroughly soaked them. The women said they were not protected from the gray wolves of greed and graft, the rats and mice, of public inefficiency and wastefulness, the vultures of disease or the tigers of vice. The women made good arguments but the accompaniment of yelps and squeaks and roars of those who attacked them unceasingly seemed to drown their voices. The supreme court members were old men and perhaps asleep or busy and they made no further response than to keep the doors shut.

There were, however, generous and just men within the citadel who began to understand these pleadings for help and protection from without. Some descendants of the scriptural unjust judge were also there and, remembering the importunate widow, feared her ghost would walk. It was either the importunate widow's ghost or many of her direct descendants who continued to plead and insist until the men within woke up and began to argue for and against opening the sheltering doors. Thus far the just men and the generous were in the minority and the front doors, the congressional front doors, were still shut, though the parley continued.

Along back nearly fifty years ago the men in one great room called Wyoming said, "If the women can't enter the congressional front doors, what's to hinder our pulling them up through a Wyoming window?" Soon a strong man shouted, "Hist there, sisters! Look up! See the rope! Grab it! We will pull you into the

Wyoming window." It was done and Wyoming women were sheltered with the brothers fairly and justly. All the women around the citadel rejoiced over what the Wyoming men had done.

Then the men in twenty or more other rooms thought of something pleasing for their dissatisfied women. They decided to unlock for one day in the year the little basement or school suffrage windows under their respective rooms and let the women climb in to repair the foundations. This was much needed, quite fundamental and unremunerative. The women were on their mettle. They worked bravely at this important and modest task. In between times they were put out under the eaves. But they found this small climb in and out the school suffrage windows was strengthening their political muscles and preparing them for longer and harder climbs.

The men in a few rooms decided to let the women in through a little bond or tax suffrage coal hole for a slight protection. That was nice. The opportunity to shovel in coal or taxes to keep the rooms above warm had advantages, but alas, this entrance into the tax suffrage coal hole gave the women no control over the coal, once they had shoveled it in, and so was not entirely satisfactory.

These little openings called school suffrage basement window fundamental work and bond suffrage coal hole fuel work made the women long for the opening of other great windows, like the great window in the Wyoming room.

The Wyoming state amendment window idea at last had a few imitators when the men in the Colorado, Utah and Idaho rooms bravely hung out their ropes and pulled up their sisters into the complete protection they themselves enjoyed. The men in the Kansas room made a little early effort, however, in this direction when they let the women enjoy some municipal suffrage spring cleaning with good results.

For fourteen long years after this no large window to any of the great rooms was opened. The women, how

ever, were not idle. These heroic descendants of the importunate widow kept up the serenading of the inmates of the forty-four other rooms where they sat in monkish solitude at the forty-four other windows. Those were pitiful serenades outside in the cold and sleet and the serenaders received little comfort from the bouquets the men often threw out, for the flowers were the flowers of the lemon, such as "We keep you out for your own good." "It is too filthy here for nice women." "It is too strenuous for you feeble women to climb up here."

The woman's chorus would then sing with emotion about the strenuousness of struggling unarmed with the gray wolves, the rats, the vultures and the tigers when they needed the safety of the great walls they had helped to build.

The men's chorus would then respond:

"We love weak women, we hate the strong;

If you want love, you stop that song."

That did quiet some women but a juvenile chorus would chant this truthful refrain,

"The mothers who're strong
Help us kids along,
And that's no lie."

Sometimes the pleading sisterhood had visits from the favored women citizens from the four rooms with generous men. Even as Lazarus the beggar could go from his last abode of bliss to visit Dives in his heated quarters so the blissful sisters visited and recited their rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed equally with their brothers. These calls made the debarred sisters even more insistent and their serenades continued near every large window, every school suffrage basement window, every tax coal hole and with splendid talent at the great front doors of congress. These fresh appeals at all the windows and at the big front doors began to bring results. Other windows opened one by one and women laboriously climbed up the friendly ropes into seven more windows which opened into the rooms labelled Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Nevada and Montana, making a grand total of

eleven great rooms truly democratic.

The Illinois window had stuck very tightly but some generous Illinois men wanting to lift their sisters somewhat away from the wolves of graft, the rats of wastefulness and inefficiency, the vultures of disease, and the tigers of vice, constructed a fine sleeping porch addition where women could have a look into the inside of the Illinois room and occasionally open up things for ventilation. This was the presidential, municipal and primary suffrage sleeping porch. This was a wonderful protection and soon such porches became the fad, built after the Illinois plan.

North Dakota, Ohio, Indiana, Rhode Island, Michigan and Nebraska men built similar porches in harmony with their own window architecture and their women are now this much nearer to protection in the great citadel. Arkansas did not plan one after the Illinois idea entirely, as hers is only a primary vote porch. Upon investigation, the women discovered that as Arkansas is practically a state of but one party and the primaries pick the winners, the partition between this and the full privileges of the big room are nothing but long French windows with the glass out and so unlocked, that the women may go in at will.

Indiana, too, had more than the beautiful porch. Her men gave each woman on entering a stout hammer labelled "Vote for Delegates to the Constitutional Convention." These hammers were guaranteed to knock down the partition between the porch and the Indiana room so that Indiana women could help themselves to their own full enfranchisement.

In many struggles when the women have wanted their rights they equipped themselves with the womanly weapons of doughnuts and coffee. But such weapons the men swallowed as though they were sword eaters and there was nothing to show for it. For efficient service coffee and doughnuts would have been greatly surpassed by the Indiana hammer. It might not have comforted the inner man greatly but its coercive power would have been a thousand fold more effective.

This hammer was not left long in the undisputed possession of Indiana

women. Some sons of evil confederated to contest the legality of the constitutional convention law. The Indiana supreme court decided there would be no convention at this time, but left undecided the question whether or not Indiana women might use this hammer at some other time for a properly constituted constitutional convention.

Then appeared a foe from the tribe of Suffering Taxpayers who opposed the Indianapolis women using the new municipal suffrage porch because of the expense to him of women's ballots. Suffering Taxpayer's personal share of the whole extra expense during his whole life would probably be less than thirty cents, yet such possible financial disaster caused hundreds of pages of briefs and hours of oral arguments, and the supreme court decided to save Suffering Taxpayer this heavy expense.

In Ohio the warlike Hivites and Jebusites, known as "The Wets," filed referendum petitions against the women and so did the workers of iniquity in Nebraska, while the Sanballots and Tobias of North Dakota as yet are only threatening the destruction of the North Dakota presidential elector sleeping porch.

Windows to other rooms have been opening slightly to the pleadings of the women. In Maine, New York, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa and Oklahoma, the guardians at the windows concluded that they would allow the men in their rooms to decide whether they wanted their respective windows opened. That seemed simple enough and yet the men who control the constitutional window in many of the remaining great rooms would not even do that much. They have refused to allow the men inside their rooms to decide whether the women may come in. In two of these, North Dakota and Iowa, more deliberation will yet be needed before it is ordained that their own men in North Dakota and Iowa should be allowed to decide this question. In the Maine room so many good men were asleep that Wrong conquered and their window remained closed.

In the great Empire room New York,

the good men woke up, rushed to open the window and the women's rejoicings resounded from ocean to ocean. More women have climbed up through the New York window into the full protection of the great citadel than could have entered three or four of the ordinary windows.

The generous and just men on the inside of the citadel have discovered that from the twelve rooms where women have entered, much help is coming to batter down the great front door from the inside. The sisters from the seven sleeping porches are also promising what they will do when they wake up in 1920 and vote for presidential electors. The citizens from the twelve rooms with completely open windows and those from the seven rooms with the sleeping porches have figured that they control about 200 electoral votes and that if additions keep on until 1920 a majority will be easy.

Some of the forty-eight rooms have portions of their windows controlled by separate groups. Columbus in Ohio and a dozen other scattered groups allow women the municipal advantage of a single pane of glass. Though the opening is small, it allows the women a hurried look within and causes some ventilation for everything within which needs ventilating.

How slowly and with what infinite labor and patience have these changes come. No other class who desired to enter the great front doors of privilege and honor has been so rebuffed and so delayed. No other class has been chased from front doors to back doors, to basement windows, to coal holes, to room windows, to porticoes or has needed to climb up by ropes into safety and shelter. A generous and hearty welcome has been given to every class except the women who are physically least able to endure this continuous and arduous labor. The mothers of the race should have been welcomed and urged to enter.

A new danger is here. A great war is upon us. The mothers are the first bulwark of the great citadel. In torture and suffering each mother has borne a soldier. Even on the battle field this soldier may never know

worse agony. The mothers were not cowards then, nor will they be in the horrors before them.

War's heavy burdens will fall on them, the "weakest." As in primitive ages when men would only hunt or fight, women were the agriculturists, the weavers and the home defenders, so today the mothers must expect to hold the plow, tend the spindles, mine the ore, feed and clothe the nation and its allies, nurse the wounded, bury the dead and bring forth more sons for soldiers and more daughters to plow, and to nurse, to bury and to beg for equal rights and fuller protection.

Shall those who control the citadel ask so much from its women and yet refuse their prayers for every right, every privilege, every immunity?

The nations of the world beholding the great sacrifices of money, food, ships and human life offered for freedom's sake, may well wonder why those who control do not speedily accomplish the one freedom at home which needs no bloodshed or sacrifice, the free opening to women of the great front doors.

Women claim these rights for all the reasons they formerly gave and also now for this reason, that their wishes may be observed in the conduct of this war. They still behold in the tall, bronzed, stalwart soldiers, choice men of the nation, only their own little sons who must be suitably clothed and fed, and not with embalmed beef. Women have demanded that proper arrangements must be made for health and sanitation. Women have insisted that army camps must be surrounded by "white zones." Mothers who are risking their sons' lives protest against risking their souls' salvation. Women today are unitedly calling to those who control affairs, "Our sons must not be corrupted. Foul diseases are worse than death." These cries of the mothers are being heard. The demands of women in eighteen states where they may vote for president are more influential than formerly.

What the great government has not yet done for women for the sake of simple justice it may now do to make them more efficient helpers in the great war. Congress meets in regular

session in December. The hour may be close at hand when women will not be relegated to the precarious and varied window climbing methods, but at last be welcomed into the great governmental citadel and all its forty-eight spacious rooms, through the wide open front doors of a federal suffrage amendment.

So glorious and abundant an entrance for women will fling a message to all the countries of the world, "We not only believe in freedom for all, but we practice it."

PUBLISHED BY POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAGUE

Evanston, Illinois

\$1.00 per 100

[May 1919]

A Sketch of Bible Societies in Kentucky

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO LEXINGTON: 1809-1919

BY THE REV. DR. JOHN FOX

IN the year 1812 Gen. Andrew Jackson made his famous voyage from Nashville to Natchez, with fifteen hundred soldiers, to fight the British at New Orleans. He took with him, also, two young men whom he had incidentally met, but who had a very different objective. Samuel J. Mills and the Rev. J. N. Schemerhorn were scouts for an army of quite another sort. They had been sent out by the missionary societies of Massachusetts and Connecticut and the Bible societies of Philadelphia and New York to explore "the regions beyond," and especially the unknown territory of the recent "Louisiana Purchase," and learn their religious needs. When Gen. Jackson, under a change in the war policy of the United States Government, was forced to return to Nashville, these two young messengers of the churches continued their voyage to New Orleans on a flatboat, thus avoiding the expense of steamboat travel. Before they met Jackson at Nashville, however, they had visited Lexington, Ky., and reorganized a local Bible society which had been organized there in 1809, one of the earliest Bible societies in America—only a year later than the very first one which was organized in Philadelphia in 1808. Everywhere they went these two apostolic youths organized Bible societies—in Ohio, in Indiana, in Illinois, in Tennessee, and even in New Orleans, after consultation with the Roman Catholic clergy there. When Mr. Mills returned, as he did alone, arriving from Philadelphia in 1815, he was just a little too

late to see in January the defeat of the British general, Pakenham, by "Old Hickory," who had so kindly taken him two years before from Nashville on his first missionary tour. No doubt Gen. Jackson felt a kinship between Mills and himself, for Mills was every inch a man and a hero and had braved many hardships and dangers for the kingdom of God's sake.

Thus the strands of history are ever interwoven, and God uses wars to set forward his kingdom in the world. In the development of the American continent the American Bible societies, at first local then national in their scope, have had a large place. To Lexington belongs the honor in this as in other spheres of pioneer leadership. In May, 1816, the local Bible societies of the country united by a convention held in New York to form the American Bible Society. In September of the same year the Kentucky Bible Society was formed in Christ Episcopal Church, in Lexington, "Auxiliary to the American Bible Society," with his Excellency Gov. George Madison as president, and the Lieutenant Governor, Gabriel Slaughter, as vice-president. The ancient record gives a long list of the clerical and lay membership, among them the Rev. Dr. James Blythe, the Rev. David Barrow, of Montgomery, the Rev. James Lyle and Mrs. Peggie Lyle, Dr. Walter Warfield, Thomas Bullock, Henry Martin, of Woodford County, John Brown, of Frankfort, James Alexander, of Paris, Ky., Robert Barr, Dr. John Todd, of Fayette County, Major John Tilford, and Major John McDowell. Major Alexander Parker, of Lexington, was made treasurer, the Rev. Silas M. Noel, of Frankfort, corresponding secretary; Ebenezer Sharpe was recording secretary, and Thomas T. Skillman was steward. Many of the citizens of Lexington

hoped that their city would be made a distributing center for the South and West, just as New York was the base of supplies for the regions east of the mountains. The newly-organized society, therefore, was not merely content to circulate Bibles. It published from 1820 to 1823 several editions of the 12mo. Bible in English from stereotype plates which the American Bible Society sent from New York, probably numbering two thousand copies at least. It was cheaper to print the Bible in Lexington and distribute it from there. This led to the formation after a little of the "Independent Kentucky Bible Society," with Gov. Isaac Shelby as president, which zealously prosecuted its work, part of it being a little aside from the ordinary course of Bible work. One of its members, Mr. Thomas T. Skillman, was deeply concerned to issue not only Bibles but evangelical literature in its defense and interpretation. But after a few years the "Independent Kentucky Society" was merged again in the Kentucky Bible Society. Meanwhile a new organization had come into being. It was called, in the quaint phraseology of the day, the Female Bible Society of Lexington, and it also was organized in Christ Episcopal Church, December 12, 1822.

The Rev. Richard D. Hall, "A Presbyterian of the Episcopal Church" and "Agent of the American Bible Society," presided, and Mrs. Eliza Hall, wife of the Rev. N. H. Hall, of the Presbyterian Church, was made president. Among the long list of the ladies present or who became Members for Life by paying \$10 "in specie," we find the names of Mrs. Blythe and Mrs. Skillman, Mrs. Catherine Beach, who is noted as a member of the Baptist Church, Mrs. John Breckenridge, Mrs. Berryman, Mrs. Eleanor Blackburn, Mrs. Bodley,

Mrs. Nancy Bell, Mrs. Massie, Mrs. Combs, Mrs. John Hunt, Mrs. S. Norton, Mrs. Sally Wickliffe, Mrs. Pindell, and Mrs. Morton.

Every Protestant church in Lexington was represented. The second annual report of this society, published in 1825, is now preserved in the Library of the Transylvania University; but although the society continued its labors for at least half a century, its records are thus far not to be found; nevertheless, it is unmistakable that the hearts of the best men and women in Lexington and its vicinity were in these organizations.

In 1836 the "Lexington and Vicinity Bible Society" was formed and made directly an auxiliary to the American Bible Society, instead of indirectly through the state society. The minute book of the society shows that the relation between New York and Lexington was a close one, as there is a considerable correspondence inserted there between the Rev. Dr. J. C. Brigham, Corresponding Secretary of the American Bible Society, and the secretary of the Lexington Society, Mr. W. A. Leavy. Dr. Brigham paid a visit to Lexington and assisted in the first beginnings of the society's work. Dr. L. P. Yandell was made president and we find such names as those of the Right Rev. Bishop Benjamin Bosworth Smith, of the Episcopal Church, Dr. J. Fishback, Dr. T. P. Satterwhite, Dr. M. T. Scott, Mr. D. A. Sayre, and others whose names are well known in Lexington and Fayette County. Unfortunately, however, some of its records also are lacking, so that a complete account of its transactions cannot be given at present. Mr. Leavy was succeeded as secretary by Mr. George Blackburn Kinkead, and the records since 1855 are quite complete. At the Semi-Centennial of the Society, in the First Presbyterian Church in Lexington, an address was

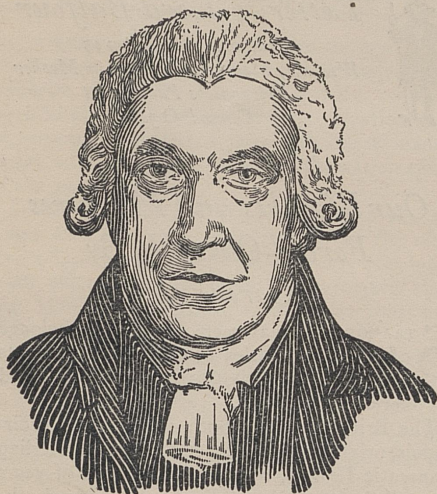
delivered by Dr. Lyman Beecher Todd replete with historical memoranda and personal reminiscence. The present secretary of the Society is his son. Evidently, however, the time had come when the Kentucky Bible Society was to be succeeded by various other county, town, and city societies—Louisville, Maysville, and others. The constitution of the society provides that it shall attempt the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in this city and county and in such adjacent counties as have not Bible societies of their own. It is further provided that if the friends of the Kentucky Bible Society and the Fayette County Bible Society shall deem it inexpedient to dissolve these institutions the members of the same shall be cordially recognized as members of the Lexington and Vicinity Bible Society. This shows the transition that was going on between the state organization and its successors in city and county, and shows also how quick the people of Lexington were to make such a transition as easy and natural as possible. The subsequent history of the society is comparatively easy to follow. It shows, as similar records show all over the country, that the change in both secular and religious methods of transacting business makes it increasingly difficult to follow too closely old paths. Modern methods imperatively require quickness and dispatch where once greater deliberation was possible. The automobile has supplanted the ox-cart, and with aeroplanes circling over Lexington almost at the very moment when these words were penned, who can set a limit to the possibilities of rapid deliveries? Everybody must "speed up." One of the angels of the Apocalypse flew in the midst of heaven having the everlasting gospel to preach to every nation and tongue. Let Bible societies take notice.

With such an inspiring history in the background of the Lexington and Vicinity Bible Society, there should be no difficulty in finding the safe path to a thoroughly modern and progressive institution. The present officers of the society are Dr. Frank Helm Clarke, president, Mr. James A. Todd, secretary, and Mr. Garland H. Barr, treasurer, and it may be noted that a hundred and fifty dollars has just been forwarded to the American Bible Society for its general work. The board of managers of the Lexington and Vicinity Bible Society now hopes to rekindle the fires of a new zeal for the Word of the living God. The needs are greater than ever before—not indeed in Lexington or Kentucky, though even here the Bible must still be kept within the easy reach of the whole population, especially in the mountain counties of the state, but to-day all men and all organizations must have a world aim.

“Let observation with extensive view
Survey mankind from China to Peru,”
and few spots will be found on earth where this all-conquering Book cannot be sent and at a comparatively small cost. In the Orient, in Africa, in the Islands of the Seas, in war-torn Europe, men and women are starving for the Bread of Life. The American Bible Society appeals to us to lend a hand to give it.

Will not the sons and daughters of Kentucky, drawing inspiration from the recital of what their forefathers have done in the past, do their full part now? They have sent their sons to the battlefields, and by the mercy of God many have come back and been received with acclaim—some bearing honorable scars. Now let America send the Book which has made her great and free.

Lexington, Ky., May, 1919.



World's Greatest Engineer
James Watt

*World electric science has
named the electric unit of power*

Watt

thereby honoring James Watt, whose
genius made possible to humankind
the steam engine, steamboat, steam
railway, steam pump, and steam tur-
bine. He thought his greatest work
the Watt Measuring System, whose
three principal units became

Meter—Liter—Gram



A simple story, simply told

WORLD TRADE CLUB

SAN FRANCISCO, U. S. AMERICA

29 March, 1919

A personal Word from
WORLD TRADE CLUB: -

A simple and understandable letter about meter-liter-gram
is handed you herewith, that you may appreciate to the fullest the
advantages to be derived from their adoption by the English Speaking
peoples - America and Britannia are the only civilized nations that have
not yet adopted these standards - and that you may thereupon lend the
weight of your influence to secure their early world wide use.

As it will benefit all human kind, it deserves your
consideration and whole-hearted support. May we ask that you do not pass
the matter lightly aside as one of those things for "the other fellow"
to do, and that after reading our letter that you follow the suggestion
expressed on page 16.

Respectfully,

Secretary-Treasurer, World Trade Club.

(OVER)



Letter to Lord Balfour
Chairman commission on
Weights, Measures, Coinage in Mother
Britannia's Parliament
O yez! O yez!



Our Weights and Measures Forced Onto Us By Germans

STRANGE as it may seem, the present coinage of the British Isles as well as the weights and measures of both the British Isles and of America are German.

The British pounds, both sterling and avoirdupois, originated with the old German Osterling Hanseatic League, which for hundreds of years controlled the trade of England. Indeed, the dominance of the Germans continued until a competent business manager ousted the German Hanse League from England—a patriotic work—and it was a woman who did it: Elizabeth.

The Germans forced these old standards on the British¹ who in their turn landed them on America. America and Britannia were one until 1776.

What is still more remarkable is that America and Britannia continue to use these old German tools after Germany herself has scrapped them, and adopted (1871) the simplest decimal system of quantity expression ever known to humankind—the application of the decimal to weights and measures, which was the invention of that truly great Briton, James Watt, 1783.

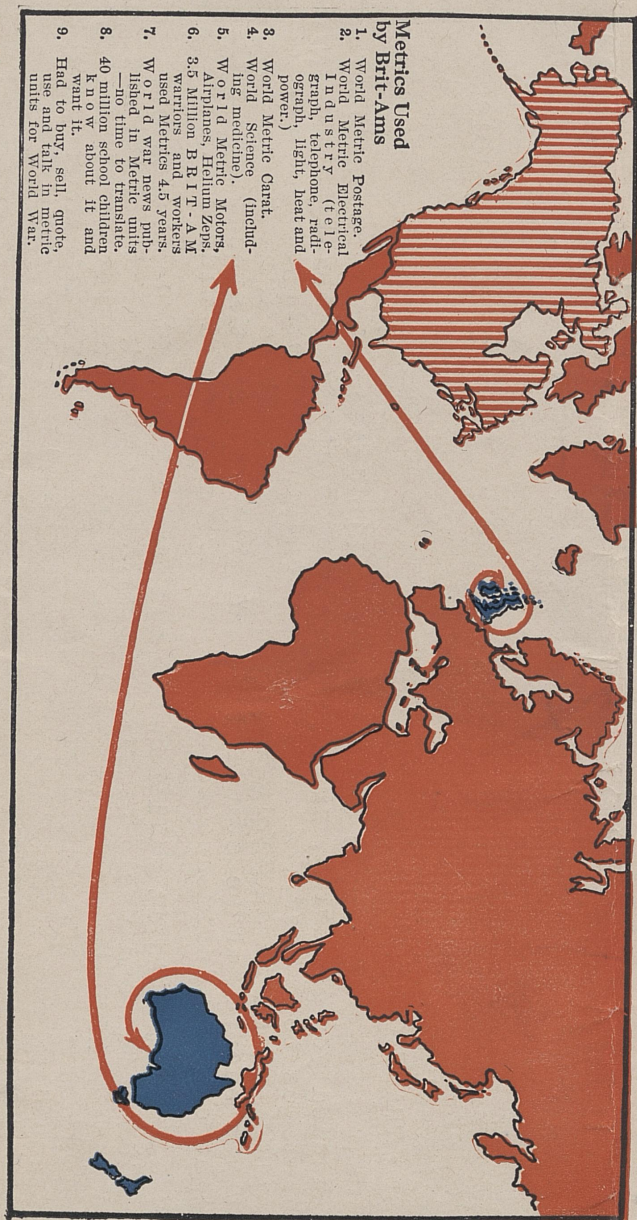
Yet Britannia and America have lagged behind the rest of the civilized world by neglecting to adopt a system of quantity expression which is so simple that the average child of 10 can learn its essential features in 10 minutes.

Is it not time that we, as well as the Germans, should scrap the obsolete standards of war and trade, so complicated, difficult to learn and use?

Yes, the time has come when both of these

¹German Hanse League, by H. Zimmern, pp. 104, 186; Outline History of German Hanse League, by Cornelius Walford, p. 61. From Vol. 9, Transactions Royal British Historical Society. The Hidden Hand in English History, by Ian D. Colvin, author of The Germans in England, p. X, XVII, XVIII, 2, 10, 15, 24, 29, 32, 45, 67, 89, 136, 182, 209, 227. Hanse League was for probably 500 years the only world trade club in the world. Therefore its influence on weights, measures, coin.

Map showing well-nigh world wide use of Metric Units



Metric Units Used by Brit-Ams

1. World Metric Postage.
2. World Metric Electrical Units (amps, volts, ohms, telephones, radiograph, light, heat and power.)
3. World Metric Cart.
4. World Science (including medicine).
5. World Metric Motors.
6. Airplanes, Helium Zepps, 3.5 Million BRIT-AM warriors and workers used Metric 4.5 years.
7. World war news published in Metric units—no time to translate.
8. 40 million school children have learned about it and want it.
9. Had to buy, sell, quote, use and talk in metric units for World War.

Countries which now—all of them—use meter-liter-gram more or less exclusively and increasingly exclusively in electric industry, science, world metric cart 200 m. g., world metric pharmaceuticals and in world war.

Countries using metric weight and measure definitely divided, exclusively metric postal union, metric units in electric industry, in science, liberty motor airplanes, BRIT-AM helium Zepps (science's wonder of the world war) endorsed by organized manufacturers, steel, tanners, furs, furriers, packers, grocers, miners, grocers, fishers, record-ers, writers, draftsmen, labor, cooks, waiters, shippers, traders, furs, furriers, world advertisers and women, so on, so on.

Countries in revolution, a declaration of independence made against further slavery to this obsolete German jumble, that was scrapped by Germany in 1871, then Germany got what was made by our Jamie Watt. The Allies saved the world War by all using it in world war, then keep the World War won.

World War Standardization and Peace

nations must align themselves with the rest of the civilized world. They are too progressive, too patriotic, too democratic, too scientific, too forward-looking to hold aloof from civilization and to perpetuate methods so wasteful, and so inadequate, so hazardous to the life of the nation alike in war and peace.

It would be comical if its issues were not so tragic that Britannia and America use the old, script German jumble, while Germany uses ours—the efficient decimal scientific, automatic system 1,000 times more effective than that the Germans script.

We, too, must adopt meter-liter-gram that have come into well nigh world-wide use, and are so badly needed by Britannia-America.

For the world to adopt anything for world-wide, everybody's everyday use requires that it be simple—extremely simple.

All the world has adopted the alphabet of letters for written expression, each people in its own language.

All the world has adopted the Arabic numerals, 1234567890, for its mathematical computation.²

All the civilized world has adopted the metric units to express its weights and measures, meter-liter-gram, with the single exception of U. S. America and Britannia.

The metric system—the Watt scientific measuring system—is the most simple and the most practical, an immeasurable advance on the weights and measures that now handicap the business relations and education of Britannia and America.

It is a system of weights and measures based on decimal computation, just as is the American decimal metric dollar.

The metric system has only 4 principal units—dollar-meter-liter-gram—and they can be multiplied by 10, 100, 1000, or divided into 10ths, 100ths, 1000ths, in the same manner that we multiply or divide decimal metric money.

Dollar-meter-liter-gram are simply *names* to indicate whether the computation refers to money, length, mass or weight.

Use and expression. We may use the same terms to express meters, liters and grams as we do to express dollars.

²See *all* keyboards of *all* typewriters in *all* languages: 1234567890.

World War Standardization and Peace

1.111 is exprest as one dollar, one 10 cent, one cent, one mill.

1.111 is exprest as one meter, one DECI-meter, one CENT-imeter, one MILL-imeter.

1.111 is exprest as one liter, one DECI-liter, one CENT-iliter, one MILL-iliter.

1.111 is exprest as one gram, one DECI-gram, one CENT-igram, one MILL-igram.

The average child of 10, who knows the metric decimal dollar and its decimal sub-divisions, can learn in 10 minutes as much of the metric system as 90 per cent of all the people ever have occasion to use.

Just as you multiply and divide the dollar by 10-100-1000, so do you multiply and divide meters, liters, grams.

And as to definitions:—KILO is Greek for 1000, HECTO is Greek for 100, DEKA is Greek for 10. That is all.

These terms are used by others—we need not use them. In practical work, we may speak of 10,000 meters or 10,000,000 liters in the same way that we speak of 10,000 or 10,000,000 dollars.

It is all very simple. The question arises: How has such a unified system originated? How has the world so skilfully worked from the complex to the simple?

U. S. American Bureau of Standards, Director S. W. Stratton, tells, in an admirable article in *Americana*, the *Scientific American Encyclopedia*, in sense 1%—read the other 99% in *Americana*—metric system—the world's *one* system.

The metric system of weights and measures was the result of scores of years of research, anxious agitation and indefatigable labor.

Each locality and industry had its own weights and measures which crudely served local needs and primitive conditions. With increasing intercourse, this diversity of units and standards proved confusing and intolerable and demands for *one* simple system for world-wide use grew steadily to a climax about 1782.

James Watt suggested it. The great British inventor was greatly handicapped by the lack of the use by others of world-wide terms for the expression of quantities.

At that time every nation had its own local measures, all differing—a non-Watt hell. Watt's scientific and practical mind devised one simple decimal method which he submitted to various

World War Standardization and Peace

countries in 1783, and it was this system that became the metric system.

Talleyrand, the great French statesman, saw at once its immense practical value, simplicity, uniformity—world oneness. He caused it to be adopted in France, and France was soon followed by 33 other nations.

In his first message to Congress, George Washington said:

“A *uniformity* of the weights and measures of the country is among the important objects submitted to you by the constitution and if it can be derived from a standard at once invariable and *universal*, it must be no less honorable to the public council than conducive to the public convenience.”

Thomas Jefferson appreciated its simplicity and practicability, and urged its adoption by U. S. America. America accepted it as the basis of her money, 1786, thus leading the world in metric money, but unfortunately neglected to adopt the other 3 principal units—meter-liter-gram.

In 1816 James Madison brought the matter of standards to the attention of Congress and a committee reported in favor of Jefferson's best decimal plan, but it was not done. In 1821, J. Q. Adams, Secretary of State, reported in favor of the metric system but it was not done. In 1866 Charles Sumner did the same with same result and so up to the World War, when the U. S. American War Department adopted the metric system for use abroad, as had Britannia, 1914.

British House of Commons voted to adopt the metric system exclusively, but the House of Lords rejected it. So in these 2 countries alone, the ancient, cumbersome, obsolete and discarded German jumble for the expression of quantity still hampers, handicaps and legicaps these 2 peoples, who think themselves up to date, forward looking.³

³Countries which have all of them more or less completely adopted the metric units are these 152: Argentina 1863, Austria, Adalia, Algeria, Albania, Arabia, Andorra, Anam, Armenia, Anatolia, Azores, Abyssinia, Brazil 1873, Belgium, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Borneo, Bali, British Honduras, Bavaria, Bosnia, Bokhara, Balaerics, Bukowina, Canada, Ceylon, China (the Chinese Government has definitely decided gradually to turn its 426,000,000 to exclusive use of meter-liter-gram—it is the standard of 28 ports now), Chili, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Czecho-Slova, Cuba, Caroline

World War Standardization and Peace

As we have already noted, Germany has had everything metrically standardized since 1871, so that in the world war practically every German detail was instantly interchangeable, and they fitted and worked together. *Without this automatic unity and simplicity there could have been no such great efficiency in the productive and military co-ordination of Germany.*

The Allies, on the contrary, had no such interchangeable uniformity. The metric standards of France, Italy, Russia, Rumania, Greece, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Serbia, and the rest—23 fighting allies and 7 who had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany, including the nations of Central and South America, that is to say some 30 of the allies—were *not* interchangeable with the British and American weights and measures. Even British and American measures were not interchangeable,⁴ with the result that great and grave difficulties, long costly delays,

Islands, Cambodia, Cochin China, Dutch Celibes, Canaries, Cyprus, Corsica, Crete, Denmark, Dalmatia, Dahomey, Dobrudja, Damaraland, Egypt, Ecuador 1856, Portuguese East Africa, Fritrea, France 1799, Finland, Formosa, Faroe Islands, Filipines, Germany 1871, Greece, Guatemala, Greenland, Guiana, (French), Guiana (British), Guiana (Dutch), Guiana (Portuguese), German East Africa, German West Africa, Togoland, German Borneo, Guam, Hungary, Hongkong, Holland, Haiti, Honduras, Herzegovina, Italy, Iceland, Ivory Coast (French), India (India is the source of origin of the decimal science of positional decimal arithmetic; her standards of weights and measures are metric units—the Ser is 1000 grams; the Ser of water is the liter exactly), Indo China (French), Japan, Java, Jugo Slavia, Juan-Fernandez, Kamerun, Korea, Kongo (French), Kongo (Belgian), Kongo (Portuguese), Khiva, Lithuania, Liberia, Luxemburg, Lombok, Marshall Isles, Mexico 1856, Morocco, Moravia, Montenegro, Mauritius, Monte Carlo, Martinique, Madura, Molucas, Macao, Madeira, Malay States, Namaland, Norway, New Guinea, Nicaragua, New-Granada 1863, Nigeria, Newfoundland, Oro (Spanish), Odrar, Peru, Poland, Palestine, Paraguay, Patagonia, Panama, Porto Rico, Portugal, Pescadores, Russia, Ruthenia, Rhodes, Rumania, Siberia, Salvador, San Domingo, Serbia, Spain, Switzerland 1875, Samoa, Samoa (German), Samos, Sardinia, Sicily, Siam, Sumatra, St. Lucia, St. Croix, St. Pierre, Sahara, Senegal, Senegambia, Somali, Somali (Italian), Straits Settlements, Tonquin, Tripoli, Tunis (French), Tunis (Italian), Timor Islands, Uruguay 1862, Ukania, Venezuela, Virgin Islands, W. Africa (French), (152).

Use of the U. S. American Liquid Measures Illegal in Canadian Trade.

Consul Johnson, at Kingston, Canada, reports:

"A ruling by the Canadian inland revenue authorities in regard to liquid measures should be carefully noted

World War Standardization and Peace

interfered with their *co-ordination and efficiency* promptly to aid their allies.

The French Minister of War, Millerand, said Kitchener's volunteers promptly arrived in France, splendid battalions, but *unarmed*. The German kaiser counted upon this confusion of standards for 2 years' delay—he thought he could crush France and gain world power before the allies, thus handicapped, were ready—indeed in $\frac{1}{2}$ the time.

The world war brought forth an eloquent fact:

Both Britannia and U. S. America were forced to adopt the metric standards for use abroad.⁵ This they did promptly.

by American manufacturers, merchants, producers, growers, packers.

"U. S. American gallon is approximately 20 per cent smaller than the Canadian gallon, more exactly, the gallon in use in Canada is equal to 1.2009 U. S. American gallons.

"Many complaints have been made in Canada as to the sale of goods put up by Americans according to the U. S. American unit. American goods measured by the smaller unit have an unfair advantage over similar Canadian goods." (It works injury both ways: During the war a San Francisco concern received an Australian cable asking it to offer 1,000,000 gallons of oil for immediate shipment. Bargain was closed by cable, oil shipped—then came Australian cable saying, "Of course you sold us Australian gallons." Yanks shipped 200,900 gallons more oil without charge, making them 15% loss instead of 3% or 4% gain and 1% expenses. They are working for meter-liter-gram now.)

"WINE MEASURE SALES ILLEGAL. All concerned are, therefore, advised that the sale of anything in Canada *by wine measure is illegal*; that the offering for sale of any goods of which the contents *are clearly marked in some unit of U. S. American measures*, e. g., '1 pint U. S. American standard' *is illegal*, that representing unmarked containers of goods as pints, quarts, so on, when their contents are actually United States measure (wine measure) *is illegal*. Canada runs on British beer measure exclusively.

"WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT. The Weights and Measures Act of Canada prescribed the use of certain Canadian weights and measures, or *the metric system, in all dealings in Canada*. Fines are provided for selling goods according to any standard other than those stated above."

"The large French population of Canada has greatly increased the use of the metric system there. The fact that the *metric weights and measures are legal in Canada, as in all other parts of the world*, while the *old United States measures of capacity are not even legal in Canada* is only another reason for putting world trade on the *metric basis* and coming to use of the metric units as soon as possible."

⁵General order number 1 of the United States of America War department, issued on 2 January, 1918, states:

"The metric system has been adopted for use in France

World War Standardization and Peace

President F. O. Wells of the Greenfield (Mass., U.S. America) art cap die gage hole jig jag nib nub rim ream slot slip slit slide snip screw tab tip top test terse tie tread trim tug tube zig zag machine tool co., the concern that manufactured so many things indispensable to the supply of war munitions, declared (and hosts of other experts agree with him) that the German kaiser would not have dared declare war if America and Britannia had been standardized on metrics when the Germans adopted the system exclusively in 1871. In that event they could instantly have co-operated with one another and with all their allies, co-ordinating the supplies and munitions from every part of the world.

The history of meter-liter-gram emphasizes the advantages gained by those nations that use it. No other period of history emphasizes this more than the era of the world war.

Since the metric system bestows such manifest benefits, why do not *all* use exclusively this simple and convenient tool? A few opponents put forward a variety of answers, of no effect.

Obstruction: While the metric system was legalized in America 1866, its exclusive use has been delayed by 3 factors: (1) the confusion occasioned by its Latin and Greek prefixes; (2) habit, custom; (3) ignorance of the value of uniformity.

As to the first cause of delay in adoption: Sometimes the popularity of an invaluable necessity is long deferred by its name. The metric system is the victim of terms—not the name “metric” perhaps, although even that may seem formidable. But the Latin and Greek prefixes confuse the mind, and obscure the Watt simplicity of the system, so as to delay its adoption in English-speaking countries.

This objection, however, can be disposed of as inconsequent. America does not use these terms—that is, not exactly—in the metric decimal money system, the unit of which is the dollar.

That is all that is necessary for 90 per cent of the people to know—dollar-meter-liter-gram. All these units may be multiplied and divided just like dollar.

Not very difficult, is it?

for all firing data for artillery and machine guns, in the preparation of operation orders and in map construction.” Ordnance such as the 75 and 155 milli-meter guns have been adopted by the United States Army and are successfully made in America.

World War Standardization and Peace

The 2d cause of delay originates from our habit of thinking in obsolete yards, feet, hands, spans, inches, fathoms, rods, links, chains, furlongs, miles, pounds, 2 different quarters, quarters, ounces, pennyweights, minims, drams, grains, scruples, dwts., 3 different cwts., 2 different tons and 1 tun, 4 different stones, 4 different pounds, 4 different ounces, 2 different gallons, 2 different quarts, 2 different pints, gills, many different bushels, many pecks, and so on. Also we think with different units for different objects. Dry measure, wet measure, wine measure, beer measure,⁶ avoirdupois, apothecary, troy weight and so on *ad infinitum*. Just think of the innumerable different units to which we have accustomed ourselves, mostly German, which Germany scrapt in 1871, and put in her museums beside stone axes, stone adzes and other stone age tools.

Instead of such a horrible hodge-podge (it is no system, no science), making change undesirable, it is itself really the best reason for simplification and the universal application of meter-liter-gram. What we must do is to cast aside the shackles of ages-long custom and habit, now binding us in an ugly sort of mental slavery.

As to the 3rd cause of obstruction; until 1914 Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey had not succeeded in convincing Britannia-America of the indispensable necessity of being united, always ready, equipt with the best up to the minute, for World War and World Trade—now they are convinced.

It may be feared by some that the expense of changing from the present confusion to the simple scientific decimal metric standards would be prohibitive. But it did *not* prove so in the case of all the other 152 countries of the world (including Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey) that have adopted it.

Contrary to the generally prevailing idea, weights will *not* have to be replaced—merely readjusted, and scale beams re-marked. The measures on hand can be adjusted or used for containers. The difficulties of making the change are largely imaginary, as has been proved by all the 152 countries that have already done so. *All* are glad they changed and they wonder why in the

⁶See note 4, page 6.

World War Standardization and Peace

name of science and good business the 2 laggards have not followed or did not lead.

America-Britannia are bearing an enormous wholly unnecessary load because of the selfishness and the lack of patriotism of a very small percentage of the whole people. Surely not more than 10% object, they not having looked it up.

Cannot the American-British people do what Germans did 1871—put meter-liter-gram into exclusive use?

How it was done in Germany. In Germany, Austria, and the other lands of the Hun, the change was made in the cities in a few weeks, in the country in a few months. Manufacturers went on just as they were, using tools they had—no machines, tools or drawings were scrapped—plenty of witnesses living.

Those of our manufacturers who have adopted meter-liter-gram have found the saving to be so great that the cost of the change was quickly made up. Kynoch, the Krupp of the British Isles, adopted the metric system in 1914, and its President, Chamberlain, declared that it paid for itself in 1 year at a cost of only 1 per cent of a year's dividends.⁷

The Wells concern adopted metrics in 1914 and saved annually for itself \$50,000.00 as well as benefitting its customers annually \$50,000.00. Many other producers, merchants, manufacturers in U. S. America-Britannia now make exclusive use of the metric system or of 2 standards.

Panama, Filipines, Porto Rico, Cuba — parts of U. S. America — have long used meter-liter-gram, and other Americans going to and working in these parts find they gain proficiency in the use of meter-liter-gram in about 2 weeks without effort, and wonder why the rest of U. S. America continues to muddle along with a German jumble that even the Germans scrapped in 1871.

So much for the objections. All difficulties, real or imaginary, fade into insignificance when compared with the tremendous savings and gains attainable. There are almost inconceivable wastes avoided, alike in *war* and peace, in world trade, in domestic business, in teaching, in trying to learn. So many phases of human activity and endeavor assume a new, a more simple, a more automatic, a more scientific logical meaning and

⁷The Herald, New York and Paris, in a metric campaign (1900) published columns of interviews with leaders in World Trade. Thousands advocated meter-liter-gram.

World War Standardization and Peace

use when we utilize the greatest invention of humankind, the Hindu science of positional decimal arithmetic, and its numerals, 1234567890, in *combination* with weights, measures, money—what James Watt thought his greatest work, that became the metric system.

Scrap the obsolete. Let us and the world no longer be compelled to transfer, translate, transcribe the obsolete into and out of meter-liter-gram! All we have to do is to *think* meters and fractions, liters and fractions, grams and fractions, dollars and fractions—that is to say, dollars and cents.

Simple, is it not?

In the science of positional decimal arithmetic, constantly thinking, working in percentages develops *perspicacity*, a sense of the proper proportion of things which is of great national value in peace and war. It will eliminate 90% of the time and effort spent on vulgar fractions.³ There will be no tables to learn or study of weights, measure, coinage. Dollar-meter-liter-gram will take the place of practically all.

Educators urge its adoption. The committee recently appointed by the British Prime Minister to inquire into the position of natural science in the educational system of the British Isles (Cd. 9011) reported:—"That the present chaos of British weights, measures, coins causes great waste of time and confusion of thought which are strong educational reasons for the adoption of the metric system." The same is equally true of N. America, Australia, New Zealand, United South Africa and so on.

Clyde Wolfe, Master Mathematician, University of California, writes:

"A conservative estimate is that the exclusive use of meter-liter-gram would shorten the time of teaching arithmetic to the average child by 2 years."

Practical application. Is there one person in 10,000 in America or Britannia who can define accurately all of the old obsolete German-British weights and measures script by Germany in 1871, but with which we are still handicapped, legicapped? Gladstone said there was not one. But when meter-liter-gram come into practical

³Galsworthy and the upper 1% of England write, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, $\frac{4}{7}$, $3\frac{10}{37}$, $\frac{1}{11}$, $3\frac{17}{20}$, 14 £ 12 s 6 d; the upper 75% of America writes .22, .78, .55, 3.27, .099; 3.85, \$73.52.

World War Standardization and Peace

world-wide use, every one in the 10,000 will as readily compute in meters-liters-grams, as they do now in dollars, or any decimal metric money.

Consider the business facilities implied by uniform standardization *everywhere* in use; consider the simplification of sizes of *every commodity*. In this airplane age, where the pilot may cover 1,000 miles in a few hours, uniformity of standards in measures is indispensable. (The airplane alone started a new era, which is emphasized by the helium fire-proof zeppelins, one of the greatest achievements of science during the World War.⁹) Consider the ease, economy, and accuracy of registering, calculating,¹⁰ computing, recording, tabulating, invoicing, quoting and cataloging to the world that reads American-British publications, and of educating the 570 millions of Britannia and U. S. America. The people of every language will use the same system in peace, or will be ready to aid all allies instantly in war. It would add a year or more to the life of each of these 570 million humans of Britannia and U. S. America, and the other 1,000 million humans will benefit enormously.

Should meter-liter-gram not be put into use as was railway standard time, the world postal union, the Marconi world-wide code, the world-wide telegraph union, the daylight-saving plan, world airplane road rules for air navigation? As a war or peace measure, it will be a comparatively small undertaking. Can we afford to be unprepared for world trade, and always possible war, even inciting war by this unpreparedness? Safety first! Stop, look, listen!

U. S. American Congress and British Parliament can put it into use for America, Britannia, all allies and the world, in an hour.

In a financial editorial of the San Francisco Bulletin, John H. Gerrie, a world-traveled trade expert, strongly urges:

"Why not *try* the exclusive use of the metric units in U. S. America? This is recommended in a resolution adopted by the U. S. American

⁹Germans sent 25 million grams of medicine and munitions by zeppelin to German East Africa. They found Britannia's flag flying, so without alighting zep brought home the 25,000,000 grams freight, crew and hotel. Now British Americans have made zeps fire-proof, surely marking a new epoch.—*Literary Digest*, 22 February, '19, page 27.—*Am. Review of Reviews*, Mch., '19, p. 320.

¹⁰Monroe calculator adds, multiplies, divides, subtracts, with the speed of light and satanic accuracy.

World War Standardization and Peace

section of the International High Commission, of which Secretary McAdoo is chairman. This would seem the logical time for its adoption into world-wide use. It is in use in every civilized nation, excepting only U. S. America and Britannia. Its exclusive use would greatly facilitate world commercial relations. President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George can promulgate it in 10 minutes for America and Britannia to the benefit of all humankind." Try it; then go back to chaos if you wish—look it up.

Honorable William C. Redfield, U. S. American Secretary of Commerce, addressing the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce on 10 January, 1917, said: "The fact, of course, is that the metric system, adopted exclusively by 34 nations is simpler, easier, more effective, and more widely used than any other. It has made its way by its merits. There is no argument for the retention of our present weights and measures that is not an argument against our decimal metric dollar system. No reason supports our decimal dollar system of currency that does not support decimal system of measure. *This handicap we must throw off*, get out of the darkness—out of foolishness toward reason."

Speaking at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 27 December, 1918, Mr. Redfield voiced the conviction that meter-liter-gram should and would be adopted soon by U. S. America. A list of endorsers' names, the best in the world, would fill books.

The American National Association of Manufacturers, by its founder and president, Theodore C. Search, advocating meter-liter-gram legislation before Congress, 1904, says (*Science* v. 15, p. 834): "Whenever manufacturers undertake to extend trade outside U. S. America-Britannia they encounter meter-liter-gram, the only uniform measure through all the world." Had Congress done it then war would have been shortened 2 years if it had been caused at all.

As Andrew Carnegie says: "Our weights and measures are a discredit to us. We shall inevitably adopt meter-liter-gram, if for no other reason than as an aid to peace; but it would enormously aid our world trade."

David Starr Jordan wires: "Weights, measures,

World War Standardization and Peace

coinage serve convenience; meter-liter-gram incomparably most convenient."

The World Trade Museums, Philadelphia, organized a Pan-American party, one delegate each, from 100 cities of South America, Central America and Mexico Chambers of Commerce, and escorted the party to all North American cities. This party said unanimously: "We use only meter-liter-gram. We can't understand why you use what you do. We won't bother with it; it's ridiculous. British and Americans lose trade, are handicapped and hampered by stone age German script tools—measures. Get meter-liter-gram."

American associated steel makers urged Congress (H. R. 7251) to secure metric units. (Sci. Am. Sup. 24 Feb., 1900.)

After the world war, whatever else may be, the world will be a smaller place. Whatever methods may add to better understanding and better business and better safety from German attack, this is surely the best of all. *Why not try it?* Foch has made 10,000 winning decisions for all allies, why not let Foch decide this? As $\frac{1}{2}$ of this sort of thing has been done by proclamation or orders in council, why not Wilson and George proclaim *meter-liter-gram*?

"Our customers are always right"—"everybody is good to us"—"none are foreigners, all are friends"—"we love our enemies"—we find they do us as much profit as friends. We do good to those who spitefully use us. So we willingly consent that our Governments grant licenses to those who prove to proper authorities that exclusive use of meter-liter-gram really injures them—to be licensed to use the old German jumble till they are dead—awake! look it up and see. The model Swiss republic licensed watchmakers, who soon found when they looked it up—watched out—that they were letting go by valuable advantages—so they voluntarily used meter-liter-gram. Used it ever after—ask them—they're glad. You could not get them now to touch the German jumble. Swiss motors, engines, machines, run and work like Patek Fille Swiss watches.

That the English-speaking world may secure the benefits of meter-liter-gram with the conclusion of peace will you not *act together and co-operate* with us, using your individual or corporate influence by writing, now, to legislators of America and Britannia that you endorse the adoption

World War Standardization and Peace

of meter-liter-gram? Use the coupons provided for the purpose on page 16 of this letter, if you prefer. Or, as an organization, have the proposal endorsed by your body and forward the endorsement to legislators of Britannia and America. Stamped, addrest envelopes (2) are enclosed.

"One weight, one measure, and one coin, will soon the warring world in friendship join!"—and keep the world war won.

Anyone, anywhere, who in any way can, will, or wishes to aid this good cause to benefit all humankind, please communicate with

WORLD TRADE CLUB,

681 Market St., 3, 4, 5, San Francisco, U. S. America.

World Metric Literature: James Watt, 1783, Life of Watt by Andrew Carnegie. The team of Wonder Workers, Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Priestly, Talleyrand, George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Governor Robert Morris, 1786, James Madison, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Charles Sumner, 1866, Barnard of Columbia on Metrics, 1872, Melville Dewey, University of State of New York, American National Association of Manufacturers, Carnegie Committee's report 1898. World Weights and Measures Bureau, Paris, Chambers of Commerce of Britannia and America Convention reports. British-American and 55 other legislative committees commissions reports Encyclopedias Americana, published by Scientific American, New York, article by S. W. Stratton, Director U. S. Bureau of Standards, Dodd-Mead, Century, Annual New York World, Britannica, Halleck Wade, N. Y. Book, 1906. * Martins Tables, London, 1907, Foster's Coming of the Gram, Booklets of 3 Decimal Associations. Finsbury Pavement House, 212 London, 55 Market St., Manchester, 156 Fifth Ave., New York. Crane's Valve World, Chicago, World Trade Club, San Francisco, U. S. America, v. 15 Science, Popular Science Monthly, Electrical Review (London) 17 January, 1919. See communications urging, requesting, demanding legislation that will bring about the exclusive use of meter-liter-gram in and between Canada, British America, Australia, New Zealand, India, Egypt, British Isles, Ceylon. If not already done there is insistent demand in U. S. Africa. For bibliography, weight and measure, 1790 to 1890, see U. S. America congressional serial number 2952 pp. 371-376. U. S. Treasury Department, Geodetic Survey. For chaos 27 February, 1835, see Select Committee of Philadelphia business men on weights and measures. Report to Congress advocating remedial legislation for uniformity—John Adams, Secretary State. Thousands of metric articles may be found in library indexes of quarterly, monthly, weekly, daily, literature of America and Britannia. We now index Red+United War Workers, Y. Human, C. A., Organized Women, the Federated Workers, Warriors, Washington, London, Paris, Roma, Pretoria, Simla, Tokyo, Sydney, Toronto. Warriors and Workers Metric Manual—U. S. Am. Govt.

British Premier David Lloyd George

British Legislators

Commissions or Committees on Weights, Measures, Coins

Houses of Parliament

London, British Isles

The undersigned endorses $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{legislation} \\ \text{promulgation} \\ \text{orders in council} \end{array} \right.$
that will bring about the exclusive use
of Meter-Liter-Gram by the British
Isles.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

U. S. American President Woodrow Wilson

U. S. American Legislators

Committees on Weights, Measures, Coins

Washington, D. C., U. S. America

The undersigned endorses $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{legislation} \\ \text{promulgation} \\ \text{orders in council} \end{array} \right.$
that will bring about the exclusive use
of Meter-Liter-Gram by the United
States of America.

Name.....

Address.....

.....



Clara Kimball Young

**BEST
PICTURES
BEST
MUSIC**

"Come-See The Good Ones!"

VEST POCKET PROGRAM

STRAND THEATRE

Lexington's \$150,000 Motion Picture Palace

**BEST
PICTURES
BEST
MUSIC**

Sunday, August 10, 1919.

ETHEL CLAYTON

—IN—

"A SPORTING CHANCE"

A Paramount Picture

Harold Lloyd Comedy. Topics of the Day
Antonio Moreno and Carol Holloway in
"Perils of Thunder Mountain" No. 2.

Monday and Tuesday, August 11 and 12, 1919.

TOM MOORE

—IN—

"THE CITY OF COMRADES"

"It's a Goldwyn Picture"

"SMILING BILL" PARSONS COMEDY

Bray Pictograph

Screen Magazine

Wednesday and Thursday, August 13 and 14.

MARGUERITE CLARK

—IN—

"PRUNELLA"

A Paramount Picture

CHRISTIE COMEDY

Hearst Weekly.

Educational Review

Friday and Saturday, August 15 and 16, 1919.

NORMA TALMADGE

—IN—

"THE WAY OF A WOMAN"

A Select Picture.

MACK SENNETT COMEDY

Educational Weekly

Screen Telegram

Concerts Daily, Afternoon and Evenings

2—ORCHESTRAS—2

**THE STRAND ALL-AMERICAN ORCHESTRA
and SOLIS'S MARIMBA BAND.**

For a "Musical Feast"—There Is None Better!
"Visit" the Strand; See the Best Pictures, Hear
the Best Music!

IRELAND'S DECLARATION *of* INDEPENDENCE

and other

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

including the

General Memorandum Submitted to the
Peace Conference in Support
of Ireland's Claim for
Recognition

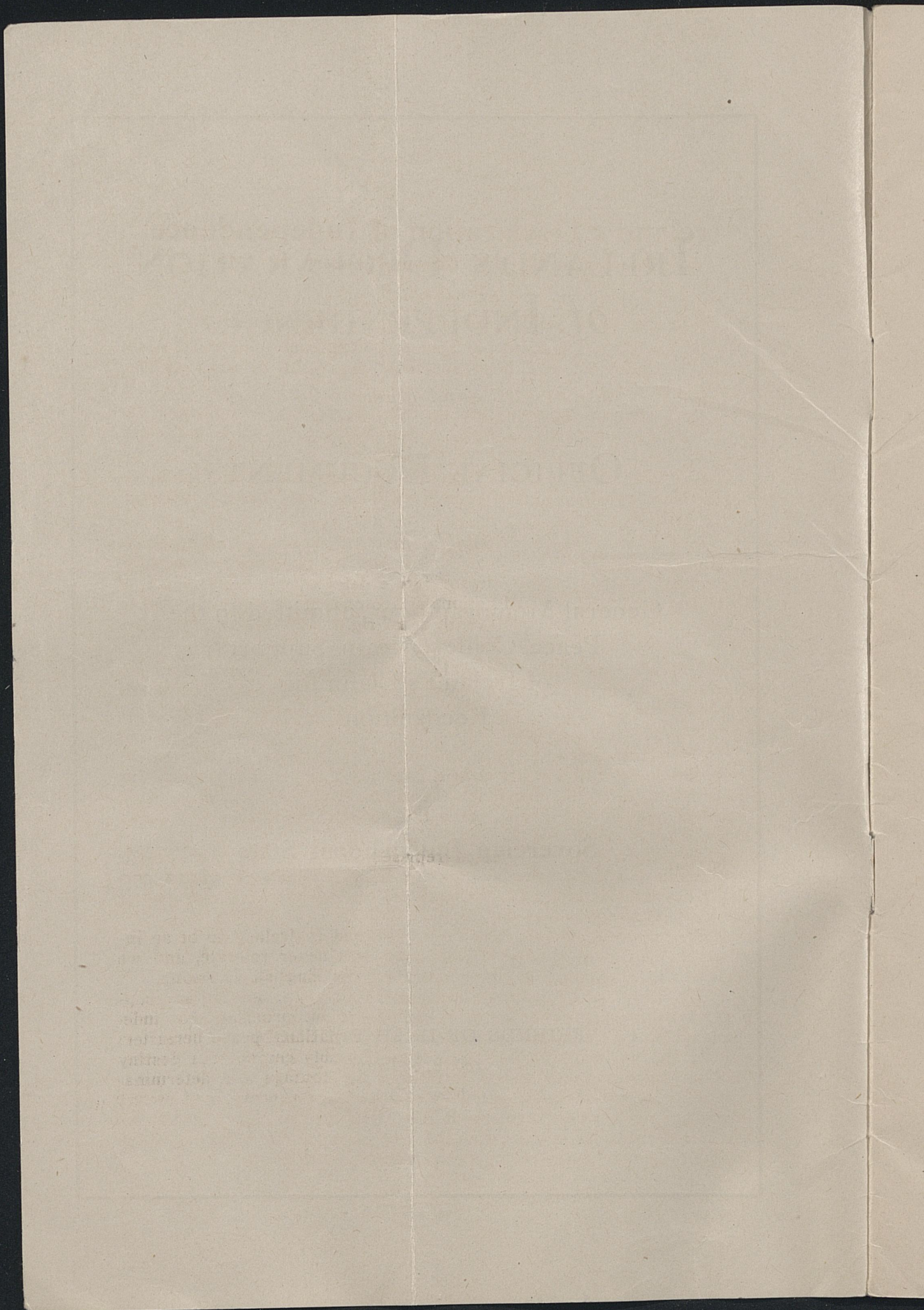
as a

Sovereign Independent State

FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM

280 Broadway

New York



Ireland's Declaration of Independence

Proclaimed by Dail Eireann, January 21, 1919

(Translation)

"Whereas the Irish people is by right a free people;

"And whereas for seven hundred years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation;

"And whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people;

"And whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army, acting on behalf of the Irish people;

"And whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its complete independence in order to promote the common weal, to re-establish justice, to provide for future defense, to insure peace at home and good will with all nations and to constitute a national policy based upon the people's will, with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen;

"And whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has in the general election of December, 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic;

"Now, therefore, we, the elected representatives of the ancient Irish people, in national parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command.

"To ordain that the elected representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish Parliament is the only parliament to which that people will give its allegiance.

"We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right, which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English garrison;

"We claim for our national independence the recognition and support of every free nation of the world, and we proclaim that independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter;

"In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God, who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His divine blessing on this, the last stage of the struggle which we have pledged ourselves to carry through to freedom."

Ireland's Message to the Nations : 2]

(Translation)

"To the Nations of the World, Greeting:

"The nation of Ireland, having proclaimed her national independence, calls, through her elected representatives in Parliament assembled in the Irish capital on January 21, 1919, upon every free nation to support the Irish Republic by recognizing Ireland's national status and her right to its vindication by the Peace Congress.

"Nationally, the race, the language, the customs and traditions of Ireland are radically distinct from the English. Ireland is one of the most ancient nations of Europe, and she has preserved her national integrity vigorous and intact through seven centuries of foreign oppression; she has never relinquished her national rights, and throughout the long era of English usurpation she has in every generation defiantly proclaimed her inalienable right of nationhood down to her last glorious resort to arms in 1916.

"Internationally, Ireland is the gateway to the Atlantic. Ireland is the last outpost of Europe toward the West; Ireland is the point upon which great trade routes between East and West converge; her independence is demanded by the freedom of the seas; her great harbors must be open to all nations, instead of being the monopoly of England. Today these harbors are empty and idle solely because English policy is determined to retain Ireland as a barren bulwark for English aggrandizement, and the unique geographical position of this island, far from being a benefit and safeguard to Europe and America, is subjected to the purposes of England's policy of world dominion.

"Ireland today reasserts her historic nationhood the more confidently before the new world emerging from the war, because she believes in freedom and justice as the fundamental principles of international law; because she believes in a frank co-operation between the peoples for equal rights against the vested privileges of ancient tyrannies, because the permanent peace of Europe can never be secured by perpetuating military dominion for the profit of empire, but only by establishing the control of government in every land upon the basis of the free will of a free people, and the existing state of war between English wrong and Irish right may guarantee to Ireland its definitely evacuated by the armed forces of England. see 3

"For these, among other reasons, Ireland—resolutely and irrevocably determined at the dawn of the promised era of self-determination and liberty, that she will suffer foreign dominion no longer—calls upon every free nation to uphold her national claim to complete independence as an Irish Republic against the arrogant pretensions of England founded in fraud and sustained only by an overwhelming military occupation, and demands to be confronted publicly with England at the Congress of Nations, that the civilized world having judged between Ireland and England can never be ended until Ireland is permanent support for the maintenance of her national independence." 2

Ireland's Democratic Platform

Proclaimed by Dail Eireann

(Translation)

We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first President, Padraic Pearse, we declare that the Nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the Nation, but to all its material possessions; the Nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the Nation; and with him we re-affirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.

We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of government in the willing adhesion of the people.

We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and service to the Commonwealth, and declare it is the duty of the Nation to assure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service, we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the Nation's labor.

It shall be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food or clothing or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

The Irish Republic fully realizes the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading and foreign Poor Law system, substituting therefor a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the Nation's aged and infirm, who shall no longer be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the Nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise it shall be the duty of the Republic to take measures that will safeguard the health of the people and ensure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the Nation.

It shall be our duty to promote the development of the Nation's resources, to increase the productivity of the soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, and fisheries, its waterways and harbors, in the interest and for the benefit of the Irish people.

It shall be the duty of the Republic to adopt all measures necessary for the re-creation and invigoration of our industries, and to ensure their being developed on the most beneficial and progressive co-operative industrial lines. With the adoption of an extensive Irish Consular service, trade with foreign nations shall be revived on terms of mutual

advantage and good will; while undertaking the organization of the Nation's trade, import and export, it shall be the duty of the Republic to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessities until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for.

It shall devolve upon the National Government to seek the co-operation of the Governments of other countries in determining a standard of social and industrial legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labor.

Letter from the Irish Delegates

Appointed by Dail Eireann to Present
Ireland's Case

Mansion House,
Dublin.

17th May, 1919.

Monsieur Clemenceau,
President of the Peace Conference,
PARIS.

Sir:

The Treaties now under discussion by the Conference of Paris will, presumably, be signed by the British plenipotentiaries claiming to act on behalf of Ireland as well as Great Britain.

Therefore, we ask you to call the immediate attention of the Peace Conference to the warning which it is our duty to communicate, that the people of Ireland, through all its organic means of declaration, has repudiated and does now repudiate the claim of the British Government to speak or act on behalf of Ireland, and consequently no treaty or agreement entered into by the representatives of the British Government in virtue of that claim is or can be binding on the people of Ireland.

The Irish people will scrupulously observe any treaty obligation to which they are legitimately committed; but the British Delegates cannot commit Ireland. The only signatures by which the Irish Nation will be bound are those of its own delegates, deliberately chosen.

We request you to notify the Peace Conference that we, the undersigned, have been appointed and authorized by the duly-elected Government of Ireland to act on behalf of Ireland in the proceedings of the Conference and to enter into agreements and sign treaties on behalf of Ireland.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of our great esteem.

EAMON DE VALERA

ARTHUR GRIFFITH

GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT

Letter from the Irish Delegates

Appointed by Dail Eireann to Present
Ireland's Case

Mansion House,
Dublin.
26th May, 1919

Monsieur Georges Clemenceau,
President of the Peace Conference,
PARIS.

Sir:

On May 17th we forwarded to you a note requesting you to warn the Conference that the Irish people will not be bound by the signatures of English or British Delegates to the Conference inasmuch as these delegates do not represent Ireland.

We now further request that you will provide an opportunity for the consideration by the Conference of Ireland's claim to be recognized as an Independent Sovereign State.

We send you herewith a general memorandum on the case and beg to direct your attention in particular to the following:

(1) That the rule of Ireland by England has been and is now intolerable—that it is contrary to all conceptions of liberty and justice, and as such, on the ground of humanity alone should be ended by the Conference.

(2) That the declared object of the Conference is to establish a lasting Peace which is admittedly impossible if the legitimate claims of Self-Determination of nations such as Ireland be denied.

(3) That incorporated with the Peace Treaty under consideration is a Covenant establishing a League of Nations intended amongst other things to confirm and perpetuate the political relationship and conditions established by the Treaty. It is clear that it is radically unjust to seek to confirm and perpetuate what is essentially wrong and that it is indefensible to refuse an examination of title when a confirmation of possession is intended such as that provided by the Draft Covenant of the League of Nations.

Ireland definitely denies that England or Britain can show any just claim or title to hold or possess Ireland and demands an opportunity for her representatives to appear before the Conference to refute any such claim.

We feel that these facts are sufficient basis to merit for our requests the consideration which we are sure you, Sir, will give them. Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of our great esteem.

EAMON DE VALERA

ARTHUR GRIFFITH

GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT

Letter from the Irish Delegates

Appointed by Dail Eireann to Present
Ireland's Case

Mansion House,
Dublin.

26th May, 1919.

To the Chairman, Council of League of Nations,
PARIS.

Sir:

The Irish people share the view that a lasting peace can only be secured by a World League of Nations pledged, when a clash of interests occurs, to use methods of conciliation and arbitration instead of those of force. They are consequently desirous that their nation should be included as a constituent member of such a League.

Therefore, we, the delegates of the nation, chosen and duly authorized for the purpose by the Elected National Government of Ireland desire to intimate through you that we are ready to take part in any conversations and discussions which may be necessary in order that the foundations of the League may be properly laid, and we ask the Commission to provide us with an opportunity for doing so.

Apart from the general grounds of right the Irish Nation has a special and peculiar interest in the League at present proposed.

In the form in which the Covenant is now drawn up it threatens to confirm Ireland in the slavery against which she has persistently struggled since the English first invaded her shores, and to pledge the rest of the civilized world, which has hitherto done us no wrong, to discountenance in future our just endeavors to free ourselves from the regime of implacable and brutal oppression under which we have suffered so long.

Ireland is a distinct and separate nation with individual inalienable rights which any League of Nations founded on justice is bound to recognize.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of our great esteem.

EAMON DE VALERA

ARTHUR GRIFFITH

GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT

Memorandum

In Support of Ireland's Claim for Recognition as a Sovereign
Independent State

Delivered to M. Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference, on June 21, 1919, at the Ministry of War Offices, Paris.

(Safe conduct not having been guaranteed to the official delegates appointed by the Irish Congress—Messrs. de Valera, Griffith and Plunkett—the document was presented by the envoys of the Irish Republic then in Paris—Messrs. O'Ceallaigh and Duffy.)

Ireland is a Nation not merely for the reason, which in the case of other countries has been taken as sufficient, that she has claimed at all times and still claims to be a nation, but also because, even though no claim were put forward on her behalf, history shows her to be a distinct nation from remotely ancient times.

For over a thousand years Ireland possessed, and duly exercised, Sovereign Independence, and was recognized through Europe as a distinct Sovereign State.

The usurpation of the foreigner has always been disputed and resisted by the mass of the Irish people.

At various times since the coming of the English the Irish Nation has exercised its sovereign rights as opportunity offered.

The hope of recovering its full and permanent sovereignty has always been alive in the breasts of the Irish people, and has been the inspiration and the mainspring of their political activities, abroad as well as at home.

English statecraft has long and persistently striven in vain to force the Irish people to abandon hope. The English policy of repression, spiritual and material, has ever been active from the first intrusion of English power until the present day.

English policy has always aimed at keeping every new accretion of population from without separate from the rest of the Nation, and a cause of distraction and weakness in its midst.

Nevertheless, the Irish Nation has remained one, with a vigorous consciousness of its nationality, and has always succeeded sooner or later in assimilating to its unity every new element of the population.

The Irish Nation has never been intolerant towards its minorities and has never harbored the spirit of persecution. Such barbarities as punishment by torture, witch-burning, capital punishment for minor offenses, etc., so frequent in the judicial systems of other countries, found no recognition in Irish law or custom. Twice in the seventeenth century—in 1642-8 and in 1689—when, after periods of terrible perse-

cution and deprivation of lands and liberty, the Irish People recovered for a time a dominant political power, they worked out in laws and treaties a policy of full religious equality for all dwellers in the Island. On each occasion this policy of tolerance was reversed by the English power, which, on recovering its mastery, subjected the Irish Race to further large confiscations of property, restrictions of liberty, and religious persecutions. More recently, notwithstanding the English policy of maintaining as complete a severance as possible, when Irish Protestants became attracted to the support of the National cause, the Catholics of Ireland accorded political leadership to a succession of Protestant leaders.

The Irish have long been a thoroughly democratic people. Through their chosen leaders, from O'Connell to Parnell, they have provided the world with a model of democratic organization in opposition to the domination of privileged classes.

If Ireland, on the grounds of National right and proved ability to maintain just government is entitled to recover her Sovereign Independence—and that is her demand—the recognition of her right is due from other nations for the following reasons:

(1) Because England's claim to withhold independence from Ireland is based on a principle which is a negation of national liberty and subversive of international peace and order. England resists Ireland's demand on the ground that the independence of Ireland would be, as alleged, incompatible with the security of England, or of Great Britain, or of the British Empire. Whether this contention is well or ill-founded, if it is admitted, then any State is justified in suppressing the independence of any nation whose liberty that State declares to be incompatible with its own security. An endless prospect of future wars is the natural consequence.

(2) Because England's government of Ireland has been at all times, and is conspicuously at the present time, an outrage on the conscience of mankind.

Such a government, especially in its modern quasi-democratic form, is essentially vicious. Its character at the best is sufficiently described by a noted English writer, John Stuart Mill (Representative Government (1861) Chapter 18): "The Government by itself has a meaning and a reality; but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may **keep** another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm, to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants. But if the good of the governed is the proper business of a government, it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it." Consequently, the people of England devolve the power which they hold over Ireland upon a succession of satraps, military and civil, who are quite irresponsible and independent of any popular control, English or Irish, and represent no interest of the Irish people. Recent events show that the essential vices of the government are as active now as in former times.

(3) Because the English temper towards the cause of Irish national liberty produces atrocious and intolerable results in Ireland. Among the results are: A depopulation unexampled in any other country however badly governed; wholesale destruction of industries and commerce; over-taxation on an enormous scale; diversion of rents, saving, and surplus incomes from Ireland to England; opposition to the utilization by the Irish people of the economic resources of their country, and to economic development and social improvement; exploitation of Ireland for the benefit of English capitalists; fomentation of religious animosities; repression of the national culture; maintenance of a monstrous system of police rule, by which in the words of an English minister, all Ireland is kept "under the microscope"; perversion of justice, by making political service and political subservience almost the sole qualification for judicial positions; by an elaborate corruption of the jury system, by the organization of police espionage and perjury, and the encouragement of agents provocateurs, and recently and at present, by using for the purpose of political oppression in Ireland the exceptional powers created for the purposes of the European war. Under these powers military government is established, some areas being treated as hostile territory occupied in ordinary warfare; a war censorship is maintained over the press and over publications generally; printing offices are invaded and dismantled; the police and military are empowered to confiscate the property of vendors of literature without any legal process; persons are imprisoned without trial and deported from Ireland; Irish regiments in the English army are removed from Ireland, and a large military force, larger than at any previous time, with full equipment for modern warfare, has been maintained in Ireland; civilians are daily arrested and tried by court-martial, and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

What are England's objections to Ireland's independence?

The one objection in which English statesmen are sincere is that which has been already mentioned—that the domination of Ireland by England is necessary for the security of England. Ireland, according to the English Navy League, is "the Heligoland of the Atlantic," a naval outpost, to be governed for the sole benefit of its foreign masters. This claim, if it is valid, justifies not only the suppression of national liberty, but also the weakening of Ireland by depopulation, repression of industry and commerce and culture, maintenance of internal discord, etc. It can also be held to justify the subjugation of any small nation by a neighboring great power.

The proximity of Ireland to England furnishes another plea. But Ireland is not as near to England as Belgium, Holland, Denmark, etc., are to Germany, Norway to Sweden, Portugal to Spain. In fact, it is this very proximity that makes independence necessary for Ireland, as the only condition of security against the sacrifice of Irish rights to English interests.

A further plea is that, England being a maritime power, her safety depending on her navy, and her prosperity depending on maritime commerce, the domination of Ireland is for her a practical necessity—a plea involving that Ireland's natural harbors, the best in Europe,

must be kept empty of mercantile shipping, except for such shipping as carries on the restricted trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

Ireland cannot admit that the interests of one country, be they what they may, can be allowed to annul the natural rights of another country. If England's plea be admitted, then there is an end to national rights, and all the world must prepare to submit to armed interests or to make war against them.

We may expect also to find the plea insinuated, in some specious form, if not definitely and clearly made, that the English rule in Ireland has been and is favorable to the peace, progress, and civilization of Ireland. We answer that, on the contrary, English rule has never been for the benefit of Ireland, and has never been intended for the benefit of Ireland; that it has isolated Ireland from Europe, prevented her development, and done everything in its power to deprive her of a national civilization. So far as Ireland at present is lacking in internal peace, is behind other countries in education and material progress, is unable to contribute notably to the common civilization of mankind, these defects are the visible consequences of English intrusion and domination.

The Irish people have never believed in the sincerity of the public declarations of English statesmen in regard to their "war aims," except in so far as those declarations avowed England's part in the war to have been undertaken for England's particular and imperial interests. They have never believed that England went to war for the sake of France or Belgium or Serbia, or for the protection or liberation of small nationalities, or to make right prevail against armed might. If English statesmen wish to be regarded as sincere, then can prove it to the world by abandoning, not in words, but in act, the claim to subordinate Ireland's liberty to England's security.

Ireland's complete liberation must follow upon the application of President Wilson's principles. It has not resulted from the verbal acceptance of those principles; and their rejection is implied in the refusal to recognize for Ireland the right of self-determination. Among the principles declared by the President, before and since America entered the war, accepted by the American people and adopted by the spokesmen of the chief allied powers, we cite the following:—

"No peace can rest securely on political or economic restrictions, meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others." "Peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not on the rights of governments—the rights of peoples, great and small, weak or powerful; their equal right to freedom and security and self-government, and to participation, upon fair terms, in the economic opportunities of the world." "What we demand in this war is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in, and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation, which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by other peoples of the world, as against force and selfish aggression." "An evident principle runs through the whole of the program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be

strong or weak. Unless this principle be made the foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand."

Speaking on behalf of the American people at New York, on the 27th of September, 1918, President Wilson said:—"We accepted the issues of the war as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. These issues are these: 'Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule, except the right of force?' 'Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?' 'Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force, or by their own will and choice?' 'Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations, or shall the strong do as they will, and the weak suffer without redress?' 'Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?' No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it, and they must be settled—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all, and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as safe as the interest of the strongest. . . . The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned."

If England objects to the application of those principles to the settlement of the ancient quarrel between herself and Ireland, she thereby testifies:—(1) That her international policy is entirely based on her own selfish interest, not on the recognition of rights in others, notwithstanding any professions to the contrary. (2) That in her future dealings with other nations she may be expected, when the opportunity arises, to use her power in order to make her own interest prevail over their rights. (3) That her particular object in keeping possession of Ireland is to secure naval and mercantile domination over the seas, and in particular over the North Atlantic and the nations which have legitimate maritime interests therein; ruling Ireland at the same time on a plan of thoroughgoing exploitation for her own sole profit, to the great material detriment of Ireland, and preventing the establishment of beneficial intercourse, through commerce and otherwise, between Ireland and other countries.

It is evident that, while Ireland is denied the right to choose freely and establish that form of government which the Irish people desire, no international order can be founded on the basis of national right and international justice; the claim of the stronger to dominate the weaker will once more be successfully asserted; and there will be no true peace.

It must be recognized that Ireland has already clearly demonstrated her will. At the recent general election, out of 105 constituencies 73 returned Republican candidates, and 6 returned representa-

tives who, though not Republicans, will not oppose the free exercise of self-determination by the Irish people. Nor is there the slightest likelihood that this right will at any time be relinquished.

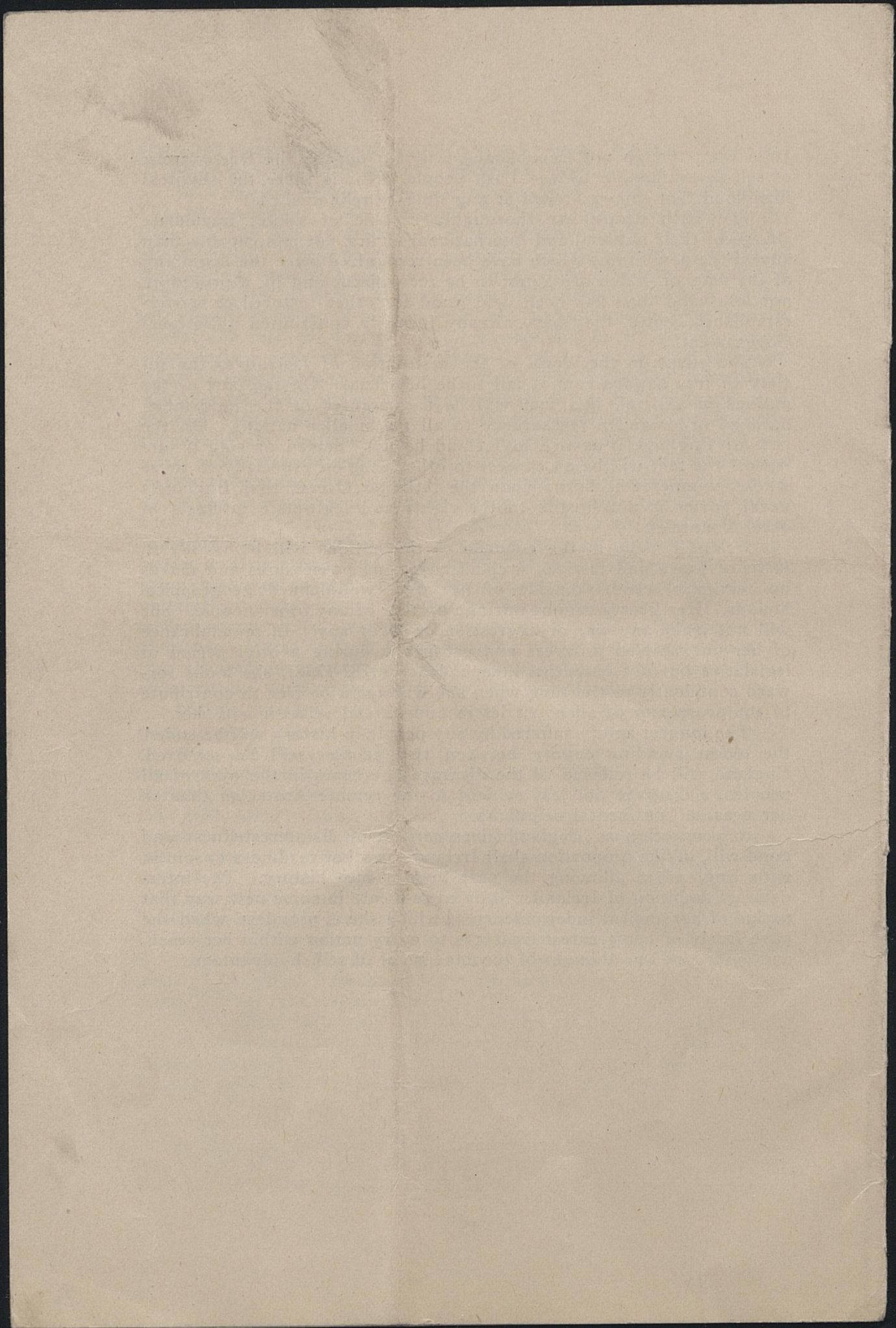
The Irish people are thoroughly capable of taking immediate charge of their national and international affairs, not less capable than any of the new States which have been recognized since the beginning of the war, or which are about to be recognized; and by a procedure not less valid than has been held good for other restored or newly-established States, they have already formally constituted a National Government.

The effect on the world of the restoration of Ireland to the society of free nations cannot fail to be beneficial. On the part of the nations in general, this fact will be a guarantee of the new international order and a reassurance to all the smaller nations. On the part of England, if justice to Ireland be not "denied or sold or delayed," the fact will be an earnest to other peoples, especially to those whose commerce is borne upon the Atlantic Ocean, that England's naval power is not hostile to the rights and legitimate interests of other countries.

Ireland's voice in the councils of the nations will be wholly in favor of peace and justice. Ireland covets no possessions and makes no territorial claims outside of her own well-defined geographical bounds. Her liberty cannot infringe on that of any other people. She will not make any war or aggression or favor any. In remembrance of her unexampled progress and prosperity during a brief period of legislative but not executive independence (1782-1798), she looks forward confidently to the time when she will again be free to contribute to the prosperity of all countries in commercial relation with her.

The longest agony suffered by any people in history will be ended, the oldest standing enmity between two peoples will be removed. England will be relieved of the disgrace she bears in the eyes of all peoples, a disgrace not less evident to the remote Armenian than to her nearest Continental neighbors.

In proportion as England gives earnest of disinterestedness and good will, in like proportion shall Ireland show her readiness to join in with England in allowing the past to pass into history. The international ambition of Ireland will be to re-create in some new way that period of her ancient independence of which she is proudest, when she gave freely of her greatest treasures to every nation within her reach, and entertained no thought of recompense or of selfish advantage.



[Sept. 13, 1919]

THE LEGISLATORS OF ALABAMA HAVE NO RIGHT, MORAL OR LEGAL, TO
RATIFY THE ANTHONY AMENDMENT.

Article V. of the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress may propose amendments to that constitution which "shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this constitution when ratified by legislatures of three fourths of the several States, OR BY CONVENTIONS IN THREE FOURTHS THEREOF, as one or the other made may be proposed by Congress".

It will be observed that two modes of ratification are provided for; and the enquiry naturally arises:- why did the framers of the Constitution deem it necessary or desirable to provide for ratification by Conventions of the People as well as by legislatures. Evidently it was intended that both methods were to be used, and that the choice of Congress in the method it proposed should be determined with reference to the subject matter of the amendment to be submitted for ratification or rejection. Bear in mind that Article V. refers to amendments to the Federal Constitution and not amendments to State Constitutions.

Since the Federal Constitution was adopted, September 17th, 1787, eighteen amendments to that constitution have been proposed to and ratified by legislatures of three fourths, or more, of the several States. None of these amendments amended, altered or struck down any provision of of the Constitution of any State of the Union, with the exception of the 15th Amendment which forbids the States to deny the suffrage to negroes, and possibly the 13th Amendment which abolished slavery and so destroyed what had been a property right; - both were Reconstruction measures, aimed at one Section of the Country, and are not to be cited as precedents. None of the other sixteen amendments altered any State Constitution.

Let us take Alabama as a type of the other States, particularly those in which the suffrage is restricted to males. The PEOPLE of Alabama made her CONSTITUTION. It was framed by delegates elected by THE PEOPLE for that sole purpose; and after it was drafted by those delegates, it did not become the Constitution until after it was ratified and approved by THE PEOPLE at a general election. The LEGISLATURE as such, had no hand nor part in its making nor in its ratification; the LEGISLATURE has no power to alter or amend it, in the slightest degree, nor can it pass a valid law that conflicts with any of its provisions.

Why, then, did the Framers of the Federal Constitution provide that amendments to that Instrument might be submitted for ratification or rejection to Conventions of the People in the several States? It would seem that one reason for that wise provision is obvious, and it is presented with full force in the case of the proposed Anthony Amendment as it was in the case of the 15th Amendment, which it duplicates in principle. The Framers of the Constitution with the foresight which characterizes great statesmen realized that amendments might be proposed the ratification of which would involve the amendment or annulment in part of the constitutions of some or all of the several States, and that while it might be perfectly proper for a legislature to pass on a proposed amendment which was in no way an alteration or change in the Constitution of its State, (such as those already ratified with the exceptions referred to) it would be, and is highly improper for the Congress to invite the legislature to destroy, in part, the constitution of its own State, - a constitution builded by the PEOPLE, and which the PEOPLE alone have the right to amend or destroy; a constitution which each member of that legislature is sworn to support. There can be no doubt but that the Framers of the Federal Constitution presumed, and had the right to presume that such amendments would be proposed to conventions in the several States, and not to legislatures.

July, 1919

(Extracts from the Messenger).

THE NEGRO AND THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

*A Reconstruction Program, Prepared by Chandler Owen
and A. Philip Randolph (negroes),
Editors of the Messenger
March 10th, 1919*

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO.

2305 SEVENTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

POLITICAL PROGRAM

Page 6—Political action must go hand in hand with industrial action. A class of people without the vote or the privilege of determining the kind of government under which they live, has neither security of life nor property from which liberty proceeds.

In view of the foregoing WE DEMAND the rigid enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution which were primarily framed to give protection to Negroes.

WE DEMAND the reduction of representation in the South upon the basis of actual voting population. The Negro is not allowed to vote, which is in criminal violation of the federal constitution.

We condemn all property and educational tests for suffrage.

WE DEMAND *universal suffrage without regard to race, color, sex, creed or nationality.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

We favor the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution, granting suffrage to women—both white and colored.

("Suffrage democracy knows no bias of race, color, creed or sex."—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.)

SOCIAL EQUALITY

Page 9—We favor "Social equality" in every sense of the phrase. WE DEMAND a new order based upon a society of equals. Evasions, pretexts and ex-

cuses cannot explain away the fact that no genuine brotherhood can exist so long as the issue of social equality is not squarely met.

SOCIAL EQUALITY has grown out of the two cardinal and corollary principles of *identity of treatment and free interchangeability.*

INTERMARRIAGE

We now approach the American bugaboo—the question upon which Negroes and whites alike set up false theories in flagrant violation of the most fundamental principles of social evolution. *We refer to intermarriage between the whites and Negroes.* WE FAVOR THE INTERMARRIAGE between any sane, grown persons who desire to marry—whatever their race or color. WE FAVOR THE INTERMARRIAGE OF WHITE MEN WITH COLORED WOMEN AS WELL AS COLORED MEN WITH WHITE WOMEN, because there is no natural or instinctive aversion.

Race purity is both a myth and without any value.

WE THEREFORE DEMAND THE REPEAL OF ALL LAWS AGAINST INTERMARRIAGE AS BEING INIMICAL TO THE INTERESTS OF BOTH RACES. We further call attention to the fact that there is no desire to check the associations of white men with colored women, colored women with white men, nor to serve any interests of Negro men. And inasmuch as no law requires any woman under any circumstances to marry a man whom she does not will or want to marry, *these laws narrow themselves down to the prevention of WHITE WOMEN MARRYING COLORED MEN whom they desire to marry.*

WE DEMAND as much intercourse—economic, political, and social as is possible between the races.

Note the danger to the South, and vote NO, on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment!

Issued by
THE MEN'S ANTI-RATIFICATION LEAGUE OF
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

[July 7, 1919]

BEWARE!

MEN OF THE SOUTH: Heed not the song of the suffrage siren! Seal your ears against her vocal wiles! For, no matter how sweetly she may proclaim the advantages of female franchise,—

REMEMBER that **Woman Suffrage** means a re-opening of the entire **Negro Suffrage** question; loss of state rights; and another period of reconstruction horrors, which will introduce a set of female carpet-baggers as bad as their male prototypes of the sixties.

DO NOT JEOPARDIZE the present prosperity of your sovereign states, which was so dearly bought by the blood of your fathers and the tears of your mothers, by again raising an issue which has already been adjusted at so great a cost.

NOTHING can be gained by woman suffrage and **everything** may be lost!

Caustic Correspondence Between Senator McKellar and Judge Evans on Subject of Anthony Amendment.

SENATOR MCKELLAR'S LETTER

October 2, 1918.

Your telegram which is as follows, received:
"The people of Dallas County, Alabama, especially the women, regard you as their Judas Iscariot."

J. B. EVANS.

I have not yet heard from the white women of Dallas County whom you claim to represent. I know a great many of the very best white women of Dallas County and there are no better women on earth. I doubt if you represent them—I doubt if you represent any of them. They are not the kind of women who would authorize the sending of such a telegram even if they differed with me in regard to the subject at issue. Knowing these women as I do, I would hate to think that you represent them and I shall not believe it until I am notified by these women themselves.

President Wilson is a Southern man, just as I am, and just as I hope for the sake of the land of my nativity, that you are not.

President Wilson said:
"The services of women during this supreme crisis of the world's history have been of the most signal usefulness and distinction. The war could not have been fought without them, or its sacrifices endured. It is high time that some part of our debt of gratitude to them should be acknowledged and paid, and the only acknowledgment they ask is their admission to the suffrage. Can we justly refuse it? As for America, it is my earnest hope that the Senate of the United States will give an unmistakable answer to this question by passing the suffrage amendment to our Federal Constitution before the end of this session."

I agree with him absolutely. When you condemn me in the same language you condemn the President of the United States. If you feel towards him, as you evidently feel towards me, as shown by your telegram, I am sure that neither one of us care for your views.

According to the figures, if you had woman suffrage in Alabama and all the women, white and black, of voting age voted, you would add more than 70,000 votes to the white majority, but with your educational tax, registration and other qualifications, the passage of the woman suffrage law would probably increase your white majority more than 200,000.

Reverting to your telegram, I trust you will pardon me for suggesting that it indicates that your alignment is naturally with but one political party, viz.: the Militant Suffragettes. That is the only party in this country which has its leading tenet the calling of ugly names and you should join the picketers at once—I imagine that you would shine there. I understand that some of these picketers have already been jailed for using foul language. If this is true, if you should join their party, you would find congenial company.

In order that the white women of Dallas County may know of your championship of their cause (?), I am taking the liberty of asking The Times to publish this letter containing a copy of your telegram.

Very truly yours,

K. D. MCKELLAR.

JUDGE EVANS' REPLY

Selma, Ala., Oct. 8th, 1918.

Senator K. D. McKellar,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Your letter was received, and inasmuch as you say you have requested local paper to publish it, I am taking the liberty of handing this reply to the press, so that the public may understand why I likened you to the gentleman who betrayed his trust some eighteen hundred years ago, and why your present attitude on a subject which so vitally affects the well being and happiness of the section to which you owe allegiance, justifies the comparison.

I will say in the beginning that I did not mean to infer that you received thirty pieces of silver or any other amount for your attempted betrayal of the South by your advocacy of the Anthony amendment. With this modification, my assertion stands. And your breach of trust and that of every other Southern Congressman who supported that amendment, was two-fold. You not only betrayed your Section, but you betrayed the Democratic Party which put you in office. The mudsill of that party, its fundamental tenet for more than a hundred years, the one thing above all others that has distinguished it from other National parties, is its unflinching adherence to the doctrine of States' Rights or home rule. Its latest declaration on the subject was in the platform on which President Wilson was last elected. With no convention since, and a convention is the only authority that can make fundamental changes of party faith, Senators, Congressmen, and other party leaders, put in power as democrats, have treated their party platform like a scrap of paper, and vote for a measure, the advocacy of which is nothing short of party perfidy. You are simply recreant to the trust confided in you. That was the sin of Judas,—no more, no less. The motives that actuated Judas, we are told, was mercenary. You are moved, as I believe, and I say it in all kindness, by pride of opinion, born of ignorance, and formed in your immature youth. Your letter to me, and your recent speech in the Senate demonstrate clearly that you have not improved with the years, and that you have never grasped the fundamental principles involved. You are blindly following the lead of others who do know better but who place political expediency above party fealty and governmental principle.

I did not claim in my telegram to you, nor at any time, to represent the women of Dallas County. I do know how they feel on the subject under discussion. I was merely trying to convey to you truthfully what at least ninety per cent of them think of the Southern man who would deliberately attempt to fasten upon them for all time a measure which would be the finishing touch to the reconstruction outrages of Thad Stevens, Anna Dickinson, Fred Douglas, Susan Anthony and others of that ilk.

I, too, agreed with the President when he said, "The services of women during this supreme crisis of the world's history have been of the most signal usefulness and distinction," but I do not by any means subscribe to his statement that "the only acknowledgment they ask is their admission to suffrage," because it implies that all of the women, or at least a majority of them, who have rendered patriotic service in this war are asking for the ballot, when, as a fact, the reverse is true. Only a very small per cent of them are asking it, and even they are not asking, they are demanding with an axe, as a reward to them for all the services of all the women in war work, 90 per cent of whom regard the ballot as a burden and a punishment instead of a reward.

You suffragists seem to assume that patriotic service on the part of our women in time of war is something new. The women of today are just as patriotic as our women have been in all of our wars, notably in the Confederacy, and no more so. The difference is that while the truly patriotic women are serving for love of country, and their soldier boys, never asking nor dreaming of reward other than the sense of duty well done, the female politicians of today, whose leaders were so notoriously short on patriotism until the administration took them under its wing and put them in high places to the exclusion of more capable, more patriotic women with no axes to grind, are, with unblushing effrontery exploiting themselves as "The women of America," whereas, to the eternal credit of the sex they comprise a very small part of woman-kind.

And, moreover, the very idea of patriotism for a reward, patriotism with a string to it is insulting to every true woman.

There is more involved in the Anthony amendment than merely conferring suffrage on women. Extension of the suffrage is a matter on which men may honestly differ; but this amendment seeks, just as the 15th amendment sought, to take from the States the right to control their suffrage,—the one

right of home rule on which every other right depends, and is nothing short of revolution. No state can exist as a state which has not the right to prescribe in all respects the qualifications of its electors. With that right gone it automatically becomes a province.

We are at war, and all true Americans will cheerfully make any sacrifice, surrender any rights, submit to any change of government, necessary to prosecute the war to the fullest extent. But after we have won the war, we want the status quo ante, in respect of our form of government, and in all things as nearly as possible restored to us. We don't want to change our form of government to please the struggling people of Europe, Finnish, Russian, or any other foreign aggregation.

To the dismay of everybody who has any respect for the ancient landmarks, they behold the Congress and leaders of both parties assiduously engaged in an attempt to destroy the States as such,—not for the duration of the war,—but for all time, and for what? Nothing but partisan political expediency. This whole Anthony amendment business is steeped in politics. The disgraceful spectacle is presented of more than a majority of the Senate and leaders of both parties smirking and kowtowing to the Catts, the Shaws, the Alice Pauls, and their bunch of Amazonian politicians in the hope that they will capture enough female votes to land their party in 1920. It was a close shave in 1916, and it may be a close shave next time.

The paragraph in your letter which attempts to show that suffrage for white women and black women in Alabama would make white supremacy more secure, shows very immature if any thought on your part. It is puerile, but averages up pretty well with all your printed utterances on the question. You try to justify the Anthony amendment by pointing to the 15th amendment. Because one outrage on decency was committed you cite it as a reason for committing another. Nobody knows better than you that in the blackbelt of Alabama, the negroes largely predominate, in some of the counties like Dallas, more than five to one. Hundreds of counties in the South are in the same condition. In their county elections for Judges, Sheriffs, Tax Collectors, etc., what help could they get from the white counties? Nobody knows better than you that if this measure is ratified the South will be the victim, its electorate mongrelized, and the same conditions will return that obtained in the seventies. Are you surprised that Southern men and women are indignant that Southern men, especially one from the blackbelt would countenance such a measure? You say that when I condemn you I condemn the President. You flatter yourself. You can't get any reflected glory by attempting to link yourself with Mr. Wilson, nor can you draw me into criticizing the President. A man in his exalted station may change his mind as often as he pleases. You Congressmen, however, in theory, at least, are the servants of the people, and should not "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee where thrift (political) may follow fawning" as so many of you appear to be doing.

The fact that you published your letter to me indicates that you believe the people of Dallas county will endorse your recent vote in the Senate, and condemn me for reprimanding you for it in their name. I submit the issue to them with absolute confidence. If they had read your recent speech in the Senate in which you say in effect that you consider educated negroes of both sexes qualified to vote, they would have the positive proof that you are not in sympathy with them, for they are unalterably opposed to having an inferior race participate in the selection of their officers or in the making of their laws.

And don't trouble yourself about me and the ladies of Dallas County. My respect and reverence for true womanhood was born and bred in me, and I don't have to resort to political gush and slobber about "the ladies, God bless them," so often heard in the Halls of Congress, to impress them with that fact.

Very truly yours,
J. B. EVANS.

[July 7, 1919.]

the power of the national government to compel you to accept woman suffrage."

There is nothing more essentially and vitally local to a community than the way in which it shall select the officers who are to govern it. Any external power which can control that, can control the local government. Nothing is more clear in the constitution under which our Union was formed than that this is a matter of purely local concern. The one exercise of national power over suffrage to prevent discrimination against the black race was made and justified only upon the same grounds which justified the war and the Emancipation Proclamation and for the time being destroyed all local government in the seceding states. It establishes no precedent and justifies no attempt at control upon a less terrible and compelling cause. You will observe that I am not discussing the question of woman suffrage. Nor am I confining my remarks to the immediate effect of the proposed amendment, as if that could be adopted without being followed by other action of a similar kind. If adopted it will inevitably be followed. If the principle of free self government is abandoned today in order that some of us may impose our ideas as to the conduct of life upon others, it cannot be successfully asserted tomorrow when others seek to impose their ideas upon us. The consequences of abandoning a fundamental principle upon which our system of government has been built up cannot be limited at will.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) ELIHU ROOT.

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

"A DESTRUCTION OF THE RIGHT OF SELF GOVERNMENT"

ELIHU ROOT

Statement read at the
NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE CONVENTION
WASHINGTON, D. C.
December 7, 1916.

Issued by
The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage,
280 Madison Avenue, New York City.

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

"A Destruction of the Right of Self Government"

A statement from the Hon. Elihu Root to Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President, New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

December 5, 1916.

MY DEAR MISS CHITTENDEN:

I am against having the constitution of the United States amended so as to impose woman suffrage on the states which do not wish for it, not merely or chiefly because my judgment does not approve of woman suffrage but for a much more vital reason.

If the people of the State of New York were to vote for woman suffrage I should think they had made a mistake, but a mistake which they had a right to make—one of those mistakes which are inevitable in the process of developing free self government. If, however, some other state or combination of states acquires the power to compel and does compel the State of New York, against its will, to employ woman suffrage in carrying on its government, that is no step in the exercise of self-government. It is *pro tanto* a destruction of the right of self government and a subjection of the people of New York to the government of others. That is what the proposed amendment seeks to accomplish. Having failed to secure the assent to woman suffrage of such states as South Dakota and West Virginia and Ohio and New York and Pennsylvania, the advocates of woman suffrage now seek to compel such states to accept it against their will and to compel them to carry on their local government and select their representatives in the national government in conformity to the opinions of the people of other states who are in favor of woman suffrage. I think such an attempt is contrary to the principle of liberty upon which the American Union was established

and without which cannot endure. Our system of government rests upon direct allegiance and loyalty to the nation, composed of all the people of all the states, and the power of the nation as a whole to control and require obedience in all things national, and also upon the idea of absolute liberty to the people of each separate state to govern themselves in all their local affairs according to their own free opinions and will. Without assurance that both of these ideas, the principle of nationality and the principle of local self government, would be preserved the Union would not have been formed and without them it cannot be maintained. Without the power of the nation we should become the prey of external aggression and internal dissension. Without the right of local self government we should lose the better part of our liberty, the liberty to order our own lives in our own homes and our own communities according to our consciences and our opinions and to be governed only, in matters not national, by officers chosen by ourselves in such ways as we consider suited to our conditions. This country is so vast, the differences in climate, in physical characteristics, in capacity for production, in predominant industries, and in the resultant habits of living and thinking, are so great that there are necessarily wide differences of view as to the conduct of life, and to subject any section of the country in its local affairs to the dictation of the vast multitude of voters living in other parts of the country would create a condition of intolerable tyranny, and to use the power of the nation to bring about that condition would be to make the nation an instrument of tyranny. It is needless to argue that this would ultimately destroy the nation. It is the free adjustment of the separate parts of our country, the unchecked opportunity of each community to live in its own home according to its own opinions and wishes, that has made it possible for us all to unite in maintaining the power of the nation for all national purposes. If you destroy that free adjustment by enabling some parts of the country to coerce other parts of the country in their local affairs by the use of national power you will destroy the whole system and ultimately break up the Union. That is precisely what this amendment undertakes to do. South Dakota and West Virginia have just voted not to adopt woman suffrage. "Very well," say the suffragists. "The people of other states who differ from you in opinion will use

July 7, 1919

DO YOU OWN YOUR OWN HOME?

Do you want taxes so high that you cannot afford to own property?

Do you want taxes so high that you cannot sell your property because no one else can afford to own it?

Woman Suffrage brings enormous taxes and great hardship to property owners.

Read what happens in the communities where woman suffrage has doubled the cost of elections and increased enormously the cost of city and state government.

IN ILLINOIS taxes have increased in some places 190 per cent. in the four years since women have voted.

IN COLORADO taxes are so heavy that property is unsalable. A Denver real estate company in a business advertisement in November, 1915, says: "Fine houses and properties are for sale at any price you may offer. Lots in the best sections that sold for \$500 each twenty years ago now beg for buyers at \$50 each. Values have been squashed to a pulp. The cause is not hard to locate. It is hysteria, social, political and industrial." A Massachusetts man who owns fifty lots in the environs of Denver has decided to abandon them utterly rather than pay the enormous taxes levied on them. The Rocky Mountain News (Denver) of November 24th, 1916, says that land in Denver "was never so low as it is today. It is exceptionally depreciated in every section of the city." The same paper said, on January 29th, 1917: "Denver realty is at the bottom rung now."

IN CALIFORNIA since 1910 the cost of government has increased 101 per cent. The population in the same time has increased only 19 per cent. Women have voted in California since 1911.

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer of March 17th, 1917, says: "San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland and Seattle, as well as Tacoma and other smaller cities along the coast, are all struggling with the same problem of expensive and inefficient government. It has become an issue of importance to all of them because tax rates have reached such high levels as to interfere with growth and progress."

The Los Angeles Times of December 6th, 1916, said: "The gross cost, net cost and departmental cost of state government had doubled in California during six years of Progressive rule. Promised twice the efficiency at half expense, we have received half the efficiency at twice the expense."

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer of March 24th, 1917, says: "In ten years the value of real estate and improvements in the city (San Francisco) has increased 58.5 per cent., population has increased 22.5 per cent., and tax collections have increased 159 per cent. This variety of

record is, of course, a heavy handicap to city growth and progress and is discouraging to investments and to new citizenship."

Under the heading: "The Rapidly Growing Burden of Municipal Taxation," the San Francisco Chronicle of April 2nd, 1917, prints a full page article on the alarming financial situation in San Francisco, where taxes have mounted within the last few years to a height which is paralyzing to development. It says: "The owner of a house and lot which represents years of self-denial is beginning to ask himself whether his thrift is benefiting him when he finds that an increasing tax rate, necessary repairs and incidentals cost him as much as he formerly paid in rent, and when he reaches the conclusion, as he often does, that it would pay him to sell his little holding, he learns to his surprise that there are so many of like mind that he can find no purchaser.

"These are unpleasant facts to dwell upon, but they should be stared in the face, and an earnest attempt should be made to ascertain the cause of the trouble, with the view of abating the evil, for it will be conceded that any system of government, or lack of system, which discourages home building and militates against the desirability of investing in real estate must prove prejudicial to the best interests of the city.

In 1916-17 the rate for city purposes was nearly double that of ten years ago, and this year it promises to be still larger."

IN PORTLAND, OREGON, where women vote, it takes 47 columns of fine type to print the list of men whose property in that one county is to be sold for taxes! Real estate dealers are protesting against having the list published, at it gives a community such a black eye.

The Oregon Journal says sarcastically: "It is a tremendous encouragement to an intending homeseeker to read forty-seven straight columns, set in fine type, of men in Portland who cannot get enough money to pay their part toward the support of government. It gives a wonderful boost to real estate values to have forty-seven columns of Portland property advertised to the world as near the mire of bankruptcy."

Do you want these conditions in your state? If not

Wake Up and Defeat Woman Suffrage

For information and literature apply to

PENNSYLVANIA
ASSOCIATION

OPPOSED TO

W O M A N
SUFFRAGE

1324 WIDENER BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA



July 7, 1919

THE INJUSTICE of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

To many people it is not quite clear just what the Federal Suffrage Amendment is and how the suffragists aim to secure it. Such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States would make woman suffrage universal throughout the country without giving the people an opportunity to vote upon it. It is necessary for the passage of such an amendment that it should secure a two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, and that it should be signed by the President. It then goes before the Legislatures of all the States, and if 36 of these endorse it, it becomes a law in all the States.

When the Federal Constitution was framed, its makers left the question of suffrage to the several States. Except for the abortive Fifteenth Amendment it has always remained with the States. The reasons are obvious. It is the State governments and the local governments which touch most closely the daily lives of the people, and the National Government is merely representative of the voters of these States. Conditions varied in the different States in respect to property, to education and to industry. It was evident that there could be no universal qualifications of suffrage, and that the people of each State must judge for themselves how far the franchise ought to be extended. They have so judged, and their Constitutions, ratified by popular vote, have fixed the standards of suffrage.

If the States are to be stripped of all power to regulate the franchise which controls their governments, it is hardly worth while to maintain the States. They have been deprived of the fundamental authority over their own institutions which gives them stability. When the day comes that the people of Pennsylvania, for example, can no longer say who is to vote and who is not to vote in a local election, the State of Pennsylvania might as well shut up shop and give all its domestic affairs into the hands of an omniscient and omnipotent Congress.

Why have the suffragists resorted to this method, which so obviously controverts the will of the people? Simply because they have failed utterly

ment is all over and the percentage of those who oppose suffrage is larger than before. There is no organized effort against it for the reason that most of us feel that if it is left alone it will fall through of its own dead weight. I see a possibility of a reaction that may lead to the abolition of suffrage here. No one knows that better than the suffragist leaders, who keep on agitating.

"Red Light Conditions Worse Than Before."

"One thing that women fought for and put through was the red light abatement law. Conditions are worse now than before.

"A large majority of business women are opposed to voting, for they feel that women do not know enough about public affairs to vote intelligently. As to what suffrage has done for women, as women, I must say that they have become pastmistresses of every bit of political trickery. They have learned the art of 'plumping,' of picking one name on a ticket and voting so that the candidate who gets the woman vote will run ahead of his ticket. And still I don't believe there is a suffragist leader in the State who could state clearly the difference in principles of the national parties. They are not concerned with national issues, or principles. They are out for what they can gain.

Effect of Woman Suffrage on the Individual Woman.

"The effect upon the individual woman has been marked. It has put lines in her face; sharpened her temper; given her a hawk-like expression, and lowered the whole tone of the public relationship of men and women. Women now stand in the cars; they are crowded away from ticket windows; men have ceased to remove their hats in elevators, and in other ways have altered their attitude. That is a permanent result, and it is a high price for women to pay for the right to vote.

"The thing that hurts me most is the silent, stunned attitude of men toward women to-day. They look at women as though wondering what she would do next. You see it in the attitude of employers of women, who no longer show them deference, since they now insist upon taking care of themselves. Men rush ahead of women to board cars, and it is the old-school man who opens a door or lifts his hat. These are some of the results of equal suffrage and the agitation for the equality of men and women that have come under my observation."

For information and literature apply to

PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATION **OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE**
1108 FINANCE BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA

"80 Per Cent. of the Women in California Do Not Want the Vote"

MRS. FREDERICK H. COLBURN,

Press Chairman of the San Francisco District of the Federation of Women's Clubs.

Leading Federationist Considers Conditions Before and Since Equal Suffrage and Sees Possibility of Reaction That May Lead to Abolition of Franchise—Notes Marked Effect on Individual Women.

Reprinted by permission from the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, October 4, 1915.

There are a lot of women in California, and especially in San Francisco, who remain to be converted to equal suffrage, although the question is supposed to have been settled when the men voters of the State extended the franchise to women. There is no organized opposition to equal suffrage in San Francisco, but there are women who have never ceased to raise their voice against the granting of suffrage. Some, having opposed woman suffrage on principle, now base their opposition upon actual experience.

Mrs. Frederick H. Colburn, press chairman of the San Francisco district of the Federation of Women's Clubs, is a pronounced "anti." She votes, she says, because she feels it her duty to do so, but she feels more strongly than ever that the granting of equal suffrage was a mistake. Mrs. Colburn is known as a lecturer and archaeologist, and has written several books dealing with Indian legends. "Yermah, the Dorado," is one of these, written under the name of Frona Eunice Wait.

Says Women Take Very Little Interest in Elections.

"Women take very little interest in elections, and the registration at the present time, if it shows any increase over the past, is easily explained. The last election was on the question of issuing bonds for Spring Valley water. This was preceded by a lot of agitation. One of the curious things

about the campaign was that this was one reform measure that has been voted down.

"Some of the shining suffrage lights were especially active before election. They hired jitneys and went down on the waterfront and harangued crowds and urged them to vote for the measure. When the returns were all in it was found that it was the working element, in the sections where the suffragists had done their campaigning, that had voted it down. It had been supported in other districts.

"This year there has been a heavy registration because of interest in the non-partisan election bill. By the passage of this measure Governor Johnson hopes to prolong his hold in the State by abolishing all the old parties. You know the Republicans were disfranchised at the last Presidential election. There were no Republicans on the ballot, and we were not allowed to vote for Taft. This non-partisan measure has been forced upon the people at a cost of \$750,000 in an effort to perpetuate the Johnson machine.

Women Going to Put the Quietus on Governor Johnson They Say.

"The people in other States say that in matters of government if there is anything so wild that Kansas doesn't do it, California will. But there are a lot of really sane people here, and there is going to be a line up on the Johnson programme. There are plenty of members of the Republican, Democratic, Prohibition and Socialist parties, and they all object to being wiped out. There has been talk of help from national parties, but we are going to put the quietus on Governor Johnson ourselves. It is our problem and we are going to settle it.

"All this has a direct bearing upon woman suffrage in California. The State Federation of Women's Clubs was made a part of the Johnson machine. It was certain women, in the organization, working with Johnson who 'put over' suffrage, but their power is growing beautifully less. There was a split in the Federation at the convention in May over this very question. The Federation has 35,000 members. There are about 6,000 members in the San Francisco district. The constitution especially prescribes that there shall be no political or religious activity.

"The question of political activity was brought up at the convention and tabled by as smooth a bit of sharp practice as could be imagined. It was simply 'raw,' and women from the interior never knew what was being done. Tammany methods are tame by comparison. Naturally there were some angry women and they were silent, but they soon brought results. The Ebell Club of Los Angeles, with a membership of 1,500, the largest club and the mother club of the district, withdrew from the Federation,

because certain women were trying to use the Federation for political purposes.

"Other clubs are in sympathy with the Ebell Club, and if it rejoins the Federation, as it probably will, it will be for the purpose of maintaining its standing in order to fight the Johnson machine. At the next convention you may look for a warm time. The matter will be put squarely before the convention.

Convinced 80 Per Cent. of Women in State Do Not Want Suffrage.

"I am convinced that 80 per cent. of the women of the State do not want suffrage. The suffragists prove that themselves by keeping up the agitation here. The latest, the Woman Voters' Convention, which was really the Congressional Union, was a farce, and broke up in a row. The figures at the exposition gates show that the attendance was not 500 above the normal weekday totals. If it had not been for a certain curiosity to see Mrs. Belmont it would not have been as large as that. I don't believe there are fifty members of the Congressional Union here.

"The rank and file of suffragists realize that they have to continue to keep up interest in California. I vote because I feel that, as it was forced upon us, we should use it, and because my husband asked me to at the last election. We exchanged ideas; he advised me on certain points and accepted my views on others, and we marked our ballots alike. But if we had a referendum now I would vote against suffrage, based upon actual experience.

"You have only to consider the position of women before and since equal suffrage. Take their legal status: Before, a widow could file a homestead on her husband's estate and exempt \$5,000 from any debt whatever. To-day a wife may be sued for alimony; she must assume responsibility and pay rent and house bills if her husband fails to do so. It is possible for a husband to run her into debt. He may even buy a ring for another woman and make his wife pay for it. A wife can not exempt a single cent, and if her husband dies she is liable for his debts. If she acquires property later, it can be taken from her to pay the husband's creditors. If the husband goes bankrupt the wife is liable.

"This has come since women have had the franchise. Women do not begin to have the same status in law. If they are citizens they must expect that. They can not go to court as they used to and weep a little and play upon the sympathies of a judge and jury, and get a verdict.

"Women take very little interest in elections. There are fully 100,000 eligible women voters in San Francisco. How many of them ever register or vote? The registration at its heaviest shows that the interest and excite-

July 7, 1919

State Rights a Republican Principle

HON. ELIHU ROOT: "Without the right of local self-government we should lose the better part of our liberty, the liberty to order our own lives in our own homes and communities according to our consciences and opinions and to be governed only, in matters not national, by officers chosen by ourselves in such ways as we consider suited to our conditions. To subject any section of the country in its local affairs to the dictation of the vast multitude of voters living in other parts of the country would create a condition of intolerable tyranny, and to use the power of the nation to bring about that condition would be to make the nation **an instrument of tyranny**. It is needless to argue that this would ultimately destroy the nation. * * * If you enable some parts of the country to coerce other parts of the country in their local affairs by the use of national power **you will destroy the whole system and ultimately break up the Union**. This is precisely what this Federal suffrage amendment undertakes to do. It is **pro tanto** a destruction of the right of self-government. There is nothing more essentially and vitally local to a community than the way in which it shall select the officers who are to govern it. Any external power which can control that can control the local government. Nothing is more clear in the Constitution under which our Union was formed than that **suffrage is a matter of purely local concern**." (In a letter to the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, Dec. 5, 1916.)

HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH, of Idaho (Idaho has had woman suffrage since 1896): "**Suffrage by its very nature is a local question**. * * * I cannot conceive of a State, or of anything of sufficient dignity to be called a State, **which has lost the right to say who shall vote for its own officers**. After States have been robbed of the right to pass upon the question of suffrage, **there is no longer any State**, the State becomes only a geographical expression." * * * (In the Senate, March 19, 1914.)

"It has often been said to me that as a member of the Republican Party it would seem peculiar that I should be jealous of the principle of State rights. The doctrine of State rights or the doctrine of local self-government or home rule is just as essentially a principle of the Republican party, and has been through all its life, as of any other political organization in this country. * * * The right of a State to control its own local affairs exclusively and to manage its own concerns is indispensable to the preservation of the Federal Union, without which we cannot endure as a Republic. It is because this constitutional amendment does violence to that principle that I am going to cast my vote against it. There is no necessity to bring in conflict the right to vote and the right of home rule. * * *

"The majority of votes which have been cast against suffrage in this country in different States is something over a million, as against a majority of about 250,000 in the States where it has obtained. **The popular vote as a whole has been against suffrage**. It is **not** the intention under this provision to have a **popular vote** upon this matter. The women who have been playing politics around the city of Washington for the last five or six years have learned their lesson well. They much prefer to reason with the members of Congress and with the members of legislatures than to undertake to control the citizen's vote when he enters unto the secrecy of the voting booth. * * * A distinguished senator on the other side of the Senate told me a day or two ago that all the people of his State were against it, and all the politicians in both parties were in favor of it." (In the Senate, June 4, 1919.)

HON. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., of New York (New York has had woman suffrage since 1917): "Like the Senator from Idaho, I represent in part a State which has extended the franchise to women within its borders.

"The regulation of the franchise in the States, and I think I can say in every State, when they were organizing their governments, was left **to the people of those States**. Acting upon that theory and in accordance with that principle, which I believe lies at the bottom of a truly democratic government, several of the States have voted from time to time by popular referendum to extend the fran-

(OVER)

(OVER)

chise to women. Many other States have voted in popular referendums **against** the extension of the franchise. One cannot logically object to **the people** of a great State voting upon that question, **settling it for themselves**, and if they settle it in the affirmative with respect to woman suffrage one cannot then logically object even though one may have voted against it as a citizen of the State. Nor can I see how one can logically object to the application of the principle even though, voting freely and openly, the people decide that they shall not extend the franchise in this way. There are at least thirty States of the Union which have either refrained from voting on the question at all or have voted upon it and rejected it. The aggregate majorities opposed to the proposition is about 1,300,000 votes, whereas the aggregate majority in favor of the proposition in referendums amounts to 254,000. So from the standpoint of popular demand it would not seem that Congress should feel itself driven to adopt an amendment to the Constitution which **revolutionizes the rule and practice of the American people in regulating the franchise**. I feel so strongly on this question that **the people of the several States should be permitted to decide this matter for themselves** that were this amendment, instead of being drafted for the purpose of extending woman suffrage, drafted for the purpose of forbidding the extension of the franchise to women, I would vote against it. If the people of a State have already voted to extend the franchise, no vote of mine can take it away, but a vote in favor of this proposal does in several instances impose upon the people of certain States things which they have said they do not want. If this constitutional amendment is ratified, the **people of some thirty States cease being masters of their government** in so far as the franchise is concerned. And that, according to my way of thinking, is contrary to the spirit of our institutions." (In the Senate, June 4, 1919.)

HON. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES: "An over-centralized Government would break down of its own weight. It is almost impossible even now for Congress in well-nigh continuous session to keep up with its duties, and we can readily imagine what the future may have in store in legislative concerns. If there were centered in Washington a single source of authority from which proceeded all the governmental forces of the country—created and subject to change at its will—upon whose permission all legislative and administrative action depended throughout the length and breadth of the land, I think we should swiftly demand and set up a different system. If we did not have States we should speedily create them. We now have them, with the advantages of historic background, and in meeting the serious questions of local administration we at least have the advantage of ineradicable sentiment and cherished traditions. And we may well congratulate ourselves that the circumstances of the formation of a more perfect Union has given us neither a confederation of States, nor a single centralized Government, but a nation—and yet a Union of States each autonomous in its local concerns. To preserve the essential elements of this system, without permitting necessary local autonomy to be destroyed by the unwarranted assertion of Federal power, and without allowing State action to throw out of gear the requisite machinery for unity of control in national concerns, demands the most intelligent appreciation of all the facts of our interrelated affairs and far more careful efforts in co-operation than we have hitherto put forth."—Address before New York State Bar Association, Jan. 12, 1916.

"The preservation of the States and the maintenance of their governments are as much within the design and care of the Constitution, as the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the national government. The Constitution, in all its provisions, look to an indestructible union, composed of indestructible States."—Chief Justice Chase, in *Texas v. White*, 7 Wallace 725.

Issued by

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

**A Federation of 26 State Associations
With 650,000 Enrolled Women Members.**

Headquarters, 268 Madison Ave.,

New York City.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ACTION!

Would Southern Men Approve of This?

VOTES FOR WOMEN MEANS JURY DUTY FOR WOMEN?

SUFFRAGIST leaders are careful never to mention to their audiences in the East or in the South the subject of Jury duty for women. When questioned about it, one of them replied: "Oh, that can be arranged very pleasantly." Let us see how it is arranged in the States where women vote.

For many weeks of the spring of 1917 a big I. W. W. murder trial was in progress in Seattle. Six of the jurors were women. Mrs. Sarah J. Timmer was juror No. 11. She had received word before she entered the box that "her children had contracted the measles." Calling the jury in, Judge Donald said to Mrs. Timmer:

"Mrs. Timmer, I have been informed that you are worried about your children. I'm powerless to let you go home, but both sides agree that I may communicate to you any word your family physician desires to convey. Don't let your attention be attracted by anything but the trial. We'll keep you advised and you will have no cause to worry. Remember, no news is good news." (Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 8, 1917.)

It must be a grand and glorious feeling for a woman to be drawn as a juror on a murder case, likely to last two months, when the children of her family have contracted the measles!

A month later the Seattle Post-Intelligencer said: "The confinement imposed on juries in murder trials is beginning to tell on most of the members of the Tracy jury, *especially the women jurors, the majority of whom have families.* During the last month numerous stipulations have been arranged between attorneys for both sides, allowing children of the jurors to see their parents for a few minutes in the presence of witnesses. The defense attorneys estimate that it will be nearly two weeks yet before they are through submitting evidence."

WOMEN OF WEALTH MANAGE TO ESCAPE JURY DUTY.

One of them told an eastern friend how she did it. She said: "I was determined I would not serve on that jury, so I got a doctor to give me something which would make me violently sick for a little while; then I called another doctor,

who, finding me very sick, gave me a certificate that I was not able to serve on the jury." The poor man's wife cannot afford to pay two doctors' bills to escape the disagreeable duty which suffragists have forced upon her, so she is obliged to serve.

An article from the "Spokesman Review" of Spokane, Washington, a suffrage state, tells how the jury law works there:

"While the law is so stern that it refuses a mother permission to go to her baby while she is doing jury duty, there is nothing to prevent a baby going to its mother, at least that is how the law was interpreted in the court of Judge William Huneke, when baby Margaret Hackett went to the courthouse for her dinner.

"Father rushed Margaret, aged three months, in an automobile to the court house. Mother gave baby her 6 o'clock meal, and father and infant retired, subject to hurry calls during the night.

"Mrs. R. W. Hackett was serving on a jury which failed to agree." It has also been reported directly by letter that a two months old baby has been left at a day nursery while its mother serves on a jury.

WOMEN IN THE SUFFRAGE STATES ARE SERVING ON JURIES IN MURDER CASES, COMMERCIALIZED VICE CASES, AND WHISKY CASES.

An Alabama Court Official states that his observation of criminal trials for more than thirty years has shown that at almost every term of court language is used and incidents recited from the witness stand that grate on the sensibilities of all refined men present. Profanity, obscenity and the detailed narration of the immoral acts and doings of the lowest type of humanity are brought out in all their revolting nakedness. A suffragist naively argued that if women were on the juries all this would be "cut out!" This is childish. It is a fact that it is not cut out in the suffrage States. Most Judges are refined men and would eliminate all such testimony if they could legally and justly do so.

Men of Alabama, do you like this prospect for your wife, your daughter, or for the woman who may become your wife? If not,

WAKE UP and FIGHT WOMAN SUFFRAGE Whenever and Wherever It Bobs Up Its Head.

WHY THIS HYSTERIA? ONLY 14 STATES FOR SUFFRAGE AND 34 AGAINST.

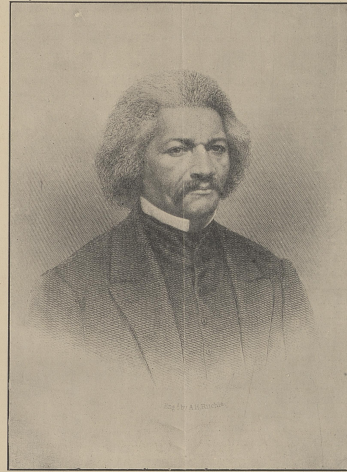
Write your Congressmen and Senators To-Day to Vote against the
Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Issued by Alabama Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

c July 7, 1919

"Like most men, my dear father should never have married."
Anna Howard Shaw. Chapter II.—Story of a Pioneer. (Queer
doctrine for a Methodist Preacher.)

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Frederick Douglass



The Story of a Pioneer, by Anna Howard Shaw,
page 309:

"From the Atlanta Convention we (Susan B. Anthony and Anna Shaw) went directly to Washington to attend the Convention of the National Council of Women, and on the first day of this council Frederick Douglass came to the meeting. Mr. Douglass had a special place in the hearts of suffragists, for the reason that at the first convention ever held for woman suffrage in the United States (at Seneca Falls, New York) he was the only person present who stood by Elizabeth Cady Stanton when she presented her resolution in favor of votes for women. Frederick Douglass took the floor in defense of Mrs. Stanton's motion, a service we suffragists never forgot. Therefore when the presiding officer of the council, Mrs. Mary Wright Sewall, saw Mr. Douglass enter the convention hall in Washington on this particular meeting, she appointed Susan B. Anthony and me a committee to ESCORT HIM TO A SEAT on the platform, which WE GLADLY DID."

WHO FREDERICK DOUGLASS WAS.
(James Callaway.)

FRED DOUGLASS AND HELEN PITTS.

Everybody knows about Fred Douglass and his white wife. It created much national gossip at the time of the marriage. She was Helen Pitts, and her father was Gideon Pitts, of Honeoye, Ontario county, New York, a man who owned large farms, and his family the top of Ontario aristocracy. The Pittses were the blue bloods of Honeoye.

Gideon Pitts and his people were quite cultivated, and were extreme abolitionists of pronounced type before the war of the sixties. They were the disciples of Henry Ward Beecher and Cady Stanton and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. After the war they were bitter against the South and were in line with Thad Stevens' Reconstruction.

Pitts was a Republican and a politician and a member of Congress, and there he met Douglass. He grew attached to him and the negro cause, and had Douglass to visit him at his home in Honeoye.

Pitts' son-in-law, Mr. Short, deemed it a great and unusual honor to go nine miles to the depot station, Livonia, to meet the honorable Douglass on his visits and take him to the home of his father-in-law. Short enjoyed his political talks en route on the wrongs of the negro race, and declared for "uplift" and equality and justice. He always lingered to take tea with Douglass at the Pitts residence.

The table talk was on the wrongs of the negro. Douglass was an educated negro and the conversations made a deep impress on Miss Helen Pitts, enlisting her sympathies for the negro race, and creating a desire within her for "negro uplift." So Douglass became a frequent visitor.

But when he asked for the hand of Miss Helen, old man Pitts grew furious; said it was an outrage on his hospitality.

To this Douglass replied that he was always an invited guest, that he was received as an equal, recognized as such, and as such had won the affections of Miss Pitts. Miss Helen was a woman thirty-five years of age, and she asserted her rights and married Douglass, under a half religio-political sense of "uplift" duty.

Pitts never became reconciled. Nor did son-in-law Short, who thought it such an honor to go to the station and escort Douglass to the home of Pitts. Indeed, the whole family, this aristocracy of the town and of Ontario county, cut the acquaintance of Helen and her mulatto husband. Pitts disinherited her, and left to Mrs. Pitts the portion intended for Helen. But the mother later gave it to her daughter.

After the death of Gideon Pitts, who was survived by Douglass, Mrs. Pitts went to Washington and lived with her daughter and died there. When her body was brought home, accompanied by the daughter, Helen, Short, the son-in-law, was still unreconciled and refused to make peace. He had preached equality, but refused to practice what he preached.

Helen Pitts was the second wife of Fred Douglass. His first wife was a negro woman, genuine African blood, and was buried in Rochester, N. Y., and when Douglass died, his wife Helen and the sons of the negro wife accompanied the remains from Washington to Rochester, where Douglass was buried by the side of his first wife, the negro sons, who were dark, and Helen riding to the cemetery in the same carriage.

Rochester erected in honor of Douglass a monument, which stands in the little park near the railroad station, but Son-in-law Short and none of the aristocratic Pittses would subscribe to the fund. Douglass and Helen had no children. Helen became the sacrifice for her father's teachings, but when she put into practice his equality theories he rebelled and never forgave her.

So with Stoneman, the Thad Stevens of the "Birth of a Nation." He taught social equality, expressed his anguish on his deathbed that his

clause for miscegenation was stricken by Congress from his reconstruction measure. But when Lynch, the negro Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina, demanded his daughter in marriage, he rose up in violent anger, just as did Pitts. Still "Stoneman" was in South Carolina attempting by force to put his theories of social equality and miscegenation into practice. But when it came to his own door, and Lynch demanded the daughter, old Stoneman rebelled, showing anger.

Pitts was to blame. He failed to realize the negro is a race, not a class. He extended all the freedom of his home to Douglass as his guest. He accepted him socially as his equal. Douglass was the pet of the Northern Anti-Slavery Society and was employed by it to stir up the North against the South, and as a lecturer for that society was paid social honors and good salaries.

The Beechers and Cady Stantons and Susan B. Anthony's made a great ado over him. He was appointed marshal for the District of Columbia in 1877, and was Commissioner of Deeds for that District. He was sought by the Republican politicians because of his influence with his race. He also became a prominent suffragist and aided Anna Dickinson, Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in getting the fifteenth amendment passed.

He regarded Anna Dickinson as giving him more influential aid than the others, and on this point, in a letter to Cady Stanton, says:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 31, 1882.—Dear Mrs. Stanton: Mrs. Gage's version of the origin of the fifteenth amendment is in substance true. To dear Anna Dickinson and brave Theodore Tilton belong the credit of forcing the amendment upon the attention of the nation at the right moment and in the right way to make it successful. I have given Miss Dickinson the credit you award her in my 'Life and Times.' I have made myself one of your earliest converts in the same volume. Very truly,

"FREDERICK DOUGLASS."

Dr. Dana gives suffrage leaders under a scientific expert test, the mentality of an eleven year old child, and when one informed on things political reads Anna Shaw's description of her visit to New Orleans, see page 311 of her autobiography, evidently Miss Shaw trusts to the ignorance of the average audience, and her own reputation for brilliancy to get by with her remarkable statements, but to put them in print, things so utterly untrue and foolishly absurd, to be refuted at sight, by any intelligent and informed person, brings one to the conclusion that she must be the head of the eleven year old class, to which Dr. Dana alludes. "This woman with the man's brain" must be carrying the misfit now confined in a Northern insane asylum, who is suffering tortures because he thinks he's "afflicted with a woman's brain!"

Page 311—

At New Orleans. Under Miss Gordons' wing.

"We were all conscious of the dangers attending a discussion of the negro question (no wonder, with such records for social equality) and it was understood among the Northern women that we must take every precaution to avoid being led into such discussion. It had not been easy to persuade Miss Anthony of the wisdom of this course; her way was to face issues squarely, and out in the open. But she agreed that we must respect the convictions of the Southern men and women who were entertaining us so hospitably" (possibly ignorant of the history of their guests).

SUFFRAGE CONVENTION—NEW ORLEANS.

"On the opening night, as I took my place to answer questions, almost the first slip passed up bore these words:

'What is your purpose in bringing your convention to the South? Is it the desire of suffragists to force upon us the social equality of black and white women? Political equality lays the foundation for social equality. If you give the ballot to women, won't you make the black and white woman equal politically and therefore lay the foundation for a future claim of social equality?'

"I laid the paper on one side, and did not answer the question."

Very wise of Anna. The questioner was reading her past, present and future.

She continues: "The second night it came to me again, put in the same words and again I ignored it. The third night it came with this addition:

'Evidently you do not dare to answer this question. Therefore our conclusion is that this is your purpose.'

"When I had read this, I went to the front of the platform. 'Here, I said is a question which has been asked me on three successive nights. I have not answered it, because we Northern women (Miss Shaw is foreign born) had decided not to enter into a discussion of the race question. But now I am told by the writer of this note that we dare not answer it. I wish to say that we dare to answer, if you dare to have it answered, and I leave it to you to decide whether I shall answer it or not.'

I read the question aloud. Then the audience called for the answer, and I gave it in these words—quoted as accurately as I can remember them:

"If political equality is the basis of social equality, and if by granting political equality you lay the foundation for a claim of social equality, I can only answer that you have already laid that claim. You did not wait for woman suffrage, but disfranchised both your black and white women, thus making them politically equal. But you have done more than that—you have put the ballot into the hands of your black men, thus making them the political superiors of your white women. (Here she forgets herself and lapses into the truth.) Never before in the history of the world have men made former slaves the political masters of their former mistresses!"

Shades of Jefferson Davis! Anna Shaw tells Southern men they made former slaves political masters of their women and says "the truth of the statement struck them, and they began to applaud."

What a queer audience she must have had in New Orleans! She, Anna Shaw, member of the old Abolition party, beloved friend and associate of old Fred Douglass, Thad Stevens and other South haters, tells Southern men, "YOU gave the negro man the ballot." Can one imagine anything more pathetically ignorant of facts or willful misrepresentation! At the point of Yankee bayonets, crushed and ruined, the Southern white man had to accept his fate for a time, of former slaves voting, under the heel of Reconstruction, but the white man of the South rose in his might, and came again into his own. Taking from the negro the ballot given by Anna Shaw's crowd, not conferring it. The mentality of a child of eleven! This must be true for she proudly publishes this occurrence, and has been known to stand before other Southern audiences, composed of uninformed suffragettes and been applauded for this absurdity. Blind Tom, the negro pianist, who was admittedly weakminded, always applauded himself. He, too, must have been of the 11 year old variety.

Southern men and women can only follow such leaders from sheer ignorance. The official History of Suffrage, Susan B. Anthony's Biography, and Anna Shaw's Autobiography would give them a rude awakening.

"Oh that mine adversary had written a book."

Not to Southern white men, but "to Dear Anna Dickinson and brave Theodore Tilton, is due the 15th amendment," and the fact that "negro slaves were made political masters of their former mistresses!"

This is the reason they
would not pass your
resolution at the
Lomb -

July 7, 1919

THE "THREE IMMEDIATE WOMEN FRIENDS" OF THE ANTHONY
FAMILY. SEE BIOGRAPHY OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
PAGE 1435, BY MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER.



CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT



The Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW



"Mrs. R. JEROME JEFFREY"
(NEGRO)

From Left to Right: Carrie Chapman Catt; The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw; Mrs. R. Jerome Jeffery, Negro woman of Rochester, N. Y. Often "Guest in Anthony Home" with Mrs. Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of National Woman Suffrage Association, to which all Southern Suffragettes belong.

"Suffrage Democracy Knows no Bias of Race, Color, Creed or Sex."—Carrie Chapman Catt.

Look not to Greece or Rome for heroes,
nor to Jerusalem or Mecca for saints, but for
all the higher virtues of heroism, let us **WOR-**
SHIP the black man at our feet."—*Susan B.*
Anthony's Official History of Suffrage.

SOME STRANGE HISTORY

By James Callaway, Macon Telegraph May 26, 1918.

WHEN Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Gage and their assistants compiled the "History of Suffrage" they put some queer things in those volumes. One of the reasons why I was insistent that Miss Mary Custis Lee consent to the publication of her letter, settling for all time the slander published in the "Official History of Suffrage" against General Lee, was because of the wide publicity given to the fabrication.

The extent of this publicity is based on a statement of Ida Husted Harper who in the fourth volume of the History of Suffrage, page 8 of the preface, says:

"The money which Miss Anthony now had, enabled her to carry out her long-cherished project to put this history free of charge in the public libraries. It was thus placed in twelve hundred in the United States and Europe. Miss Stanton and Mrs. Gage, who had contributed their services without price, naturally felt that it should be sold instead of given away, and in order to have a perfectly free hand, Miss Anthony purchased their rights. In addition to the libraries, she has given it to hundreds of schools, and to countless individuals, writers, speakers, etc., whom she thought would enable her to do better for the franchise."

And this history, so widely circulated, carried that vicious falsehood against General Lee, the only one ever put on record—and spread by Miss Susan Anthony. The Mrs. Gage spoken of was the Matilda Gage, one of the revising committee of Cady Stanton's "Woman's Bible"—a book that rejects Christ and the New Testament and repudiates Moses and the Prophets.

Dr. Anna Shaw in her trip to the South has often been asked if she believed in "social equality." In view of the history of suffrage such a question is amazing. The personal friendship and close intimacy of Susan B. Anthony, Anna Shaw and Mrs. Chapman Catt for such negroes as Frederick Douglass, Robert Purvis, Booker Washington and others is a matter of such constant reiteration in their writings that the asking of such a question is superfluous. Mrs. Shaw evades an answer before Southern audiences. But what of their printed volumes? Let us see.

At the funeral of Susan B. Anthony, page 1,432 of her biography, we are told: "The entrance of the honorary pall-bearers in their black gowns and mortar-boards, announced the coming of the family and immediate friends." The three women men-

tioned as "immediate friends" are "Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. R. Jerome Jeffrey." The first two are well known; the last of the trio is not so famed, being a negro woman of Rochester, N. Y., and prominent only from her intimate association with Susan B. Anthony. Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, authority on matters pertaining to the Anthony-Shaw household, continuing the funeral ceremonies on page 1,437 of the Biography of Susan B. Anthony, says: "Mrs. R. Jerome Jeffrey, a woman of education and influence, who had lived in Rochester many years, and been often at the Anthony house, spoke as follows to the audience: 'We, the colored people of Rochester, sympathize with you, her dear sister Mary; we grieve with you in your great loss.'" ("Mary" was the sister of Susan.)

On page 1,257 we find "among the guests" calling at the Anthony home were Booker T. Washington, and others.

On page 59, volume I, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, with evident pride, states: "In 1847 Frederick Douglass brought his family to Rochester and established his paper, 'The North Star.' As soon as Miss Anthony reached home she was taken by her father to call on Douglass, and this was the beginning of another friendship, which was to last a lifetime." It will be recalled that when Cady Stanton and Susan Anthony were visiting Gerritt Smith in New York State, Fred Douglass was also a guest there, and it was a matter of rivalry who should walk "arm in arm" with Douglass about the grounds.

Page 172, volume I: "In the afternoon," says Susan, quoted by Ida Harper, "Mary and I drove to Fred Douglass' and had a nice visit; stayed TO TEA, and listened to a part of his new lecture on 'Self-Made Men.'"

History makes Fred Douglass the pet of a lot of ill-balanced old maids. Anna Dickinson was stuck on him. They were all anti-South and Douglass pleased them.

On page 1,149 of volume III of Susan's Biography, we find again: "Speaking in the negro church in Rochester, the Zion, A. M. E., to a large audience, of the new statue erected to Fred Douglass in Rochester, N. Y., Susan Anthony said: 'I wonder how the mistake was made of having it face the South. It ought not to be so, and I shall endeavor to have it changed. He always faced the North; his paper was called the North Star. I do not like to see him looking back to the South.'"

Miss Anthony, the great rage now with all suffrage associations, has the honor of having a stained glass window in this same negro church, as near to her dear friend Fred Douglass as the architects could arrange it.

THE COLORED MAID.

In the summer of 1902, for the first time in its existence, the Anthony home employed a colored maid. But one irreverent member of it had many an hour's amusement over the application and failure of long-cherished theories in regard to the oppressed race. The maid was such a failure, treated as a white woman, that the matter thenceforth was tabooed as a subject of conversation. Any stray negro could be an honored guest in this home, with the white members to wait on them, but how to treat one as a servant was a "failure." See Biography, page 1,260.

Page 815, volume II of Susan's Biography: "Miss Anthony went to the Baptist church one Sunday evening to hear a young colored woman. She took Miss Wells, the strange negro, home with her for the rest of her stay. Miss Anthony had employed a young white woman stenographer for a few weeks to clear up her accumulated correspondence, and having to go away the next day, she told Miss Wells the white girl might help her with her letters. When Miss Anthony returned in the evening she found Miss Wells scribbling away industriously and the white stenographer at leisure. In answer to her inquiry, the latter replied: 'I don't choose to write for a colored person.'"

"If you cannot oblige me by assisting a guest in my house," said Miss Anthony, "you cannot remain in my employ." The girl, although in destitute circumstances, gave up the job. Thus did Susan B. Anthony, "the blessed," demonstrate in her home, her love (?) for the individual working girl, in "destitute circumstances."

THEIR MORALS.

The Matilda Joslyn Gage spoken of was a member, along with Mrs. Chapman Catt, Mrs. Robert G. Ingersoll, Clara Bewick Colby, Mrs. Josephine K.

Henry, Lillie D. Blake and others of the revising committee of "The Woman's Bible." Their creed rejected the scriptures as antagonistic to woman's "emancipation."

Matilda Joslyn Gage expressed the sentiment of "the Woman's Bible" in these words, found on page 209, volume II: "The Christian theory of the sacredness of the Bible has been at the cost of the world's civilization. . . . Its interpretation by the church, by the State and by society has ever been prejudicial to the best interests of humanity. That even the most enlightened nations are not yet out of barbarism is due to the teachings of the Bible."

THEIR TRIUMPH.

But the compilers of the "Official History of Suffrage" and the authors of "The Woman's Bible" have triumphed. Their political and social creed is the fashion now. Through Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Mrs. Norman Whitehouse, Susan B. Anthony still lives. John Brown's soul is marching on. They have about captured Washington. The House of Representatives has endorsed them. The creed of the old South is at a discount. "The Star of the North" is in the ascendant. They demanded that States no longer be permitted to control the elective franchise, but that suffrage be nationalized and all things be placed under Federal control.

The Senate hesitates. If it yields the South will again be the victim of that "terrorism" in the rural districts which produced the "white woman's problem." Here again, under universal suffrage and Federal control, it will be here—forever! Germany and all Socialists and suffragists hope the Senate will surrender and pass it.

All who have the interests of the white woman of the rural districts at heart pray that the Senate will have the wisdom to stand firm for the liberties of the women on the farms.

It is a critical hour for the South—a crisis that involves her future civilization, her tranquillity and her prosperity.

Extracts from Biography. Vol. I, Page 243.

BIOGRAPHY, Vol. I, page 243: "Miss Anthony goes to Kansas to manage her brother's paper, 'limited only by his injunction not to have it all woman's rights and negro suffrage.' She met at this time Hiram Revels, a coloured Methodist preacher, afterwards United States Senator from Mississippi."

BIOGRAPHY, Vol. II, page 585: "In January Miss Anthony received a document which Mrs. Stanton had prepared as an 'open letter' to be signed by both of them OFFICIALLY, and given to the press, congratulating Frederick Douglass upon his marriage to a white woman, sympathizing with him because of the adverse criticism it had called out. She especially urged that he be given a prominent place on the program at the approaching convention. Miss Anthony replied at once:

"I do hope you won't put your foot into the question of intermarriage of the races. It has no

place on our platform, any more than the question of no marriage at all, or of polygamy, and so far as I can prevent it, shall not be brought there.

"I beg you, therefore, not to congratulate him PUBLICLY." * * *

In other words, Susan highly approved of the marriage privately, but the professional "uplifter" must not do so publicly, as it would injure the "cause."

Ending the letter, she says, "Do not throw around that marriage the halo of a pure and lofty duty to break down race lines. Your sympathy has run away with your judgment."

What has become of the "judgment" of Southern politicians and women who today would follow such women?

Fifteenth Amendment of U. S. Constitution adopted March 30th, 1870:

ARTICLE 15.

1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

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

Under this amendment the Force Bill of May 31st, 1870, was passed.

The Susan B. Anthony Woman Suffrage Amendment, submitted to States for ratification June 4th, 1919:

ARTICLE.

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

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

[1919]

The Citizens Committee's for State Suffrage Amendment Fourteen Points Against the Susan B. Anthony Federal Amendment.

1. Shall the *art* of the politician prevail?
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
2. Must Kentucky surrender her individual rights as a State?
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
3. Why party pledges if not lived up to?
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
4. Are we to disregard the *principles* upon which our *constitution* was built for destructive policies?
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
5. Why not give the full voting power through the State? No improvement is gained by Federal election legislation.
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
6. Is it necessary to *herd* women in yielding the vote? There will be party preferences?
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
7. To compromise on "Any Old Way" is not representative of Kentucky.
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
8. If you honor your dignity as a free agent in your State Elections,
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
9. If you wish your women to be your peers submit suffrage by the State route.
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
10. If you are after votes beware of head-on collision. Remember that the voice of the people has not been heard until a State Amendment for Woman Suffrage has been submitted.
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
11. If you wish to save our dual government—For the people, by the people,
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
12. If you wish for freedom at the polls without Federal Legislation,
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
13. If you wish the dignity and power of your Governor and State Officials to be upheld.
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.
14. Have you read the Anthony Amendment? Have you noted the second section?
Don't vote for the Anthony Amendment.

Fifteenth Amendment of U. S. Constitution
adopted March 30th, 1870:

ARTICLE 15.

1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

Under this amendment the Force Bill of May 31st, 1870, was passed.

Republican Suffrage Plank

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, favors the extension of the suffrage to women as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, but recognizes the right of each State to settle the question for itself.

Adopted at the Republican Convention, Chicago, June, 1916.

The Susan B. Anthony Woman Suffrage Amendment, submitted to States for ratification June 4th, 1919:

ARTICLE.

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.
2. The Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

Democratic Suffrage Plank

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

Adopted at the Democratic Convention, St. Louis, July, 1916.

[July 7, 1919]

THE INJUSTICE

of the

Federal Suffrage Amendment

To many people it is not quite clear just what the Federal Suffrage Amendment is and how the suffragists aim to secure it. Such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States would make woman suffrage universal throughout the country without giving the people an opportunity to vote upon it. It is necessary for the passage of such an amendment that it should secure a two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, and that it should be signed by the President. It then goes before the Legislatures of all the States, and if 36 of these endorse it, it becomes a law in all the States.

When the Federal Constitution was framed, its makers left the question of suffrage to the several States. Except for the abortive Fifteenth Amendment it has always remained with the States. The reasons are obvious. It is the State governments and the local governments which touch most closely the daily lives of the people, and the National Government is merely representative of the voters of these States. Conditions varied in the different States in respect to property, to education and to industry. It was evident that there could be no universal qualifications of suffrage, and that the people of each State must judge for themselves how far the franchise ought to be extended. They have so judged, and their Constitutions, ratified by popular vote, have fixed the standards of suffrage.

If the States are to be stripped of all power to regulate the franchise which controls their governments, it is hardly worth while to maintain the States. They have been deprived of the fundamental authority over their own institutions which gives them stability. When the day comes that the people of Pennsylvania, for example, can no longer say who is to vote and who is not to vote in a local election, the State of Pennsylvania might as well shut up shop and give all its domestic affairs into the hands of an omniscient and omnipotent Congress.

Why have the suffragists resorted to this method, which so obviously controverts the will of the people? Simply because they have failed utterly

to convince the women of the country of the desirability of entering politics. On the only occasion on which a State referendum of the women has been taken on woman suffrage—in Massachusetts in 1895—only four per cent. of the women voted in favor. The suffragist leaders of Massachusetts admit that this set back their cause twenty-five years. Since that time suffragists everywhere strenuously oppose allowing the women to vote on this question. Christabel Pankhurst frankly admitted that a referendum to the women would be a dose of cold poison to the cause.

What their increased advocacy of the Federal Amendment means is that they are relying on the politicians to do their bidding. With unlimited money and constant threats they hope to carry their point. We have thus the amazing spectacle of a handful of suffrage lobbyists "holding up" a presidential candidate, and both national and State legislators, with the demand: "Deliver over to us the freedom of millions of voters in twelve States to settle this question for themselves, or we will defeat you!"

In this crisis the thing for anti-suffragists to do is to carry on with renewed vigor and energy the campaign of education, to point out the serious evils of woman suffrage where it has been tried—the weakening of government in Colorado, the increasing immorality in Chicago and San Francisco, the demoralization of the public schools in Chicago, owing to the teachers entering politics; to show that democracy itself is at stake, and that for the electorate to surrender its rights to decide for itself a question of such tremendous importance as woman suffrage would augur ill for the future of our Republic.

Both the Republican and Democratic Platforms

declare woman suffrage a question to be decided by each State. A Federal Amendment would take the decision absolutely out of the hands of the people.

If you are opposed to votes for women, write to your representatives in Congress and in Harrisburg, also candidates for office, urging them to oppose all suffrage measures.

For information and literature, apply to

PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATION **OPPOSED TO** WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1324 WIDENER BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA



324.3
c579



THE ASCENDENCY
OF WOMANHOOD

BY RABBI JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF, D. D.



Published, through the courtesy of the Author, for the benefit of
THE NATIONAL FARM SCHOOL,
Farm School, Bucks Co., Pa.

*Compliments of the Ohio Federation
to the
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Concert
by the
Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra
Leopold Stokowski, Conductor
Music Hall, Tuesday, May the tenth
at half after eight o'clock*

Loose Item

The Ascendency of Womanhood.

BY

RABBI JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF, D. D.

I.

The press has had much to say of the riotous methods which the London "suffragettes" recently pursued to obtain a hearing before the British Parliament. Many recognize in such proceedings the strongest kind of argument why the suffrage should not be extended to women. Women, they claim, are moved too much by hysteria and too little by reason; they have no conception of the orderly processes of government by law; they lack the power of deliberate judgment, of self-restraint, of resignation under defeat. Being much indulged by man, they are easily angered when some wish or whim of theirs is not gratified, and, when angry, they get up public demonstrations, gather mobs around them, shout their fancied wrongs from the house-tops, and violently force their way into places where they are not wanted.

Methods of
"suffragettes"
condemned.

That some of the methods pursued by the English "suffragettes" are to be deplored is freely admitted even by men who are favorably disposed towards extending the full franchise to women. But they recognize nothing

These methods
not distinctively
feminine.

distinctively feminine in such riotous procedures. The Parliaments of nations amply illustrate that men have adopted similar courses, and have through them won great victories. Many a movement, branded as riotous and revolutionary at its beginning, has come to stand for conservative patriotism at the end. Many a man who was jeered or hooted

down as a crank, or who was cast into dungeon or throttled upon the scaffold as an enemy of mankind, has become enshrined in the hearts of posterity as a reformer and liberator.

All great movements have suffered from the vagaries of over-zealous enthusiasts and from the uncontrolled passions of fanatics. Yet the vagaries and fanaticisms of individuals have often proved the leaven that moved the whole mass. John Brown was by some deemed a crank, a madman; by others, a fanatic; and his tongue was silenced with the aid of the hangman's noose. Yet, even though "his body lay mouldering in the grave," "his soul went marching on," and Harper's Ferry made possible Appomattox, and the crank of Ossawatimie paved the way for Abraham Lincoln, the liberator.

What of human blessings greater than religion, and yet what has suffered more from fanaticism than it? The Torquemadas, however, have passed away. The fires of the *autos da fe* are extinguished. The Inquisition is no more. There is to-day respect for unity in religious aspiration amid diversity of form. The stream, defiled by freshet and storm, becomes all the clearer when calm is restored. The foreign matter precipitates itself, and leaves the water pure and limpid above.

Though the course of some of these London "suffragettes" is wrong, their cause is right, and the right cause will ultimately overcome the wrong course. If we must condemn their overzeal, we cannot but admire that conviction of theirs in the righteousness of their cause that moves them to suffer indignity and imprisonment rather than keep still where their wrongs urge them to speak. Such a spirit, far from being an argument against them, is their strongest advocate. Of such stuff are the women revolutionists of Russia made, and because of such feminine spirits will Russia yet be free.

What is it that these English women seek with so much

insistence, and that the British Parliament refuses with so much persistence? Is it the mere satisfaction of entering politics, of having the right to cast a ballot, of being eligible to political office? Is it because they have lost that sense of modesty, that feminine reserve, which has hitherto been woman's chief dower, and which has constituted her greatest charm? Do they seek equal rights because they love the sport of exchanging the quiet home for the din and struggle of the busy marts of life, there to measure strength with man, and, if possible, to outstrip him?

If such is the belief, then a yet greater wrong is done to women than that from which they already suffer. If such were their aim, I would be as much opposed to their attaining it as is the bitterest opponent of women's rights. We suffer already from a too liberal suffrage. It is not a larger number of voters that we need, but a larger moral and intellectual fitness, and a larger sense of personal responsibility, in those who vote. The largest number of women suffragists themselves, and by far the best part of them, do not want the franchise for the sake of mere voting, but for the sake of righting with it certain disabilities from which women suffer. They are no more desirous of doing the dirty work of politics than is the respectable element of the opposite sex. They are no more anxious to hang around the polls than the average male voter. They ask for nothing but their human rights. They believe that the franchise shall concern itself with responsible mind and moral character, and not whether the person dresses in trousers or in skirts. Possessing minds which, now-a-days, are as trained as those of men; souls which certainly are not inferior to those of men; bodies, which are capable of doing an adequate part of the world's work, they ask for themselves all the rights and privileges that are accorded to men,—that are accorded even to the most ignorant and brutish of the masculine sex.

Woman wants to see the sex element eliminated from the law. Its presence there is a relic of the long ages of barbarism.

They want sex
eliminated from
law. Having the same responsibilities as men, she wants the same rights. She wants efficiency not sex to be the determining force in legislation, and in the scale of wages. For the same labor she wants the same pay. She wants freedom to be and do, within the range of the law, what her ability and inclination prompt her to. She does not want man to deprive her of her rights, under the belief that he is thereby safe-guarding her sex. If he will but give her what is her due, he will find that she is amply able to look after her sex. Conscious of her powers to earn her own livelihood, she wants every obstacle removed that has been placed in her way because of her sex. She no longer wants to be a dependent creature, with no other purpose in life than to be made an object of sale or barter to the highest bidder in the matrimonial market. If marriage is to come to her, as she hopes it may, she wants it to come as a matter of choice and not of necessity. If single life is to be her lot, she wants to be able to maintain it without being a burden on others.

Being required to pay the same amount of taxes that man is obliged to pay, if she possesses property or other means, she demands the same right he has to determine how these taxes shall be expended and by whom they shall be administered. Like our revolutionary fathers, she believes that taxation without representation is tyranny. Responsible before God and before man for the health and happiness of her home, and for the education and usefulness of her children, she wants to have a voice as to who shall legislate and how, as to who shall manage the schools, and how the children shall be educated.

These are her demands, and this the cause of her uprising. Any one, therefore, who maintains that the "suffragette"

movement has its origin in vanity, in a desire on the part of woman to play the role of man, either displays a woeful ignorance or he willfully perverts the truth.

Misunderstanding
of women's rights
movement.

And he who says that the more vigorously he opposes woman's demands for equal rights the better a friend he proves himself to her, inasmuch as he protects thereby the greatest of all her possessions, her womanhood, may be sincere as to intentions but he is ignorant as to facts. He but repeats a phrase that was very glib on the tongues of men when the women's rights movement first started in our country. Three score years have since passed by, and though woman has secured many of the privileges for which she has agitated, she has not only become all the more of a woman, but man himself has become all the more of a man by reason of the greater womanhood of woman.

Of all great world-movements, I know of none that has made the progress, within so short a period of time, which that for women's rights has made, and, if organizing power represents, as some believe, the highest kind of mental power, this alone would entitle her to every right enjoyed by man. Two score years ago, the first woman's club was founded in our country, accompanied by an amount of male ridicule and hostility that presaged little future for that daring undertaking. Undaunted she persevered, and, to-day, the banding together of women for the obtaining of their rights has become world-wide, embracing twenty-three nations, some of these in the orient, counting its memberships by the millions, including among them, princesses and countesses, and the foremost of women thinkers, writers and educators. To-day, when she meets in international congress, Empress and Queen, President, Emperor and King, delight to do her honor, and the cables flash the reports of her deliberations to the ends of the world. To-day, she has all

Its marvellous
growth.

her rights in New Zealand and in some of the Australian states. In Finland she is eligible to a seat in Parliament, and twenty-five women exercise that prerogative at the present time. Germany has opened her universities to her. In Norway she is a citizen. In Turkey, Moslem women are beginning to walk the streets with uncovered faces.

As to our country, almost inestimable is the advance she has made here. In four of our Western states she has every citizenship right, and very many of them in the others. From having little or no legal recognition at one time, woman has now the right to hold property in her own name, the right to carry on trades and to enter the professions. She may make contracts, she may sue and be sued. She may sell or transfer her real or personal property, and is not liable for her husband's debts. Her husband is obliged to support her, and pay alimony in case of divorce. She is entitled to the income of one third of her husband's real estate at his death, and cannot be deprived of it by will, neither can any real estate be sold by him, unless she signs off her dower right.

It is in the field of education, however, where she has made the largest progress. From having at one time been adjudged to possess but little mind, from women in general having at one time been taught but a few of the elementary branches, and the chosen few given but a smattering of the higher studies, her sex is fast becoming the better educated of the two, for the reason that she has longer time for study and greater enthusiasm for it. In 1833 only one small college admitted women; to-day, co-education is provided for, and made use of, in 75% of our colleges. Nearly one-half of the B.A. degrees are now-a-days conferred upon women. A number of our best colleges furnish higher education exclusively to women. While the male students have increased during the past decade 61%, the

its victories in our country.

Especially in fields of education and industry.

female have increased 149%. There are three times as many female teachers as male, in round numbers: 300,000 women teachers and 100,000 men, and each year the proportion is increasing. More than 100,000 of our women are trained nurses, and in that noble calling they render a service to our country which is second only to that of teaching our children. We find women in the medical profession, at the bar, among the clergy, among journalists and authors. We find them in the arts and trades, in the counting room and in the office, in the factory and in the shop. In fact, there is scarcely a pursuit in which woman is not represented. We find her even in callings which we had hitherto believed to be the special fields of labor of the opposite sex, such as locomotive engineers, elevator attendants, masons, pilots, blacksmiths, auctioneers, coal miners and the like. Of our wage-earning people, one-fourth are women.

These facts and figures represent a revolution the like of which the world has never witnessed before, a revolution that has been effected so noiselessly that we, who have lived in the midst of it, have scarcely been conscious of its having taken place. Victor Hugo's predictions, that the Nineteenth Century would go down in history as *Woman's Century*, has been fulfilled. She, who throughout the ages, was believed to possess but little mind and less power, who was believed to be incapable of self-guidance and self-support, who was deemed to be fit for little else than to be the toy of man or his household drudge, has stepped out of the dependent seclusion, in which she was "cabined, cribbed and confined," into the public arena. There, besides emancipating her womanhood, she liberates man as well. There the one-time cowed and bowed raises herself to her full height, and boldly she declares: "I, too, have a mind and soul and body. I, too, am capable of self-improvement and self-direction. I, too, am entitled to the enrichment of life that comes from intellectual

Of all discoveries,
woman's self-dis-
covery greatest.

pursuits and from public usefulness. I, too, can have a share in the world's work. I, too, have rights, which I will respect so well and so long till I shall oblige man to respect them in mere self-respect."

Verily, of all the discoveries that have ever been made, woman's self-discovery is the greatest.

II.

Only by going back to the days of old, only by studying the low position woman once did hold—a position akin to that she holds to-day in savage or semi-barbarous countries—can we appreciate the mighty strides forward woman has made, and the great blessings that have accrued to society through her self-emancipation.

If the Chinese be the oldest of civilized peoples, as they claim to be, the treatment they accorded in remote antiquity to woman was one of the saddest. She was the absolute property of her husband, and was obliged to serve him as his slave. Besides attending to his every wish, besides bearing and raising his children, she had to perform the hardest kind of labor. She was obliged to be at her work at day-rise, and to keep busily at it till deep in the night. If she broke down under the weight of her burden, there were other women to take her place. Her husband could ill-treat her, even to the extent of brutality, she had no redress. He could dispose of her to the highest bidder, or drive her forth, if she no longer pleased him. He could even put her to death for real or imaginary offence, without being accountable to the law. Of education, of course, she enjoyed none; she was not believed to possess either a mind or soul. For her existence she was absolutely dependent on the lord and master of creation. At his pleasure she smiled, and at his pleasure she wept. By his will she lived, and by his will she died.

In this description of the lot of women in ancient China, we have, to a large extent, given that in a number of other oriental lands, in India, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, In other ancient, oriental lands. Babylonia, Assyria, and others. The Hindu and Parsee Scriptures even enjoin women to regard man as one of the divinities, and, besides absolute submission to him, to do him worshipful reverence. Daily the Parsee wife was obliged to kneel before her husband, the being divine, to fold her hands reverently, and to repeat nine times "What is it that my lord asks of me?" Thereupon she had to touch the ground in front of him, three times, with her forehead, as a token of reverent submission. The same obeisance had to be paid to a father by his daughter, to a brother by his sister.

In Arabia, a man could hire out his wife as he hired out his horse. She was held as a prisoner within the harem, at the door of which every thought of liberty was kept down by the eunuch's whip.

Among the ancient Greeks and Romans and other European lands, we find the lot of woman, in the main, superior to that she enjoyed among those oriental peoples of whom we have spoken. Still, nowhere do we Among ancient European peoples. find even the faintest conception that woman has rights equal to those of man, and that she is, therefore, entitled to the same privileges and opportunities.

The nearest approach to it we find, to its credit be it said, in the Jewish Bible. While far from recognizing woman's full worth, while we still find echoes there, and even remnants of laws, of an older and cruder Her higher position in Old Testament times. state of society, such as the legend of Eve's temptation, and her punishment: that of being forever subject to man because of her having listened to the serpent, the history and laws and literature of the people clearly reveal that woman had secured for herself a position in Palestine, far in advance of that she had attained in any other part of the world.

Maternity in Israel was sanctified, and part of that sanctity was conferred upon the mother. It was not deemed good for man to live alone, and he was, therefore, bid to leave father and mother, in order to cleave to the wife of his choice, and with her become as one. When Rebecca's hand is asked in marriage, and even though the proposed alliance is a desirable one, the marriage is not contracted till she herself gives her consent. The patriarch Abraham weeps and mourns at the death of Sarah, and Jacob never ceases mourning for his Rachel, for whose possession he had toiled twice seven years, and which years had seemed in his eyes but a few days, such had been his love for her. With manifest pride the Bible dwells on the share woman had in the rescue of Moses. We read of Miriam and Deborah, the inspired prophetesses. We read of law upon law enacted for her protection, of proverb after proverb written in her praise, notably that remarkable glorification of woman, contained in the last chapter of the Book of Proverbs, which depicts the ideal wife and mother, the perfect companion of her husband and children, whose industry and wisdom, economy, charity and piety, make her home the family-paradise, win her husband's love and reverence, and make him distinguished in the land—an ideal of womanliness whose virtues the Bible sums up thus:

‘ Her children rise up, and call her blessed;
Her husband also, and he praiseth her, saying:
Many daughters have done virtuously,
But thou excellest them all.
Grace is deceitful, and beauty is vain;
The woman who feareth the Lord, she alone shall be praised.
Give her of the fruits of her hand,
And let her works praise her in the gates.’—PROV. xxxi. 28-31.

Quite equal in appreciation is, in the main, the Talmud's valuation of woman. “God has endowed woman with greater wisdom and finer sensibilities,” says one of its writers, “because she has nobler work to do

In Talmudic times.

than man." While early initiated in her household duties, she was trained, when means permitted, in song and music, and in the higher branches of learning, in which she frequently attained considerable distinction. Contrary to the custom in other oriental lands, young men and young women met freely. Marriage for money was deprecated; emphasis was laid upon fitness and love between the high contracting parties. The strictest marital fidelity was demanded of the husband as well as of the wife. While the Bible tolerated polygamy, in Talmudic times monogamy was the general practice. The husband who wrongs his wife, says one of the Talmudic writers, will find that her tears are treasured in heaven, to serve as witness against him. Another says, even if our wives did nothing else than rear and train our children and make our homes for us, they would be entitled to the highest honor. Another says, a man should eat and drink below his means, should dress in accordance with his means, should honor his wife above his means. Who loves his wife more than himself has peace within his dwelling, says another. Another says: Without a wife, man is without shield against sin, without blessing and joy.

This high regard for woman permeates also the gospel stories. It is not until we come to those parts of the New Testament that owe their origin to pagan influences that we observe a decided reaction. The ascetic spirit gained dominance in the new

Reaction against
woman in writings
of St. Paul.

church. Celibacy became as much of a virtue as marriage had been before. The virgin rather than the wife and mother became the ideal. Marriage was tolerated as a concession to the sinfulness of the flesh; it was no longer encouraged as a divine institution. Holiness and the marital state were deemed incompatible. More and more, woman came to be looked upon as a primal source of evil, as a born temptress, as an emissary of Satan. The holy ones were warned against social

intercourse with her, against speaking with her, even against looking upon her. No end of mischief was done by such teachings as these, which the New Testament credits to St. Paul:

"It is good for a man not to touch a woman" . . . "The head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is man" . . . "The man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man" . . . "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; for they are commanded to be under obedience" . . . "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman, being deceived, was in the transgression."*

In these teachings we have the doctrine of woman's inferiority and sinfulness, which, having scriptural authority, gradually forced upon her that low regard and unjust treatment that have been her curse, and man's curse as well, and from which she is only in our day succeeding in emancipating herself.

Every time she made an effort at self-emancipation, these texts were sure to be quoted to her as constituting an effective quietus to her ambitions. And when these no longer succeeded in quieting her, men passed from Scripture to prophecy, and predicted all sorts of evils that were sure to befall her and man as well. In trying to use her brain she would lose the little she has. In trying to go out into the world, she would lose the little virtue that is hers. In trying to do a man's work, she would become masculine, and become repulsive to man. In trying to enter the higher seats of learning, she would either drive out the men or lower the standards of studies. In trying to compete with man, she would introduce a spirit of hostility between the sexes, and usher in the greatest civil strife the world has yet witnessed.

* I. Corinth. vii, 1; xi, 3, 8, 9; xiv, 34. Timothy II, 11-14.

She has proved herself a better prophet than man. Not a prophecy against her that man has made has been fulfilled; not a prophecy which she has made but it has come to pass.

Prophecies
unfulfilled.

The standards of our higher institutions of learning have not been lowered, nor have the scholarship of male students suffered by the presence of female students. On the contrary, the standards are higher to-day than they were before, and the presence of women students is acting as a stimulus to young men to do their best, if they do not wish to be outclassed.

Instead of lowering
standard of schol-
arship,
she raises it.

The claim, that the little knowledge she would pick up would intoxicate her for awhile, and that, after becoming sober again, she would have no more of it, has proved as groundless as the other. Woman, to-day, constitutes the largest cultural element of American society. But for her, three-fourths of our churches, half of our schools, libraries, lecture-halls, publishing houses, would close their doors. It is she who attends the church, the class, the lecture, in largest numbers; it is she who is the largest reader of books and periodicals. Among our writers, women have become as numerous as men. In the light of her achievements, only a fool can in our day cling to the one time popular belief that woman's brain is inferior to that of man. The works of such women as George Eliot, as Mrs. Browning, as Rosa Bonheur, compare favorably with the products of male writers or artists. If she has not yet produced a Shakespeare it is because she has not yet had time. Masculinity itself, notwithstanding all its time and all its advantages, has produced but one Shakespeare.

Instead of imped-
ing spread of
knowledge she
accelerates it.

Equally groundless has proved that other claim that woman's entrance into public life, in search of a livelihood or of culture or larger usefulness, would rob her of her innocence and charm, would dissipate the

Instead of losing
her womanhood,
she finds it.

aroma of her womanhood, would blast the roses on her cheeks, roughen the softness of her hands, quench the fire in her eyes, shrink the fulness of her figure, shatter her constitution, and make her unattractive, undesirable for wifedom, if not incapable of motherhood.

Observation and statistics would easily satisfy even the most critical of critics that the average woman is as strong and healthy to-day, as she was before the advent of the women's rights agitation, that she knows more about the laws of life and health, and of her own nature, than her grandmother ever knew, that she is more beautiful, more womanly than she has ever been, that Europeans are agreed that there is no more fascinating woman than the American, that she has the world at her feet, that America is the only country where parents are disappointed when a baby-boy instead of a baby-girl is born. And yet it is this fascinating American woman, who, of all women, occupies the largest place in public life, who has acquired the greatest independence, who relies most on her own resources.

She is no longer the weakling she used to be, no longer as ignorant of the ways of the world as she at one time was, no longer afraid of her own shadow, an appendage
 No longer the weakling she was. of some chaperon, without whom she is not at liberty to stir out of doors or even entertain gentlemen at home. She is no longer a mere ivy-plant clinging to some oak, no matter how rotten that oak be within, no longer obliged to depend on relatives or friends, or become an object of charity, if there be no oak to cling to for support. Unattended she walks the streets; unattended, if needs be, she travels the length and breadth of our country—even foreign countries—fully protected by her own self-assurance, by the reverence which her independent womanhood inspires.

She is no longer harassed by the fear of being obliged to resort to an undesirable marriage, for the sake of her future,

for the sake of lessening the burden of a heavy-laden father. She strikes out for herself, and thereby not only helps herself but also lessens her father's burden, and increases the prosperity of the family. Eliminated from the American home is the dread that overhangs European homes in which there are marriageable daughters, and in which the chief concern is how to barter them away, how to raise the dower required to purchase a husband. The commercial aspect of marriage is banished from the American home, and it is the American woman, conscious of her rights and powers, who has banished it. She is her own dower. She has in herself that which is more precious than silver and gold. Respecting the dignity of labor, she is not ashamed nor afraid to work. She often works because she wants to, not because she must. Her life-purpose is not marriage, but usefulness.

Marriage no longer
her only life-
purpose.

Her superior mind and lofty purpose demand for life-companionship a man of equal mind and equal purpose. Bringing to him a pure soul, she demands purity in return. If she cannot have that, she will have nothing of him. One of the reasons why we have so many divorces is because the American woman, conscious of her rights, and independent, does no longer believe in one standard of morality for man, and another for woman. If he cannot live worthy of her, she will not live with him. In this manner does she elevate the dignity of marriage, and, in accordance with that law of Evolution, known as the Law of Natural Selection, superior offspring is the consequence of such superior marriage, and superior offspring means upliftment of the race.

Her superior
womanhood uplifts
the race.

And in yet other ways does woman benefit the race by exercising her rights and powers. Her large work in the charities, the largest ever done in the history of philanthropy, is ennobling mankind.

So do her services
as charity worker
and as trained
nurse.

Priceless is the service she renders as trained nurse, in the sick-room, at the bedside, a service as great as that of the physician, often greater, a service like unto that of ministering angels, when, by her labor and devotion, she saves countless lives, eases torturing pains, soothes throbbing nerves, allays harrowing fears, restores joy and sunshine to hearts and homes.

But the greatest of all the blessings which woman's exercise of her rights and powers confers upon our nation is in her capacity as teacher. Probably few people can grasp the significance of more than 300,000 women educating daily some fifteen millions of the youth of our land, planting within their young hearts a part of that gentleness of theirs, of that sympathy, that instinctive womanly love of the true and good and beautiful, which, consciously and unconsciously, make for righteousness, for justice and for peace. From our schools comes the salvation of our race. And more yet than the lessons taught, our children carry from our schools the hearts and souls and minds of their women teachers.

And all that woman's self-emancipation has thus far enabled her to do is but the prologue of the much larger work she is to do. The present is big with promise. A thousand ills that distract us to-day she will help to cure. A thousand wrongs she will help to right. Where the physical strength of man has failed, there woman's moral force will succeed. Woman's rights will yet obliterate man's wrongs. It was not her fault that she has been late in coming; but, coming now in mighty numbers, a new beauty will be discerned in Tennyson's lines

"The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."

THE NATIONAL FARM SCHOOL

OBJECT

Training lads, irrespective of creed, from the congested districts of overcrowded cities in practical and scientific agriculture, for agricultural callings.

ITS SUPPORT

Memberships and donations from those interested in the object of the School.

ANNUAL DUES

From \$5 to \$50 a year. Life member \$100.

LOCATION

Farm School, near Doylestown, Pa., on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.

QUALIFICATION FOR ADMISSION

Completed Grammar School Course ; physical, mental and moral health ; sincere desire for agricultural life.
