

THE HAND BOOK
OF THE
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN
SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

AND

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

HELD AT

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
NOVEMBER 12-17
(INCLUSIVE)

1914

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Affiliated Members, List of.....	200
Affiliated Members, Report of.....	132
Associate Members, List of.....	211
Auditors, Report of.....	48
Call	9
Campaign Committee, Report of Special.....	117
Campaign States, List of.....	13
Campaign States, Report of.....	144
Church Work Committee, Report of.....	127
Congressional Committee, Financial Statement.....	53
Congressional Committee, Report of.....	76
Constitution and By-Laws.....	191
Constitution Requirements	11
Convention Policies and General Platform.....	11
Co-operating Members.....	211
Credentials Committee, Report of.....	55
Data Department, Report of.....	64
Delegates Present at Convention.....	183
Elections Committee, Report of.....	124
Executive Secretary, Report of.....	37
Field Secretary, Report of.....	74
Financial Report	50
Honorary Vice-Presidents, List of.....	198
Legal Adviser, Report of.....	73
Life Members, List of.....	205
Literature Committee, Report of.....	66
Membership Committee, Report of.....	123
Minutes of Convention, Condensed.....	21
National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc., Report of.....	68
Officers and Committee Chairmen Directory	5
Pledge List	188
Presidential Suffrage Committee, Report of.....	126
Presidents of the Association, List of.....	8
President's Response to the Address of Welcome.....	18
Press Bureau, Report of.....	57
Press Bureau of the Campaign Committee, Report of Chair. of...	89
Previous Conventions, List of.....	8
Program	14
Resolutions Committee, Report of.....	129
Resolutions and Greetings, Special.....	20, 211
Sixty-Third Congress, History of Suffrage in the.....	100
Suffrage Day, National.....	13
Treasurer, Report of.....	50

DIRECTORY OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

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Press Agent—MISS CLARA SAVAGE, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.

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Manager—MISS ANNA DeBAUN, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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Chairman at Large—Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

Sub-Committees

Publicity Department Finance
Chairman—Mrs. Thompson Seton

Campaign Finance Committee
 (See Campaign Committee)
Chairman—Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers

Photo Play Finance Committee
Chairman—Mrs. Medill McCormick

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Chairman

Mrs. Medill McCormick 500 Diversey Parkway, Chicago, Ill.

Executive Vice-chairman

Mrs. Antoinette Funk Munsey Bldg., Washington, D. C.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Chairman

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw 505 Fifth Ave., New York City

Sub-Committees

Campaign Finance
 (See Finance Committee)
Chairman—Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers

SURVEY

Mrs. Antoinette Funk Munsey Bldg., Washington, D. C.

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Miss Mary E. O'Neil Butte, Montana

ELECTIONS

Mrs. Sherman M. Booth Glencoe, Ill.

LITERATURE

Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees Greenwich, Conn.

MEMBERSHIP

Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw 48 East 34th St., New York City

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

Mrs. Charles Forster Camp 505 Fifth Ave., New York City

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates 209 Butler Ave., Providence, R. I.

PROGRAM

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw (Ex-officio) .. 505 Fifth Ave., New York City

CHURCH WORK

Mrs. Mary E. Craigie.....1012 13th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

LEGAL ADVISER

Miss Mary Towle 1 Broadway, New York City

OFFICERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

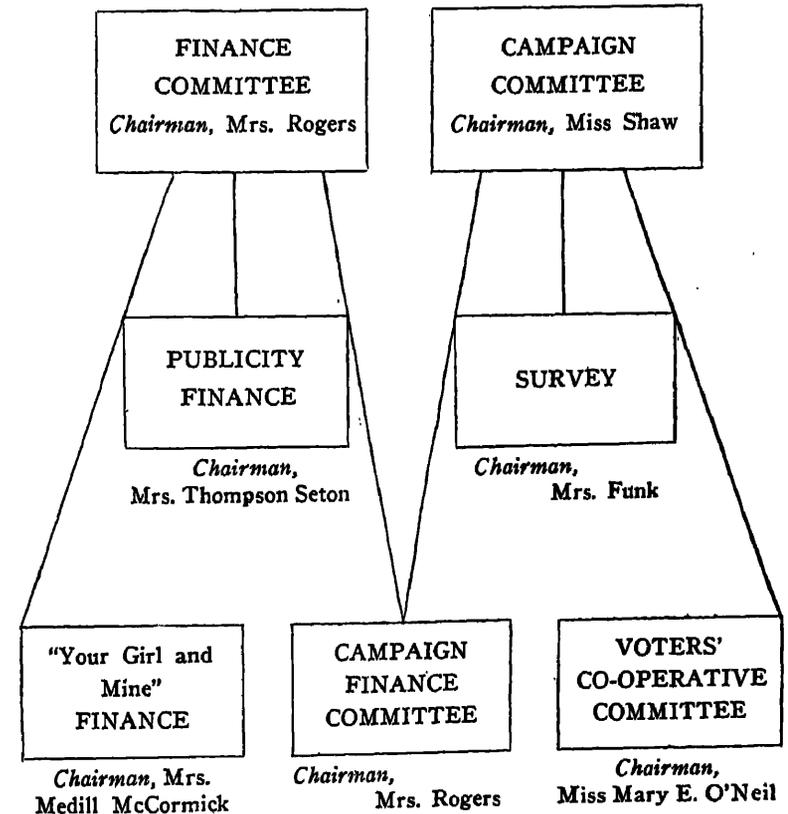
President

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw 505 Fifth Ave., New York City

Secretary

Miss Gratia Erickson Evanston, Ill.

NOTE: Because of the number of special Sub-Committees of the Finance and Campaign Committees, established by votes of the Nashville Convention, we are printing the following diagram to make clear their interrelation.



Since the National American Woman Suffrage Association was incorporated in 1890, the Conventions have been held as follows:

- 1891—Washington, D. C., February 22-26.
- 1892—Washington, D. C., February 19-21.
- 1893—Washington, D. C., January 16-19.
- 1894—Washington, D. C., February 15-20.
- 1895—Atlanta, Ga., January 31 to February 5.
- 1896—Washington, D. C., January 23-28.
- 1897—Des Moines, Ia., January 26-29.
- 1898—Washington, D. C., February 13-19.
- 1899—Grand Rapids, Mich., April 27 to May 3.
- 1900—Washington, D. C., February 8-14.
- 1901—Minneapolis, Minn., June 1-5.
- 1902—Washington, D. C., February 14-18.
- 1903—New Orleans, La., March 15-25.
- 1904—Washington, D. C., February 11-17.
- 1905—Portland, Ore., June 28 to July 5.
- 1906—Baltimore, Md., February 7-13.
- 1907—Chicago, Ill., February 14-19.
- 1908—Buffalo, N. Y., October 15-21.
- 1909—Seattle, Washington, July 1-6.
- 1910—Washington, D. C., April 14-19.
- 1911—Louisville, Ky., October 19-25.
- 1912—Philadelphia, Pa., November 21-26.
- 1913—Washington, D. C., November 29 to December 5.
- 1914—Nashville, Tenn., November 12-17.

PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSOCIATION

- 1890-1892 Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
- 1892-1900 Susan B. Anthony.
- 1900-1904 Carrie Chapman Catt.
- 1904— Anna Howard Shaw.

CALL TO THE FORTY-SIXTH CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

The National American Woman Suffrage Association issues this year the Call for its forty-sixth Annual Convention. It summons the delegates of its sixty member-associations to meet together for inspiration and for counsel.

Being met, they are to hear from each other of victories won, of progress rapid and ever more rapid towards our mighty goal, of the nation's constantly widening sympathy with our high aim. Our task will be to formulate judgment on those great issues of the day which nearly concern women; to choose the leaders who, during the coming year, are to guide the fortunes of our cause; and finally, to deliberate how the whole National body may, on the one hand, best give aid and succor to the states working for their own enfranchisement, and, on the other, press for federal action in behalf of the women of the nation at large. May our resolutions and conclusions be born of wisdom and power, be inspired by the deep sense of kinship and sympathy, potent to warm the heart and fire the will to further effort, which springs from intercourse with fellow-workers gathered together from far and wide.

Since the last Convention met, all the horror of a great war has fallen upon the civilized world. The hearts of thousands of women have been torn for the death and wounds of those they bore, of those they love. Yet never has their will and power to help been greater, never man's need of such help been more clearly seen. We, who are spared the anguish of war, well understand that, as weight is given in the world's affairs to the voice of women, moved as men are not, by all the tragic waste of battles, the chances of such slaughter must perpetually diminish. Now is the time, when all things point to the violence that rules the world, now

is the very time to press our claim to a share in the guidance of our country's fortunes, to urge that woman's vision must second and rectify that of man.

Let us, then, in Convention assembled, kindle with the thought that, as we consider methods for the political enfranchisement of our sex, our wider purpose is to free women and to enable woman's conception of life in all its aspects to find expression. Then woman's horror of war and of all needless misery, woman's indignation at the exploitation of her sister-woman, woman's care for and wise stress upon the needs of the child will become operative. Let us set a fresh seal upon the great new loyalty of woman to woman; let our response be felt in the deep tide of fellowship and understanding between all women which to-day is rising round the world.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
JANE ADDAMS,
MADELINE BRECKINRIDGE,
CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES,
SUSAN WALKER FITZGERALD,
KATHARINE DEXTER McCORMICK,
HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW,
LOUISE DEKOVEN BOWEN,

General officers of the
National American Woman
Suffrage Association.

Headquarters,
505 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION

Concerning the Program and Business

Of the Annual Convention

No credentials shall be issued after the close of the first business day.

The General Officers shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the Convention.

Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the Election.

The morning session of the second business day, or as much thereof as may be necessary, shall be given to discussion of the tentative budget.

Beginning with the morning session of the fourth business day, no further business shall be considered until a budget for the ensuing year shall have been adopted.

The Executive Council

The Council shall, at its pre-convention session, give special consideration to the budget for the coming year and make recommendations in regard thereto to the Convention.

A Secretary other than a Director shall be nominated and elected by acclamation at the post-convention meeting of the Council.

The Council shall, at its post-convention session, elect from its own number a Committee on Membership.

Amendments

THE CONSTITUTION can be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual convention after one day's notice, provided said amendment has been given to the Board and published by it in at least three leading Suffrage periodicals not less than six weeks before the convention.

THE BY-LAWS may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual convention after one day's notice in the convention.

POLICIES AND GENERAL PLATFORM AS DEFINED AT THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION

Non-Partisanship

I. That the National American Woman Suffrage Association re-affirm its policy of the past as being non-partisan.

II. That the N. A. W. S. A. is absolutely opposed to holding any political party responsible for the opinions and acts of its individual members, or holding any individual public official or candidate responsible for the action of his party majority—on the question of Woman Suffrage.

Congressional Legislation

That the policy of the N. A. W. S. A. shall be to support, by every means within its power, in the future as in the past, the amendment known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment—and further, to support such other legislation as the National Board may authorize and initiate to the end that the Susan B. Anthony Resolution may become law.

NOTE: Two specific pieces of Congressional Legislation were discussed by the Convention with evident favor—

I. The Shafroth-Palmer Amendment.

II. A measure to secure to women through Congressional action their right to vote for all federal officers.

Organization of Congressional Work in the States

That the machinery for Congressional work be established for carrying out suggestions made by the Congressional Committee—when approved by the majority of the State Associations in the state concerned—and that the Congressional Committee shall give out information and suggestions for Congressional work in any state *only* through the machinery established for Congressional work, as above provided for, but that the State Associations shall determine *how* this material shall be used.

That when the majority of the various State Associations in a state cannot agree upon some plan of co-operation for establishing such machinery, the Congressional Committee shall not work in said state.

BASIS OF MEMBERSHIP

As established at the Nashville Convention

1. AFFILIATED—Any Suffrage organization of 200 or more members. Total membership to be certified to—Payment of ten cents per member on all members up to 1,500 or more if desired. Representation in Convention by one delegate for every 100 paid-up members, up to 5,000—no representation beyond that number.

2. ASSOCIATE—Any organization officially endorsing suffrage, upon approval of two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon payment of \$50.00 annual dues.

3. CO-OPERATIVE—Any individual paying annual dues of \$10.00.

4. LIFE—Any individual paying \$100.00.

Organizations that have joined the N. A. W. S. A. since the Convention of December, 1913:

National Men's League.
Ladies of the Modern Maccabees.
South Carolina Equal Suffrage League.
Louisiana Equal Suffrage League.
The Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore.
The Washington Woman Suffrage Council.
The Georgia Woman Suffrage League.
Tennessee (a second state organization).

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE DAY

At the Convention in Nashville, Tenn., November, 1914, it was unanimously

VOTED, To set apart the first Saturday in May annually, to be known as National Suffrage Day.

1914-CAMPAIGN STATES

(States where the suffrage amendment was submitted to the voters, November, 1914.)

MONTANA	won
MISSOURI	lost
NEBRASKA	lost
NEVADA	won
NORTH DAKOTA	lost
OHIO	lost
SOUTH DAKOTA	lost

PRESENT CAMPAIGN STATES

Iowa	1916
Massachusetts	1915

New Jersey	1915
New York	1915
Pennsylvania	1915
South Dakota	1916
West Virginia	1916
Tennessee	(not before) 1918

HELP FROM THE NATIONAL

In sending workers to help in campaign states the policy of the Board is that the National shall be responsible for the salary and all railroad expenses to and from the state and within the state but that the organization to whom the worker is sent shall be responsible for entertainment and for all local and incidental expenses.

PROGRAM OF CONVENTION

WEDNESDAY, November 11:

Credentials Committee on duty all day—Hermitage Hotel.
Meeting of the Board of Directors—Hermitage Hotel
Informal Conference of the Executive Council—Parlors of
Hermitage Hotel, 10 a. m., 2.30 p. m. and 8 p. m.

Delegates are invited to attend, but the meeting will not be open to the public or the press.

THURSDAY, November 12:

Morning, 9 o'clock

Regular Executive Council meeting—Representatives' Hall, State Capitol.

11 o'clock

Convention called to order by the President.
Greetings: Mayor Hillary Howse of Nashville.
Mrs. Crozier-French.
Mrs. Guilford Dudley.

Response on behalf of the N. A. W. S. A.:
Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott.

Reports:

Program Committee.....Dr. Anna Howard Shaw
Membership Committee.....Mrs. Lillian Feickert

Election Committee..... Miss Gratia Erickson
Credentials Committee (preliminary),
Mrs. Stanley McCormick
Auditors.....Mrs. Harriet Burton Laidlaw
Treasurer and Finance Committee..Mrs. Stanley McCormick
Congressional Committee.....Mrs. Medill McCormick

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Reports:

Congressional Committee, followed by Discussion.

Evening, 8 o'clock

CAMPAIGN STATES:

President presiding.
Greetings from Governor B. W. Hooper of Tennessee.
Celebration of Campaign States:
Nevada, Miss Anne Martin.
Montana, Miss Mary Stewart.
North Dakota, Mrs. Clara L. Darrow.
Nebraska, Mrs. Draper Smith,
Missouri, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller,
Ohio, Miss Flora E. Worthington.
President's Annual Address.

FRIDAY, November 13:

Morning, 10 o'clock

Report of Executive Secretary

Presentation of Budget.....Mrs. Stanley McCormick

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Reports:

Press Bureau..... Miss Elinor Byrns
National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
Mrs. Cyrus W. Field

Evening, 8 o'clock

VOTERS' EVENING, under the auspices of the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage—Mr. James Lees Laidlaw presiding.

Addresses:

Gov.-Elect Rye.
 United States Senator Luke Lea,
 Miss Helen Eacker, of Kansas.
 Miss S. Grace Nicholes, of Illinois.
 Hon. Leon Locke, of Louisiana.
 Pres. H. S. Barker, University of Kentucky.
 Mr. Charles T. Hallinan, of Chicago, Vice-President of the
 National Men's League for Woman Suffrage.
 Mr. R. A. McDowell, of Kentucky.

SATURDAY, November 14:

Morning, 10 o'clock

Nomination of Officers:

Greetings from Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference:

Miss Kate M. Gordon.

Reports:

Legal AdviserMary Towle
 Field Secretary.....Jane Thompson
 Credentials Committee (final).....Mrs. Stanley McCormick
 Adoption of Amendments to Constitution.

Reports:

Committee on Presidential Suffrage...Miss Elizabeth U. Yates
 Committee on Church Work.....Mrs. Mary Craigie

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Reports:

Affiliated and Auxiliary Organizations.
 Conference on Methods of Work.

Evening, 8 o'clock

The State and National Campaigns:

Addresses:

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, President of the Massachusetts
 Woman Suffrage Association.
 Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Member of National Congressional
 Committee.
 Mrs. Raymond Brown, President of New York Woman Suf-
 frage Association.
 Miss Hannah Patterson, Chairman of Pennsylvania Woman
 Suffrage Party.
 Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Secretary of Boston Equal Suffrage
 Association.
 Mrs. Edward F. Feickert, President of the New Jersey Woman
 Suffrage Association.

SUNDAY, November 15:

Afternoon, 3 o'clock

Mass Meeting..... Ryman Auditorium (Fifth Avenue)
 Presiding Jane Addams

Addresses:

"The South Needs Her Women".....Mrs. Desha Breckinridge
 "Women and War"Mme. Rosika Schwimmer
 "The Attitude of the International Council of Women on Suf-
 frage".....Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett
 "The Industrial Woman's Need of the Vote,"
 Miss Rose Schneiderman

Evening, 8 o'clock

The officers of the National Association, delegates and visitors to
 the Convention will be entertained by Mrs. Benjamin F. Wilson,
 at her home, Wilmor Manor.

MONDAY, November 16:

Morning, 10 o'clock

Adoption of the Budget.
 Election of Officers.
 Raising the year's funds.

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Report of Resolutions Committee.
 New Business.

Evening, 8 o'clock

An unpublished "Friendship Village" Story.....Miss Zona Gale
 Singing by the Fiske Jubilee Singers.
 "Your Girl and Mine," a moving picture play, presented to the
 National Association by Mrs. Medill McCormick.

TUESDAY, November 17:

Morning, 10 o'clock

Meeting of the Executive Council, Hotel Hermitage.

Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock

Meeting of Board of Directors, Hotel Hermitage.

PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

I regret that Mrs. Maud Howe Elliot who was expected to respond to your cordial addresses of welcome, on behalf of the National Suffrage Association is unable, because of her wifely duty to a sick husband, to be here. We learned of it at the last moment, and the National Board asked me to express our appreciation of all that has been done to insure a successful session. May I explain that Mrs. Maud Howe Elliot is the daughter of Julia Ward Howe and like her distinguished mother is devoting herself to the reform movements of her time.

Mr. Mayor, Madam President and friends: In behalf of the National Suffrage Association it gives me great pleasure to extend our sincere thanks for your cordial greetings and welcome to your city—a city about which memories cling which make it dear to the whole history of our country, and to come to this city brings us for a moment back to the beginning of a struggle which will not be ended until the women, as well as the men of this country are free citizens.

We are also glad to come to your city because some of us have been here before and knew what generosity would be lavished upon us, and you have not disappointed our anticipations. You began in such a way that we thought you could do no more, but present indications point that there are other pleasures in store for us, although it seemed to us that you began at the climax of hospitality, for there is not a Northern woman who has not longed all her life—whose heart hasn't longed for a barbecue; and this form of welcome extended at the home of that great Democrat—Andrew Jackson, who never allowed any obstacle to impede the progress of his service to his country, should inspire us with like zeal.

When His Honor the Mayor spoke of the hope that if women entered into the political life of our country, conditions would be made better, I forgot the North and turned back in memory to the great South, and if I had but one argument in favor of our cause, aside from the fundamental arguments of the right of the human being to freedom and justice, I should point to the women of the South. No stronger argument can be found in the South than the women themselves. When we recall the history of the South; when we think of what women have meant to it, I wonder how even a woman, in all the breadth of her generosity, can say it is the men of this country who have made us what we are.

It is not the men of this country who have made this nation what it is—it is the men and the women who have made the nation what it is, and in no part of it have women contributed more than in the South.

When we look back over the past history; when we see the land barren; and desolation everywhere; when we see the homes left destitute and the women prostrate by the graves of their dead and many who are bereft even of the knowledge of where their dead lie; when we realize that the men of the South were nearly all swept away we know that

the power that held the South steadfast, that held the homes of the South together, that kept the traditions of the South that made the South the power it is to-day was the loyalty, the patriotism, unconquerable courage and the devotion of Southern women in that hour of darkness and despair. Had it not been for this new spirit of action born of the necessity of the times in the character of Southern women to inspire Southern men with hope and courage, desolation would still be over the South; but because women were there, though stripped of all their former pride and glory, they evolved from within themselves a power which no one knows that women possess until some hour of extreme trial calls it forth, and then we learn that never has there been in any period of history a test of human endurance and wisdom when women have not responded and become the inspiration, the hope, the strength and the courage of manhood. If any women of this nation have ever bought their freedom and paid a dear price for it, it is the women of the Southland.

I can not see how any man who calls himself a democrat can fail to recognize that the fundamental principle of democracy is the right of the citizens to a voice in the government under which that citizen lives: much less can I understand how any Southern man can look in the face of a Southern woman knowing that they are branded as no other body of intelligent people in this country are—by the brand of disfranchisement—that they are deprived of that one symbol of power which elevates the citizens of a democracy out of the class of the disfranchised with all the defective and unfit peoples in the nation. No other country has subjected its women to the humiliating position to which the women of this nation have been subjected by men. No other nation has ever reduced women to the position politically which the unenfranchised women of this nation hold. In Germany, German women are governed by German men; in France, French women are governed by Frenchmen; and in Great Britain, British women are governed by British men; but in this country American women are governed by every kind of a man under the light of the sun. There is no race, there is no color, there is no nationality of men who are not the sovereign rulers of American women. And while I am a democrat—not a partisan democrat, because being women we cannot be partisans of any Party—it takes a man, any kind of a man or no kind of a man to be a member of a political party; women in a disfranchised state cannot be a partisan democrat—but she can be something better than that—she can be a DEMOCRAT. While I am democrat enough to believe it is right for all men who put into the life of this nation their strength, their energy, their brawn and brain; who rear and educate their children, to have a voice in their government, yet I believe it is a crime that these men of all nations and all races have the power to say that American women may not have a voice in their own government.

The only way men can redeem themselves, the only way they can be

honest American citizens and democrats is to stand by the fundamental principle of democracy—that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," "governed" women as well as "governed" men, and when Nashville and Tennessee and the South and the North and the East and the West shall stand on this basic principle of just government, and have this ideal correspond with the fact, then we shall have a Republic, and have a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Then sporadic chivalry will give place to permanent and equal justice, for where justice rules there is no need of chivalry.

PRESENTED BY IDA E. CAMPBELL.

Greetings to the National American Woman Suffrage Associations from the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies in Canada.

We in Canada feel modest about our work when we think of the achievements of our American sisters—of four million voting women, of the new States which are being added yearly to the suffrage roll, and send our warmest congratulations to the newly enfranchised states, as well as to the suffragists all over the Union whose enthusiasm and self-sacrifice has helped to bring about the victory.

Our Canadian National Union is barely eight months old but it represents many affiliated societies in all sections of the Dominion. There are flourishing suffrage societies in all of our provinces, with provincial organizations in three. We have a limited municipal vote for women in most of the provinces, but so far there is no parliamentary vote for women in Canada. It has been almost in sight once or twice in our Western Provinces and it may well be that, as with you, the West will lead the East, although the longest and hardest suffrage work in both countries has been done in the East.

At present the cloud of a devastating war is over us all. As with our sisters in England, although to a lesser extent, it overshadows all our work, and suffrage activities have suffered a partial eclipse. Our Canadian women have responded to the call of their country as nobly as the men and work for the soldiers, with relief work for those who are suffering directly and indirectly from the war in Canada, England and Belgium, is the order of the day. Our National President, Mrs. L. A. Hamilton of Toronto is at the head of the relief work in that City, under the Women's Patriotic League, and the feeling is still general that the patriotic activities of the suffragists are doing much to enhance the cause of woman suffrage in the eyes of the Canadian Public. It is indeed our hope that when the war is over, a new era may dawn for womanhood throughout the world, an era of enlarged opportunities, and widened activities, which will hasten the time when she is freely

and universally admitted to the councils of the Nations. And then there will be no more war.

May we now express the hope that when the war is over, we may welcome very many of our American sisters to what we have long been looking forward to—our first Canadian National Suffrage Convention. Canada salutes you.

CONDENSED MINUTES OF THE CONVENTION

November 12-17, 1914.

REPRESENTATIVES' HALL, STATE CAPITOL, NASHVILLE, TENN.

PRE-CONVENTION MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Thursday, November 12, 1914.

Meeting called to order at 9:40, President Shaw in the chair. The roll was called by the Recording Secretary. The minutes of the informal conference of the preceding day were read by Mrs. Graham of Louisiana, who had served as Secretary.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the minutes be accepted without ratification.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the seating of delegates be settled by lot.

On motion of the chairman of the Elections Committee, duly seconded, it was

Voted, To recommend to the Convention the adoption of an amendment to By-Law 1, section 1 to consist of the following paragraph: "The general officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the annual meeting. Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the election."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Council recommend to the Convention the adoption of the following resolution: That the National American Woman Suffrage Association reaffirm its policy of the past as being non-partisan.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Council recommend to the Convention the adoption of the following resolution:

That it is the sense of this Council that the non-partisan policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association requires that its attitude toward the individual members of Congress, or candidates therefor, shall be determined by the individual attitude or record of such members of Congress, or candidates, on Woman Suffrage, but not by the attitude or record of the party to which they belong. Motion carried by 42 to 15.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, That this body adjourn as the Executive Council and reconvene immediately as the Convention.

The Council adjourned at 11:15.

THE CONVENTION.

Morning Session, Thursday, December 12, 1914.

Miss Lindsley of Nashville, representing the Women's Auxiliary of the Southern Commercial Congress, headquarters, Washington, D. C., was given the privilege of the floor, and with appropriate remarks presented to the Association, as represented by its President, Dr. Shaw, a gavel made from a hickory tree planted by Andrew Jackson at the grave of his wife.

With this gavel the Convention was called to order at 11:25, President Shaw in the chair.

His Honor Mayor Hillary Howse was presented and extended to the Convention a hearty welcome in the name of the city.

Mrs. Crozier-French, President of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, extended a welcome to the Convention in the name of the State Association.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley, President of the Nashville Equal Suffrage League, extended a hearty welcome in the name of the Nashville League.

Dr. Shaw responded in the name of the Association and expressed its thanks for the splendid welcome extended to the Convention by the city and the state, both through the public officials and the organized suffragists, and made a brief opening address.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adopt the following resolution:

That the N. A. W. S. A., in Convention assembled, does hereby express heartfelt thanks and deep appreciation to our President, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, for her devoted and unremitting work for woman suffrage and this Association during the past year, and especially for her splendid services in the Campaign States which did so much to gain the victory for Montana and Nevada; and further for her willingness to stand for re-election and be our leader and win more victories for the coming year.

Dr. Shaw as chairman of the Program Committee reported the programs in the hands of the delegates.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adopt the program as presented as the order of the day. The Convention then proceeded to take up the program, and the following reports were presented:

The report of the Membership Committee was presented by Mrs. Feickert of New Jersey, chairman, and accepted, showing the admission of five affiliated Associations since the last Convention.

The report of the Elections Committee, was presented by the Chairman, Miss Erickson. Various amendments having been proposed and adopted, on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To accept the report as amended, and as appended to these minutes.

The report of the Auditors was then presented by Mrs. Laidlaw, first auditor, and accepted.

The Secretary read a letter of greeting from the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs. On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Secretary send a letter of appreciation for the services rendered the suffrage cause by the Colorado club women.

The preliminary report of the Credentials Committee was then presented by the Chairman, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, and its acceptance was moved and seconded.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, As an amendment to the above motion, that a Committee of five be appointed to consider the case of the two Tennessee delegations claiming the right to sit in the Convention, and that the President be empowered to appoint this Committee.

The motion to accept the preliminary report of the Credentials Committee and its amendment was then carried.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting then adjourned.

Afternoon Session, Thursday, December 12, 1914.

The meeting was called to order at 2:55, President Shaw in the chair. The report of the Treasurer was presented by Mrs. Stanley McCormick, it being a part of the printed "Facts for Delegates" in the hands of delegates. The Treasurer commented on the figures there shown, and on motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, To adopt the report.

The report of the Congressional Committee was then presented. Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman, reported upon the preliminary canvass in the Senate, and the work leading up to the introduction of the Shafroth amendment. Mrs. Funk, of the Committee, explained the meaning and value of the Shafroth amendment. Mrs. Booth of the Committee gave a digest of her work on the card catalogue of the members of Congress, and Mr. Hallinan reported upon the publicity work of the Congressional Committee. Mrs. McCormick then closed the report with a discussion of her plan of Congressional organization.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, That the discussion of this report be made a special order of business, for the Friday morning session at 10:30.

The Chair appointed the following Committee to consider the Tennessee contest: Miss Kate M. Gordon of Louisiana, Chairman; Mrs. Pattie Jacobs of Alabama; Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley of New York; Mrs. Teresa Crowley of Massachusetts and Mrs. Youmans of Wisconsin.

On motion, duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting adjourned at 6. P. M.

Morning Session, Friday, November 13, 1914.

The meeting was called to order at 10:20, President Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the preceding day were read and accepted with corrections.

The Chair was then taken by the Vice-President, Miss Addams.

The discussion of the Congressional Committee report being the special order of business, on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To open the discussion by reading the recommendations of the Chairman of the Committee. The speakers were limited to three minutes each, and Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman, presented her recommendations as follows:

1. The establishment of a speaker's bureau by the Congressional Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, to adopt this recommendation.

2. The standardization of co-operation between the Campaign States and the National Congressional Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That this recommendation be taken up later, in connection with the report of the campaign committee.

3. That there be a more complete organization of the congressional districts in the states for the carrying on of the congressional work.

After various amendments to the proposed motion, on motion duly made and seconded, it was finally

Voted, That the machinery for the congressional work be established for carrying out suggestions made by the Congressional Committee, when approved by the majority of the State Associations in the State concerned;

That the Congressional Committee shall give out information and suggestions for Congressional work in any state only through the machinery established for this work by the State Association or the majority of the State Associations of that State, but that such Association or the majority of such associations in the State shall determine how this material shall be used:

That when the majority of the various State Associations in a State cannot agree upon some plan of co-operation for establishing such machinery for Congressional work, the Congressional Committee shall not enter into the State for such work.

The Budget was then presented by the Treasurer, who reported on three possibilities for the coming year, as follows:

By cutting down the Press and Secretarial work below the amount carried during the past year it would be possible to carry the work, though inadequately, upon a budget of.....\$18,000.00

To maintain the work on approximately the basis of the past year as shown in the "Facts for Delegates" would require a budget of.....\$24,000.00
To include the addition of \$2,000.00 for a data department would require a budget of.....\$26,000.00

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Association accept the report of the Treasurer with deep appreciation of the work required and performed in order to bring to the Convention such a financial statement, and also with thanks to Mrs. Medill McCormick for her generous gift to the Association.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the discussion of the policy of the Association in regard to the Bristow-Mondell and Shafroth-Palmer Amendments be the special order of business at three o'clock.

Miss Shaw requested that the various State delegations nominate at once in writing their members of the Resolutions Committee, and place such nominations in the hands of the Recording Secretary.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting adjourned at 1 P. M.

Afternoon Session, Friday, November 13, 1914.

Meeting called to order at 2:45, Miss Addams, First Vice-President, in the Chair.

The recommendation of the Congressional Committee for the appointment of a special Finance Committee by the Official Board for the Financing of the Congressional Committee and the Publicity Department, was discussed and on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That such a Committee be appointed.

By request the Chairman of the Elections Committee was permitted to present to the Convention, an amendment to By-Law 1, which was necessary in order to enable the Elections Committee to conduct the elections.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was therefore

Voted, To amend By-Law 1, by adding a fourth paragraph to section 1, to read:

"The general officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the annual meeting. Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the election."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That no person shall be put in nomination as a general officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association who has not consented to serve.

A request having been made for permission to circulate a printed statement concerning the Bristow-Mondell and Shafroth-Palmer Amendments, on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That these papers be distributed in an interim of business.

The Chairman of the Elections Committee then presented a motion to provide for certain changes in arrangements for elections, resulting from the conditions under which they were to be held, and these changes were adopted and included in the report as appended to these minutes.

The special order of business being the discussion of the Federal amendments, it was

Moved and duly seconded that the Shafroth amendment be not proceeded with in the next session of Congress.

A substitute motion was made and duly seconded that it be the sense of this Convention that the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association shall be to support by every means within its power, in the future as in the past, the amendment known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, and further

To support such other legislation as the National Board may authorize and initiate, to the end that the Susan B. Anthony Resolution may become law.

It was moved and duly seconded, that this substitute motion be amended by the striking out of the words "and further" and all that follows.

The long discussion was closed by the maker of the motion, and by Mrs. McCormick, Chairman of the Congressional Committee.

The amendment to omit the second clause of the proposed substitute motion was lost.

It was moved and duly seconded, that it be the sense of this Convention that the National Board be empowered to endorse and support an amendment to the Federal Constitution for a national initiative and referendum.

Motion lost.

The motion to substitute was put and carried by a vote of 194 to 100, and on motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, To adopt the substitute motion.

The report of the Credentials Committee was presented by the Chairman, showing the number of delegates entitled to sit in the Convention to be 819; those present and duly accredited, without the delegation from Tennessee, and with seven National Officers and three Chairmen of Standing Committees, 285.

The Committee on the Tennessee contest reported through their Chairman, Miss Kate M. Gordon: "That after careful consideration of personal testimony and documentary evidence offered by both contestants, the committee recommends that both delegations be seated with one-half vote to each individual. This finding is not entirely satisfactory to all the members of the Committee, but is reached as a compromise."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To accept the report of the committee.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adopt the report of the Credential Committee as completed by the report on the Tennessee Delegation, showing 307 delegates duly accredited.

The Resolutions Committee having been announced, President Shaw named Mrs. Burns of Michigan as Chairman, to take charge of the Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded the meeting was adjourned at 6:30 P. M.

Morning Session, Saturday, November 14, 1914.

The meeting was called to order at ten o'clock, President Shaw in the Chair.

The minutes of the sessions of the previous day were read and accepted with corrections.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To rescind the action of the previous day, that the Credentials Committee should close its report that evening and to permit credentials to be presented until 11 A. M., in order to permit the seating of the Tennessee delegations and of a few late arrivals.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To give the privilege of the floor to Mrs. French, to make a statement concerning the report of the Committee on the Tennessee contest she asked whether the acceptance of this or any other action on the contest would in any way affect or restrict the action of the two parties after the close of the Convention, and was informed that it would not.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To rescind the acceptance of the report of the Committee on the Tennessee contest, and on further motion, duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, That the Credentials Committee be authorized to receive such additional dues as would enable the two Tennessee delegations to cast eleven votes each.

The Convention then resumed the regular order of business, and on motion made and seconded it was

Voted, That in the absence of the Executive Secretary, her report be not read, but printed in the minutes.

Miss Gordon, President of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference, presented greetings to the Convention from the Conference, and Mrs. Somerville, of Mississippi, added a statement concerning its value.

The Press Chairman, Miss Elinor Byrns, then presented her report, which was duly accepted.

The report of the Publishing Company was presented by the President, Mrs. Cyrus W. Field, and duly accepted.

The report of the Legal Adviser was read by the Recording Secretary, and duly accepted.

The Field Secretary, Miss Jane Thomson, presented her report, together with a memorial of good will to President Shaw, submitted by

representatives present at this Convention from the Campaign States, and appended to these minutes.*

On motion duly made and seconded, it was

Voted, That the Convention accept this report and concur in the expression of confidence in Miss Shaw expressed by the representatives of the Campaign States.

Upon request Miss Shaw spoke briefly to the Convention, expressing the pleasure and satisfaction she had had in working with the splendid women in the Campaign States.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the reports of the Committees on Church Work and Presidential Suffrage, whose Chairmen were not present, be printed in the annual report, but not read.

The Credentials Committee then presented its report on the names added since the last report, which included the eleven delegates from the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, and eleven from another Association in Tennessee, and several other delegates, making a total of 316, duly accredited to date in this convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adopt this as the final report of the Credentials Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That telegrams be sent to the two absent Presidents of Campaign States, Ohio and South Dakota, extending greetings and good cheer from the convention.

Mrs. Ellicott, of Maryland, asked the privilege of the floor to present to the Convention an invitation from a committee representing the various Maryland Associations, inviting the National Association to hold its next Convention in Baltimore.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Association appoint a suffrage day for a nation wide celebration and that the date be announced before the close of the Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the report of the Congressional Committee be accepted as a whole.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the consideration of the amendments of the Constitution be made a special order of business at three o'clock.

The Credentials Committee announced the failure of one delegate to arrive, thus reducing the number of accredited delegates to 315.

The Chair then introduced Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, who spoke a few words of greeting to the Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded the meeting adjourned at 12.50 P. M.

*See page 211.

Afternoon Session, Saturday, November 14, 1914.

Meeting called to order at 2:50, President Shaw in the Chair.

On motion of Miss Clay, duly seconded, it was

Voted, That the Convention instruct the Congressional Committee of the Association to investigate and promote the right of women to vote for United States Congressmen and Senators and Presidential Electors, by Congressional action.

This motion was presented as the sense of an informal meeting held earlier and was signed by a long list of petitioners, headed by Miss Clay, including President Shaw and the members of the National Congressional Committee, and many others.

The report of the Kentucky Association was presented by the President Mrs. Desha Breckinridge.

At three o'clock, the special order of business being the consideration of the changes of the Constitution,

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the matter of the amendments to Articles III and IV be referred to a Committee, which after receiving instructions from the House, should report them back in definite form. The House then instructed the Convention as follows:

That from Article III, Section II, paragraphs C, D and E be omitted, and that Article III, Section IV, be amended by increasing the dues of Associate Members to \$50.00;

And, That Article IV, Section III, be amended by providing that an auxiliary member be represented by its President and ten delegates.

The instructions concerning Articles III and IV having been concluded, it was then moved and duly seconded that the proposed amendment to Article V, Section I, providing that persons holding salaried positions in any suffrage organization be not eligible for election as officers, be adopted.

Motion lost.

The Elections Committee having completed its work, and the time for the announcements of the elections having arrived, the Committee was called upon to present its report, as follows:

For President:

Dr. Shaw	194
Mrs. Breckinridge	1

For First Vice-President:

Mrs. Stanley McCormick	177
Jean Gordon	108

For Second Vice-President:

Mrs. Desha Breckinridge	271
Mrs. Stanley McCormick	1
Jean Gordon	1

For Third Vice-President:

Katharine B. Davis	248
Mrs. Medill McCormick	44
Mrs. Hooker	1
Mrs. Somerville	1

For Corresponding Secretary:

Mrs. O. H. Clark	272
Scattering	8

For Recording Secretary:

Susan W. FitzGerald	197
Anne H. Martin	93

For Treasurer:

Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers	280
Mrs. Stanley McCormick	2
Mrs. Medill McCormick	1

For First Auditor:

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller	271
Mrs. Medill McCormick	3
Mrs. Dennett	1
Mrs. Carney	1
Anne H. Martin	1
Mrs. Jacobs	1

For Second Auditor:

Mrs. Medill McCormick	126
Zona Gale	121
Mrs. Somerville	29
Mrs. Jacobs	9
Mrs. Hundley	1
Mrs. Kelley	1
Anne H. Martin	1

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, That in case a candidate's name is withdrawn from nomination,
the candidate having the next greatest number of votes shall by this act
be put in nomination.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, That no officer or member of the Board of Directors shall re-
ceive a salary from the Association as such an officer.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To reconsider the motion.

On motion duly made and seconded it was then

Voted, To table the question.

It was moved and duly seconded to accept the proposed amendment to

Article VI, Section 2, providing that:

"Any President having served for two consecutive years shall
not be eligible for re-election."

On motion duly made and seconded, it was
Voted, To table the motion.

The two conflicting amendments proposed to Article VI, Section 5,
were then taken under consideration, and considered in the order pro-
posed:

The first amendment further defining the duties of the Corresponding
Secretary and providing that she serve as the Executive Secretary.

The second providing that the Corresponding Secretary shall not be
eligible for appointment as the Executive Secretary of the organization.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That action upon the first of these amendments be indefinitely
postponed and that the second be adopted.

On motion duly made and seconded the meeting adjourned at 6:00
P. M.

Morning Session, Monday, November 16, 1914

Meeting called to order at ten o'clock, President Shaw in the Chair.
Minutes of the sessions of the preceding day were read and accepted.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To set apart the first Saturday of May, annually, to be known
as the National Suffrage Day.

The Special Committee on changes in Articles III and IV of the
Constitution was asked to report before the consideration of the budget,
and brought in recommendations—which after discussion and amendment
were adopted as follows:

Art. III. Sec. 2. Any suffrage organization of two hundred or more
certified members may become an affiliated member.

(a) An affiliated member shall, eight weeks prior to the National
Convention, certify to the Treasurer in a writing signed by three officers
the total membership recognized by it at that date.

(b) An affiliated member shall pay annual dues of 10 cents for every
certified member up to and including 1,500 members, and may pay dues
at the same rate on additional members.

Representation at the Annual Convention will be on the basis of one
delegate for every one hundred certified members or major fraction
thereof, up to and including five thousand, for whom annual dues of 10
cents per member, have been paid.

Art. IV. Sec. 3. Omit.

Art. VII. Sec. 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the Direc-
tors of the Association, the Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees,
the Presidents of affiliated organizations, and one duly elected member
from each affiliated organization [which pays dues on a membership of

1,500 or more],* of whom fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The Convention then proceeded to the consideration of the budget, this being the regular business of the program.

The Treasurer repeated the statement presented at the previous session that the Convention might adopt:

a.—Cutting down the Secretarial and Press Work, a possible but inadequate budget of \$18,000.00.

b.—On the basis of the present organization of headquarters an adequate budget of \$24,000.00.

Or c.—Adding \$2,000.00 for a data department, a desirable budget of \$26,000.00.

She then called for pledges for the year, which were made to the amount of \$7,500.00. A collection was then taken of \$54.32.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To send a message of appreciation to Miss Brackenridge of Texas, for the great effort made by her to come to the Convention, whose sessions she had however been unable to attend on account of illness.

The Elections Committee then presented its report of the final ballot which showed 315 delegates entitled to vote, and of the 283 votes cast 282 valid.

The report of the Election ballot was as follows:

For President:	
Dr. Shaw	192
For First Vice-President:	
Mrs. Stanley McCormick	173
Miss Jean Gordon	107
For Second Vice-President:	
Mrs. Desha Breckinridge	264
For Third Vice-President:	
Miss Davis	271
For Recording Secretary:	
Mrs. Susan W. FitzGerald	166
Miss Anne H. Martin	115
For Corresponding Secretary:	
Mrs. O. H. Clark	265
For Treasurer:	
Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers	272
For First Auditor:	
Mrs. Miller	261
For Second Auditor:	
Mrs. Medill McCormick	177
Miss Gale	103

* See Minutes of Afternoon Session.

The Chair then declared the following officers elected:

First Vice-President, Mrs. Stanley McCormick.
 Second Vice-President, Mrs. Breckinridge.
 Third Vice-President, Miss Davis.
 Recording Secretary, Mrs. FitzGerald.
 Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Clark.
 Treasurer, Mrs. Rogers.
 First Auditor, Mrs. Miller.
 Second Auditor, Mrs. Medill McCormick.
 President, Anna Howard Shaw.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That letters of thanks be sent to the gentlemen who had loaned their offices for polling places.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting adjourned at 1:05.

Afternoon Session, Monday, November 16, 1914.

Meeting was called to order at 3:00 o'clock, President Shaw in the Chair.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the report of the Campaign Committee be the special order of business at 3:30.

Mrs. Field, President of the Publishing Committee, announced she still had 1,543 shares of stock for sale and asked for subscriptions.

Mrs. Breckinridge asked the privilege of the floor for Dr. Lillian Johnson, who talked two minutes and explained the Smith-Lever bill providing for Congressional appropriations for agriculture development.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Convention suggest to the State Suffrage Associations that they interest themselves in this effort to benefit the women of the agricultural districts.

Mrs. Jacobs of Alabama asked the privilege of the floor to announce that at a meeting of the delegates of the Southern States it had been decided that these states would for the present concentrate on the work in Alabama and help it in its effort to put a Suffrage amendment through the Legislature of 1915.

The business of further amendments to the Constitution was then taken up.

And on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To amend Article VII by inserting before the words "of whom 15 shall constitute a quorum" the words "which pay dues on a membership of 1,500 or more."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the proposed addition to By-law 1, providing for the opening of the Convention with silent prayer, be tabled with the understanding that such suggestion should not be incorporated in the Constitution, but should be a matter of custom.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To amend By-law II, Sec. 1 by adding a Campaign Committee to the Standing Committees.

Announcement was made that at the next Convention an amendment would be presented to By-law I, Sec. 1 to be paragraph 4 of the same and to read "the general officers of this association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of every alternate annual meeting."

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That a Committee of Three be appointed to bring to the next Convention recommendations for a constitutional amendment in regard to the conduct of elections embodying the primary system and the Australian ballot.

It being the hour set for the report of the Campaign Committee, Mrs. Medill McCormick made her report and urged the need of the expansion of the publicity work. And her motion having been duly seconded it was

Voted, That the Official Board expand its present press bureau, and to this end appoint a Committee which shall be empowered to raise the money for the promotion and maintenance of this work to such an extent and in such a manner as will adequately support such extension.

The report of the Campaign Committee, as a whole, was duly accepted.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To receive and consider the recommendations from the Executive Council concerning the policy of the Association toward partisanship.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the first resolution be accepted as follows:

1. That the National American Woman Suffrage Association re-affirm its policy of the past as being non-partisan.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To substitute for the second recommendation the following:

"Whereas, the rapidly increasing number of states granting suffrage to women, and the consequent crystallizing of women either along party lines, or into non-partisan political activities, makes a definite declaration of our policy as a National Suffrage Association necessary and expedient. Be it therefore resolved

THAT the National American Woman Suffrage Association is absolutely opposed to holding any political party responsible for the opinions and acts of its individual members, or holding any individual public official or candidate responsible for the action of his party majority, *on the question of Woman Suffrage.*"

The acceptance of the budget being the next business,

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To leave the budget to the discretion of the Official Board.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That in printing the Constitution such verbal changes as are required for uniformity and correctness by the amendments already adopted shall be made by the Secretary.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Official Board shall appoint a Committee, to be known as the Survey Committee, of not less than five persons, to study the possibilities for campaigns, the conditions in Campaign States and to make return report.

The Resolutions Committee having been called upon to report, presented its report through the Chairman, Mrs. Burns of Michigan. This Report as adopted is printed at the close of these minutes.

At the request of the Chair, on motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That the Board be authorized to appoint members of the Resolutions Committee in advance of the next Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To send the thanks of the Convention to Miss Bain of Kenosha, Wisconsin, who had suggested the self-sacrifice day, which had secured so much help for the campaign states.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That all unfinished business be referred to the Executive Council.

Notice was then given that at the next Convention an amendment would be presented providing that every second Convention be held in Washington in order that each new Congress should be reached directly by the influence of the Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, To adjourn.

The meeting and the regular Convention Sessions of the 46th Annual Convention adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

POST-CONVENTION MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Tuesday, November 17, 1914.

Meeting called to order at 10:15, President Shaw in the Chair.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That Miss Erickson be elected Secretary.

The report of the Committee charged with rewording the peace resolutions was presented and after some further verbal changes was accepted and the report of the Resolutions Committee was adopted as printed in these proceedings.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

Voted, That only motions and recommendations be recorded in the minutes of the Informal Conference.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, That the Secretary send a letter of thanks to Mme. Schwimmer for her attendance and assistance at the Convention.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, That the question of publishing a bulletin be referred to the Official Board with the urgent request that such a bulletin be published.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, That Jane Addams be elected as First Honorary Vice-President. As the question was raised as to how Miss Addams' name would be used, a letter from her was read, making certain conditions, and

On motion duly made and seconded it was further
Voted, That the Secretary inform Miss Addams of her election as First Honorary Vice-President, and say that the conditions under which she stated she would accept the office would be rigidly adhered to.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, That the receipt of campaign help from the National Association be dependent on the Association's securing a statement, from the state concerned, of amounts received for campaign purposes from all sources.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, That a standing committee be established, to be called the National Campaign Committee, with three sub-committees, 1—Finance; 2—Survey; and 3*—Voters' Educational Committee; and further that all money contributed to the campaign states, through this Committee or any one of its sub-committees be passed through the National Treasury.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, To extend a vote of thanks to Mrs. Medill McCormick for her contribution of the picture film, "Your Girl and Mine," to the Association.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, That a Suffrage map be exhibited and printed in the papers wherever the annual Convention is held.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, That all unfinished business be referred to the Official Board.

On motion duly made and seconded it was
Voted, To adjourn.

Convention adjourned at 1:15 P. M.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary acts as the Executive Secretary, and the two reports are therefore joined. For the last four years the two offices have actually been one, but it was only last year that they were made so officially, by the constitution. This report does not cover the full convention year, but only up to September 6th, when the resignation of the Executive Secretary went into effect.

Trying to make an adequate report for the Executive Secretary is about like making one for the mother of a large family, who knows she is busy every moment of the time, but is at a loss to define her work any more than to simply say that she tries to meet the need of each hour, and that whatever is no one's else work, is hers.

First, since a general survey of the suffrage situation does not naturally come in the reports of any of the various departments and committees, it seems that it should come here in order that it may be included somewhere in the printed annual report of the Association.

This year has completely broken all records in the number of campaign states—seven in all. In four of them—Nevada, Montana, North and South Dakota, the amendment was submitted by legislative act; in three of them—Nebraska, Missouri and Ohio, it was submitted by initiative petition. It is noteworthy that in all of the latter states, the suffragists consider the work of securing the requisite number of signers, although it was exceedingly arduous, an invaluable asset to the campaign, each signer being practically guaranteed to vote right on the amendment itself. In Ohio, Nevada, Montana and South Dakota, only a simple majority vote on the amendment is necessary to pass it, but in Nebraska 35 per cent. of all the votes cast at the election is required, and in North Dakota and Missouri a majority of all the votes cast.

Nineteen Fourteen has been what suffragists call an "off year," since most of the state legislatures meet biennially on the odd years. Nevertheless, what legislative acts there have been, have been of the greatest significance. Massachusetts and New Jersey have both passed the suffrage amendment, by overwhelming votes, as follows: in Massachusetts the

* Name afterwards changed to "Voters' Co-operative Committee."

Senate vote was 34 to 2, the House vote 168 to 39; in New Jersey the Senate vote was 14 to 4, the House vote 49 to 4. In both states the suffragists are entirely confident of the additional approval of the 1915 legislatures, which is necessary before final submission to the voters.

The amendment was introduced into the legislatures of eight other states. In Rhode Island there was a hearing, but no action. In Georgia the House Committee voted 5 to 4 against a favorable report. In Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Mississippi and Louisiana, the amendment was voted upon by the House but not the Senate, and was lost in each case, the votes being as follows: Maryland 60 to 34; Virginia 74 to 13; Kentucky 51 to 29; Mississippi 80 to 42, and Louisiana 40 to 61 in favor, but a two-thirds vote is necessary for submission.

The National Suffrage Legislative record is unprecedented. It will be fully reported by the Congressional Committee, and it is very necessary to say here that the regular amendment which the Association has kept before Congress for over forty years, again received a favorable report from the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee, and was reported out of the House Judiciary Committee, but without recommendation. The new Shafroth Amendment was introduced in both Houses and also received a favorable report from the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee. The regular amendment was voted upon in the Senate, 35 in favor to 34 against, eleven more votes being required to reach the two-thirds which is necessary to pass it. Never before has the Congressional atmosphere been so thoroughly permeated with Woman Suffrage. The anxiety of some members of Congress to show that they stood right with their constituents on the question, and the agility of others in side-stepping every single possible necessity for meeting the issue, have unerringly indicated that they all recognize the fact that the time has come when national politics must reckon with woman suffrage—whether or no.

All through the year, there has been the most hearty co-operation between Headquarters and the Washington and Chicago offices of the Congressional Committee, and consid-

ering the great distances and the fact that suffrage work often has to be undertaken in an eleventh-hour, hand-to-mouth sort of way, this co-operation has been markedly successful, and if in the future the work at both ends could be more systematized, the results would surely be all that could be desired.

It is impossible to mention the Congressional Committee without expressing on behalf of the officers of the Association a most thoroughgoing appreciation of the service of its chairman, Mrs. Medill McCormick, who has not only given money generously to the work, but has added what is more valuable still—steady, hard, personal labor, coupled with an indefatigable good humor frequently under most trying circumstances. Her frank comradely way of undertaking a well-nigh thankless task has been a joy to behold, and her initiative and enthusiasm have been an inspiration to thousands of suffrage workers.

The membership of the National Association has made an increase which serves more or less as a barometer of the growth of the suffrage movement. The payment of dues is a very rough and misleading way to compute membership, as there are thousands and thousands of members who do not pay dues, but even so, the number of delegates (which is based upon dues) entitled to vote at this year's Convention will be about 803 as opposed to 603 last year.

Since the last Convention nine Affiliated Organizations have taken technical advantage of the clause in the Constitution which provides for Auxiliary membership, and have resigned their Affiliated membership and applied for admission as Auxiliary Societies, in order to be relieved of paying their regular proportion of the National dues. The organizations taking this action are as follows: The Women's Political Union of New York, The Kentucky Equal Rights Association, The Equal Franchise Society of New York, The Louisiana Woman Suffrage Association, The Just Government League of Maryland, The Georgia Woman Suffrage Association, The Virginia Woman Suffrage Association, The Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, and the New York Woman Suffrage Party.*

*NOTE: At Nashville the Constitution was changed by the elimination of *Auxiliary* members.

The result has been an approximate loss to the National budget of \$1,525.00, since the Auxiliary Societies pay a flat rate and the Affiliated Societies a proportionate rate of dues.

It is a pleasure to record the fact that Nebraska and Missouri also proposed to take this action, when it seemed to become almost epidemic among the states, but after receiving letters from Headquarters reminding them that the framers of the constitution, when they included the provision for Auxiliaries, had in mind organizations such as the Men's League, and had no idea of offering a way of eluding financial responsibility, they promptly reconsidered and decided to remain regular members of the Association, and bear their share of the National burden, in spite of the fact that they were both Campaign States, with every excuse for yielding to the temptation.

Three new Associations have been organized and admitted during the year—the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League, the Macon Georgia Equal Suffrage League and the Georgia Equal Suffrage Party. There is now not a single state in the Union, outside the already victorious states, which is not organized for suffrage, and in all but two (Arkansas and New Mexico) the organizations are members of the National Association, and even in those two states, membership in the National seems imminent.

Apart from the Congressional work, the most striking feature of the year to record is the direct assistance given to the seven Campaign States. The Treasurer's report will show the actual money sent, but beside that, the following aid has been given: A series of campaign state rallies was held by the Board in the early spring in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Paterson, New Jersey. Tentative plans for rallies were made in several other states, but for various local reasons were given up. The speakers were members of the Board and well known local suffragists. Slides were presented showing suffrage leaders and work and conditions in the various campaign states. Since all of the states in which rallies were finally held were semi-campaign states, the National agreed that half of the funds raised in each state

should be left in that state for its own campaign. The net gain was approximately \$2,000.

The Campaign States have received a goodly supply of literature from National Headquarters. Doctor Shaw usually celebrated the launching of a campaign state by sending \$100 worth of literature from her special fund entrusted to her care by an anonymous donor. Up to July 1st each of the Campaign States (it was five then) also received approximately another hundred dollars' worth of literature from the National budget. The amounts varied somewhat according to the population of the several states. They also each received from Headquarters a large supply of the report of the Hearing before the Rules Committee last December.

The workers contributed to the Campaign States have been many and efficient. In April the Board decided to alter the program by which it had been arranged for the field secretary, Jane Thompson, to make a tour of the suffrage states to secure political and financial support, and instead, to divide her time between the then five Campaign States, giving six weeks to each one. The states were enthusiastic in their acceptance of the offer, and the plan has been substantially carried out as made, with an adjustment to allow for some time in Missouri, after it too became a Campaign State by the filing of its initiative petition. The details of this work will be reported by Miss Thompson herself. Miss Harriet Grim, of Wisconsin, was sent by request to North Dakota to cover the series of Great Chautauqua meetings in June and July. Miss Katharine Devereux Blake, of New York, offered her services, for the expenses only, for a month of campaign work in July. Hurried arrangements were made by telegram and, as the promptest, most urgent pleas came from Montana, Montana won her, although later she did some work in North Dakota also. Miss Shaw's special fund was the backing which provided for both Miss Grim and Miss Blake. Miss Blake made the wonderful record of securing from the collections at her meetings enough to cover all her traveling and living expenses, and something like \$30.00 beside, which she turned into the local suffrage treasury. Miss

Shaw's fund, which has often seemed like the miraculous pitcher, also provided part of the expense of sending Mrs. Jennie Wells Wentworth to Ohio, and Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon to Nevada.

Miss Addams has contributed several weeks of campaigning, and Doctor Shaw herself, has made an itinerary giving ten days to each of the Campaign States, starting August 27th, and ending with Election Day.

The last of June, two special committees were appointed to help the Campaign States; one a Finance Committee, of which the National Treasurer was Chairman and Miss Addams, Treasurer. This Committee was to raise funds; and all money not needed for work already undertaken and which was not covered by the Budget, was to be used for the campaigns. The other committee was a Campaign State Committee, with Mrs. Medill McCormick as Chairman. This Committee was to do publicity work, organize a speakers' bureau, send speakers to the Campaign States, and give any other possible aid, all the work to be carried out with the approval and co-operation of the Presidents of the Campaign States to be aided. Mrs. McCormick conducted the work from her Chicago office, and will herself give a report of it. At Headquarters we co-operated actively with one of its chief features—"The Melting Pot," which was the inspiration of Mrs. Funk, and was started on August 15th, with the double aim of honoring Lucy Stone's birthday in a practical way, and raising funds which otherwise would not have been forthcoming on account of the war.

Another noteworthy feature of the year's work was the establishment of Woman's Independence Day, on the first Saturday of May. This plan was initiated by Mrs. Medill McCormick and was phenomenally successful.

There was a most wonderful response to the ringing Call sent out by the National Board, to all the suffragists of the country to meet together in every city and town at a given time and sing a suffrage hymn, declare their suffrage faith, pass a resolution and have a suffrage speech. A woman's version of the Declaration of Independence was prepared for

the occasion, and President Wilson was asked by Doctor Shaw to proclaim the day a legal holiday to be celebrated in recognition of the right and necessity that the women of the United States should become citizens in fact as well as in name. The President did not heed Doctor Shaw's request, but the women of the country did, and the map sent out from the Chicago office showing a dot for every city and town where a meeting was held made the United States look as if it had been bountifully showered with pepper. Not a state in the Union was silent, not even the suffrage states, and many added parades and other events to the regular program, and everywhere one heard the comment "Woman's Independence Day has come to stay."

An unusual event of the year was the holding of one of the Board meetings on successive days in Birmingham, (Alabama), and Atlanta (Georgia), by invitation of the suffragists of those two cities, who seized the opportunity to press the members of the Board into very active service as speakers, at a remarkable series of meetings, luncheons, etc. It was one of the many visible evidences of the recent unparalleled growth of suffrage sentiment in the South.

We have an entirely new type of suffrage organization to report, namely, the National Junior Suffrage Corps. The idea was suggested by Miss Ruutz-Rees, and thanks to her quick work, it soon took shape, with the result that a special fund was raised to issue announcements which were sent to all of the city and town suffrage organizations which are listed at Headquarters. The plan is to interest the many thousands of children who have either debated on suffrage at school or have noticed its discussion by their elders or in the newspapers, and have them form a Junior Corps organization of their own, on lines which naturally appeal to young folks. Each founder of a local Council gets ten members, and each one of this ten gets ten more, and when each of the first ten has secured his or her ten, the founder receives the impressive title of Centurion, with a special badge from Headquarters. Each founder receives an autographed congratulation from Miss Shaw and Miss Addams. The gay little

button was designed by the artist, Elmer McRae. The first Council was organized in Columbia, South Carolina, and existed in fact as a children's club before the Junior Corps was devised, but, upon the invitation of the Board, the young members joyfully accepted the suggestion that they make their association the first Junior Council. Since then, eight other Councils have been formed in various states.

Under the general heading of Propaganda may be mentioned several things which are generally representative of the work of Headquarters. Large quantities of Congressional Documents were distributed, not only to the Campaign States, as already mentioned, but also to the semi-Campaign States. We were indebted to Senator Ashurst for a gift of 1,000 copies of his Senate speech on the National Amendment. These, with copies of the Rules Committee Hearing and Congressman Taylor's speech, which is always in demand, were sent in bulk to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Iowa, all in franked envelopes, ready for mailing.

Every year among the many demands for information we have to record some one particularly significant request from Government officials. This time it was from Congressman Raker of California, who wanted the exact text of every suffrage law which had ever enfranchised any women anywhere. We readily gave him those of the United States, but had to send abroad for the foreign ones. However, he finally received them. It must give a suffragist occasion to smile to think that our Headquarters should be sought as authority on governmental action, when the Congressional library is so remarkably accessible to Congressmen! We gladly render the service in recognition of the implied tribute.

We have given advice, suggestions and co-operation to the various Chautauqua Circuits over the country, in regard to suffrage speakers and publicity, as well as to countless organizations and individuals.

There has been the usual deluge of requests for debate material, and by being a bit niggardly, we have been able to make the Budget appropriation for providing it extend fairly well through the year. One of the most interesting debates

in which we gave assistance was that between Princeton and Harvard. Harvard consulted us by mail, Princeton in person, but not until the plan of the debate was fully worked out and on the expediency basis. We emphatically urged the substitution of the justice argument, but the young debaters felt it was too late to dare change. But after they had been chastened by defeat, they again appeared at Headquarters, and very handsomely admitted that they saw why, and wished they had taken the advice, and we tenderly refrained from saying: "I told you so!"

The plan for a traveling suffrage school which was approved by the last Convention and which it was voted should be organized by the National, provided six states should request it, was duly organized, with a staff of four instructors, but one by one, the various states requesting this service withdrew, most of them because they feared it might be too big an undertaking financially, and after many weeks of vigorous correspondence, the plan was abandoned.

So also was a large and very ambitious plan for an exclusively controlled suffrage moving picture play, for which the Association had gone so far as to sign an agreement with the producer. But, in the meantime, Mrs. Medill McCormick had gone ahead with her moving picture play in Chicago, not knowing of the arrangements made in New York by Headquarters. The outcome proved to be advantageous, however, since Mrs. McCormick's play was nearly finished, and the New York one was only planned. An amicable arrangement was made with the New York producer to postpone his arrangement until another year.

Quite the most important single bit of propaganda to report, outside the regular routine work, is the almost constant lecturing done by Doctor Shaw. She has spoken in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Washington, D. C., Connecticut, Illinois, North and South Dakota, Montana, Nevada, Nebraska and Missouri, making in all one hundred and sixty-seven addresses.

Her Southern engagements were unfortunately cancelled by her fall last March, which kept her housed for many weeks.

However, a very interesting by-product of her accident was the story of her life, which is being published by the Metropolitan Magazine.

I have so frequently been asked by distant members just what my work was at Headquarters, and have found it so difficult to reply readily, that once I asked my assistant to keep a sort of diary of a week's doings, as a sample. The following is an account of what might be called a representative day, just as she jotted it down:

"Asked Miss Murphy to hunt up Report of Woman Suffrage Committee, in the House in 1883, and find out if it was a majority favorable report or unanimous, in preparation for program of Campaign Rallies. Telephoned Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale to see if she could speak at Campaign Rally. Telegraphed Mrs. Funk about speaking at Springfield. Telegraphed Miss Peyton, Minnesota, about Governor's decree making May 2nd a legal holiday. Telephoned Mrs. Osborne, Chicago, to notify Miss Peyton. Consulted with Lou Rogers, the cartoonist, on character of special cartoons for the Campaign States. Conference with workers on Campaign Rallies. Another conference on cartoons, as to making slides for moving picture theatres in the Campaign States. Telephoned to the printer about printing the Constitution. Conference with Committee on Arrangements for the New York rally. Additional plans for special literature for the Junior Corps. Efforts to secure speakers for the Springfield meeting. Changing the time of the next Board meeting. Plans for the money raising campaign. Tried to find statistics on the publishing department for 1910 for the new Publishing Company. Conference on campaign rally about selling tickets. Luncheon, during which discussed problems of Publishing Company. Planned publicity work for Carnegie Hall rally. Worked on program. Telegraphed to Tennessee about place for next Annual Convention. Discussed items for weekly Press Bulletin. Discussed wording of advertisement for campaign rally. Sent for photographs of southern suffragists for magazine article. Telephoned Mrs. Catt about speaking at Springfield rally. Conference on Campaign Rally. Conference on Publishing Company's business problems. Received and looked at photographs for the slides which are to be made for the Campaign Rallies. Worked on copy of program for printer. Long distance telephone conference with Congressional Committee at Washington as to the presence of the two members who are in Washington at the Campaign Rallies. At intervals between the above-mentioned activities, letters were dictated to be sent to the four points of the compass on almost every subject mentioned within the lids of Webster's unabridged."

The National Association was very effectively represented at the great meeting of the International Council of Women in Rome last May, when Doctor Shaw's speech on suffrage fired the huge audience of women of all nations to a wonderful pitch of enthusiasm, resulting in the passage of a suffrage resolution without a single dissenting vote. Doctor Shaw was well supported by a fine delegation of American women.

We did all we could at Headquarters to co-operate in the impressive Women's Peace Parade the last of August. The war had very noticeably affected our funds, our mail, and the volume of our work, and it was therefore with double distress that the suffragists took part in that unique parade.

The Executive Council has received more letters from Headquarters this year than last. Many of them were occasioned by the vote on the admission as auxiliaries, of those organizations which had resigned as affiliated societies. But two letters were sent out in regard to the Congressional Policy of the National Association as differentiated from that of the Congressional Union.

There have been eight meetings of the Board to date (Sept. 6th), six of them being regular meetings and two of them interim meetings of the near-by members only, the number of members present being as follows: five members at three meetings, six members at two meetings, seven members at two meetings, and eight members at one meeting. At no meeting was the full Board present.

The Budget voted by the last Convention was followed by the Board, with the following exceptions. There was no Field Secretary until April 1st, when Miss Jane Thompson was appointed to succeed Miss Rankin, who had resigned on account of the exigencies of the campaign in Montana, her own state. At the meeting of April 7th, when the Board released the Publishing Company from its joint agreement in regard to salaries, the latter voted to use less space and therefore pay less rent; the Data Department was discontinued; three of the office staff of eleven were dismissed—the press chairman, the clerk who had charge of the main office, and

the office boy. Miss Byrns who had been the head of the Data Department was asked again to take charge of the press work, and the remainder of the office work was to be divided as might be, between the other members of the staff. The publication of the Bulletin was unavoidably postponed until April, because of the great volume of other work, which prevented the Executive Secretary from preparing the list of about 12,000 active members who were to be the first recipients of the Bulletin. The shifting and condensation of the offices with the carpentry, painting, packing, etc., again postponed the Bulletin till May, when the subscription list was made ready and the copy prepared for the printer. The Secretary was then instructed to delay further and hold the copy till the June Board meeting, at which time the Board voted to put off the publication till September and October. Later it was decided by the Board, to give up the Bulletin altogether.

My resignation was announced to the Board on August 6th, with the request that it take effect in one month. This report, therefore, covers the work up to September 6th.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY WARE DENNETT.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

We herewith beg to state that we have examined the Report of the certified accountants, Barrow, Wade, Guthrie & Co., employed by us to examine and audit the books kept by the Treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and have found them to be correct.

Respectfully,

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW,

LOUISE DEKOVEN BOWEN,

Auditors.

November 10, 1914.

November 2, 1914.

MRS. STANLEY McCORMICK, TREASURER,
National American Woman Suffrage Association,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

DEAR MADAM:

In compliance with your request, we have examined the books and accounts of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the above address for the period from November 1, 1913, to October 15, 1914, and submit herewith Balance Sheet and subsidiary statements.

The closing of the books before the end of October was made necessary on account of the date of the annual convention which is to be held from November 12 to 17, and in accordance with the articles of the Association the books of the Treasurer shall close four weeks prior to the annual convention.

The statements submitted are as follows:

- I. Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the 11½ months ended October 15, 1914.
- II. Statement of Income and Expenditure for the same period.
- III. Balance Sheet as at October 15, 1914.

In the course of our examination we counted the cash on hand which was found in agreement with the balance as called for by the Petty Cash Book. The Bank balance was also reconciled with the balance as disclosed by the Cash Book, and we obtained a certificate verifying the amount on deposit in the Fifth Avenue Branch of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York as of October 15, 1914.

All cash receipts were regularly deposited, and we examined the cash disbursements and received paid checks for all of these.

The gold and silver coins on hand were also counted and amounted to \$36.

We have had exhibited to us a letter from the Washington Branch acknowledging the cash fund received from you and that their cash on hand and disbursements amounted to \$500 as at October 15, 1914. The amount of their disbursements (\$100.17), has been included in the Vouchers Payable of the Association at October 15, 1914.

We have pleasure in stating that we found the books and records of the Association in good order.

Submitting the foregoing, we are,

Yours truly,
BARROW, WADE, GUTHRIE & Co.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

NOVEMBER 1, 1913, TO OCTOBER 15, 1914

KATHARINE DEXTER McCORMICK, *Treasurer*, in account with the National
American Woman Suffrage Association

Balance Sheet for year ended October 15, 1914

<u>ASSETS</u>		
Cash:		
In Bank	\$8,029.65	
Petty Cash Fund (New York Office)	50.00	
Gold and Silver Coins	36.00	
Congressional Committee Cash Fund	500.00	
		\$8,615.65
Investments:		
<u>National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.</u>		
2,000 Shares, Common, par \$10.00	\$20,000.00	
600 Shares, Preferred, par \$10.00	6,000.00	
	\$26,000.00	
Less Reserve	20,411.35	
	\$5,588.65	
<u>Cincinnati Street Railway Co.</u>		
100 Shares Capital Stock, par value \$50.00.	\$5,000.00	
13 Bales Cotton at \$50.00	650.00	
		11,238.65
Furniture and Fixtures:		
New York Office	\$454.43	
Congressional Committee, Washington	135.50	
		589.93
Total Assets		\$20,444.23
<u>LIABILITIES</u>		
Loan:		
Trustees S. B. Anthony Memorial Fund	\$1,000.00	
Vouchers Payable	232.77	
		1,232.77
Total Liabilities		1,232.77
Net Worth		\$19,211.46

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR YEAR ENDED OCTOBER 15, 1914

<u>RECEIPTS</u>		
Members' Dues	\$6,928.15	
Members' Dues, 1912-1913	25.65	
General Donations	12,472.15	
Restricted Donations	20,561.01	
Annual Pledges, Washington	13,830.00	
Annual Pledges, Philadelphia	273.60	
Literature Sales Nov. 1st to Jan. 23rd.....	3,954.41	
Carnegie Hall Meeting	1,465.19	
Ways and Means Committee, 1912-1913	252.00	
Miscellaneous	1,044.63	
Paterson Pledges	78.00	
Boston Rally	1,323.75	
Philadelphia Rally	1,068.42	
Dividend McCall Stock	779.95	
Total Receipts		\$64,056.91
Temporary Loan	200.00	
Balance at Beginning of Year	3,055.12	
		\$67,312.03
<u>DISBURSEMENTS</u>		
Loans Repaid:		
Dr. Anna H. Shaw	\$3,431.72	
Laura Clay	1,000.00	
Estate of M. S. and S. B. Anthony.....	1,000.00	
Temporary Loan	200.00	
		\$5,631.72
Cash Transferred to National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.	1,309.65	
Cotton Investment	650.00	
Vouchers Payable	51,141.01	
Congressional Committee Cash Fund ...	500.00	
Total Disbursements		\$59,232.38
Balance October 15, 1914		\$8,079.65

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR
ENDED OCTOBER 15, 1914

INCOME

Members' Dues, 1914	\$6,928.15
Members' Dues, 1913	25.65
General Donations	12,472.15
Restricted Donations	20,561.01
Annual Pledges (Washington)	13,830.00
Annual Pledges (Philadelphia)	273.60
Literature Sales	3,954.41
Carnegie Hall Meeting	1,465.19
Miscellaneous	1,044.63
Ways and Means Committee	252.00
Boston Rally	1,323.75
Philadelphia Rally	1,068.42
Paterson Rally	78.00
Dividend on McCall Stocks	779.95
Total	\$64,056.91

EXPENDITURES

Headquarters	\$11,599.14
Campaigns	24,549.49
Literature	3,934.19
Official Board	411.90
Press Bureau	4,173.12
Field Secretary	1,818.80
Congressional Committee	5,529.93
Junior League	231.86
Total	52,248.43
Excess of Income over Expenditure	\$11,808.48

KATHARINE DEXTER McCORMICK,
Treasurer.

NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

JANUARY 1 TO OCTOBER 15, 1914

EXPENSES

Rent	\$427.50
Salaries	874.83
Expenses, Mrs. Booth and Mrs. Funk	1,907.47
Sundries, Mrs. Booth and Mrs. Funk	391.86
Office Equipment	144.50
Office Supplies (including Telephones, Telegrams) ..	736.22
Postage	238.73
Clippings	105.35
Printing and Stationery	188.62
Three Mass Meetings	530.28
Miscellaneous	344.15
	<hr/>
	\$5,889.51

RECEIPTS

Donations	\$1,465.00
Greenwich, Connecticut, Garden Party	452.50
Appeal Letters	2,872.36
Mass Meetings, etc.	224.08
	<hr/>
	5,013.94
Deficit	\$875.57

Statement of amounts advanced and disbursed by Mrs. Medill McCormick
for the benefit of the National Congressional Committee in the pub-
licity department.

February 1, 1914, to October 15, 1914

ADVANCED BY MRS. MEDILL McCORMICK

Publicity Department, Washington, D. C., Office	\$3,546.00
Publicity Department, Chicago Office.....	2,681.55

DISBURSEMENTSWashington Office Publicity Department:

Salaries	\$2,888.33
Rent	153.50
Office Supplies	222.75
Half Tones	68.32
Office Equipment	44.00
Postage	119.00
Miscellaneous	50.10
	<hr/>

Carried forward

\$3,546.00

Brought forward	\$3,546.00	
Chicago Office Publicity Department:		
Rent	\$127.50	
Salaries	1,772.00	
Office Supplies and Expense	81.19	
Miscellaneous	255.15	
Postage	89.60	
Printing	27.75	
Telegrams	102.23	
Clippings	109.95	
Photos	116.18	
	<u>2,681.55</u>	
	\$6,227.55	\$6,227.55

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN FUND

JANE ADDAMS, *Treasurer*RECEIPTS

Self-Sacrifice Fund	\$9,854.11	
Melting Pot Fund	2,732.33	
Total		\$12,586.44

DISBURSEMENTS

Montana	\$1,900.00	
North Dakota	1,825.00	
South Dakota	1,000.00	
Nebraska	2,064.46	
Missouri	1,070.46	
Nevada	1,000.00	
Ohio	2,160.57	
		<u>11,020.49</u>
Balance (reserved for emergency traveling expenses)	\$1,665.95	

N. A. W. S. A. FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT
YEAR 1913 AND 1914

KATHARINE D. McCORMICK

RECEIPTS

Contributions received from the McCormick, Laidlaw and Shaw Appeals	\$3,672.68	
Total		\$3,672.68

EXPENSES

Multigraphing and Stationery	\$97.03	
Postage	222.16	
Clerical Work	481.13	
		<u>800.32</u>
Balance		\$2,872.36

In the Autumn of 1914 the matter of Headquarters organization and finance was referred to an "efficiency expert" who reported a plan of organization and salaries on which the Budget for 1915 has been based.

Members may be interested to learn that the efficiency expert's plan differed but little from that already in effect and called for almost identical expenditure.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

State	Dues	Entitled to	Present
Alabama	\$115.60	14	14
California	60.00	8	4
Colorado	8.60	3	0
Connecticut	750.00	77	6
Delaware	22.50	4	1
Dist. of Columbia—Woman Suffrage Council	25.30	5	4
Dist. of Columbia—Equal Suffrage Association	39.70	6	1
Florida—Equal Franchise Association	7.50	3	0
Florida—Equal Suffrage Association.	21.70	4	4
Georgia—Equal Suffrage Party	20.00	4	2
Georgia—Woman Suffrage League, .	20.00	4	0
Georgia—Woman Suffrage Assoc. ...	100.00	11	7
Illinois	500.00	52	51
Indiana—Equal Suffrage Association.	15.00	3	3
Indiana—Woman's Franchise League	200.90	22	8
Iowa—Equal Suffrage Association ..	140.00	16	1
Kansas	20.00	4	1
Kentucky	100.00	11	11
Louisiana—State Suffrage Association	100.00	11	5

State	Dues	Entitled to	Present
Louisiana—Woman Suffrage Party..	\$51.00	7	4
Louisiana—Equal Suffrage League ..	20.00	4	1
Maine	20.00	4	0
Maryland—Just Government League	100.00	11	4
Maryland—Woman Suffrage Assoc...	32.50	5	0
Maryland—Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore	32.80	5	2
Massachusetts — Political Equality Union	150.00	17	7
Massachusetts — Woman Suffrage Association	500.00	52	19
Michigan	100.00	12	6
Minnesota	152.30	17	1
Mississippi	16.00	4	3
Missouri	130.00	15	9
Montana	135.00	15	5
Nebraska	100.00	12	4
Nevada	100.00	12	1
New Hampshire	65.00	8	1
New Jersey—Woman Suffrage As- sociation	337.00	36	2
New Jersey — Woman's Political Union	100.00	11	0
New York — Women's Political Union	100.00	11	4
New York—Equal Franchise Society	100.00	11	0
New York—Woman Suffrage Party.	100.00	11	3
New York—State Woman Suffrage Association	500.00	52	11
North Carolina — Equal Suffrage League	20.00	4	3
North Dakota—Votes for Women League	100.85	12	2
Ohio—Woman Suffrage Association.	100.00	11	5
Ohio—Equal Franchise League	40.00	6	4
Oklahoma—Woman Suffrage Asso- ciation	10.00	3	2

State	Dues	Entitled to	Present
Oregon	\$10.00	3	0
Pennsylvania	500.00	52	18
Rhode Island	18.50	4	1
South Carolina	30.00	5	0
South Dakota	50.00	7	0
Tennessee—E. S. A. (Chattanooga)..	85.85	11	11
Tennessee—E. S. A. (Nashville)....	85.85	11	11
Texas	177.00	20	2
Vermont	6.00	3	0
Virginia	100.00	11	11
West Virginia	17.20	4	1
Wisconsin — Equal Suffrage Asso- ciation	100.00	11	8
National College Equal Suffrage League	350.00	37	15
Friends Equal Rights Association...	14.40	3	0
Officers		8	7
Chairmen of Standing Committees...		9	3
Ex-President of N. A. W. S. A.		1	0
	<u>\$7,024.00</u>	<u>830</u>	<u>315</u>

REPORT OF THE PRESS BUREAU

The National Press Bureau is the news source of the suffrage movement. Our function is first to stimulate public interest in votes for women, and, second, to see that the demand for news thus created is satisfied by us or by our branch organizations.

We have assumed that our chief duty is securing publicity on Equal Suffrage. Our work as press agent for the National Association has been entirely a secondary consideration.

To National Headquarters there come from all parts of the United States and from Europe, visitors, telegrams, letters and press clippings, bringing us scraps of information. These scraps we put together and again send out over the country. In other words, we serve as a clearing house of information concerning votes for women.

Of course there is not enough live news of nation-wide importance to give us all the publicity we need. Therefore, we have had to develop the ability to make news. One way is to take facts which are not in themselves news and give them a news value. This can be most successfully done in an interview. We constantly urge Dr. Shaw to be interviewed because we know that her opinion and comment will carry information which would otherwise be uninteresting to the general public, though valuable to us as propaganda.

Another way in which we make news is to give a suffrage slant to topics of the moment which are not obviously related to our movement. A court decision on working hours for women, a revelation of child labor conditions, the effect of war upon women, are examples of this. Another instance is the recent agreement of the republican party to base representation in the National Convention on republican votes instead of on population. A year ago we realized that this change would help us but we waited until the plan was ratified to give publicity to the fact that non-suffrage states will lose in importance because they will have to count out their women hereafter, while the Equal Suffrage states can include their Republican women.

Suggesting ideas for so-called feature stories, special stories, syndicate articles and fiction is a line of activity forced upon us by the newspaper and magazine writers who ask us for subjects and for help in working up their articles. We say, perhaps, that everyone is interested in the mother-teacher controversy and there would be a new story in showing how prospective mothers who are not teachers are obliged to work. Or, we get out our material on women in public office and the results of woman suffrage and find we have enough facts for a magazine article. I could go on indefinitely with examples. As you see, our aim is to get the suffrage view-point into everything even though suffrage is not mentioned. Furnishing ideas for cartoons is another interesting side-line. It forces us to regard ourselves with detachment and humor—both necessary qualities for suffrage press work, it would seem.

The greater part of the publicity which results from our work cannot be traced to us. We, ourselves, may be able to trace an editorial in an Oklahoma paper, only because it copies a peculiar phrase from an article sent out by us. The Sunday story we give to one of the press associations or a syndicate writer is published throughout the country without reference to the National Association. Photographs of suffragists—our most successful kind of publicity—may be given to the press either by the National or by one of the state headquarters.

A few months ago a writer for one of the New York newspapers—the worst Anti paper we have—telephoned me, saying, "I have been told to write an editorial on the menace of Woman Suffrage. Can you help me?" I said, "Yes, I can prove to you that the majority of the Presidential electors in 1916 may represent Equal Suffrage states, and that in all probability every political party will have to endorse women suffrage before that time. What could be worse than that?" He agreed with me and his editorial based on the facts Miss Shaw and I gave him has been a most successful campaign document in Ohio. Needless to say the editorial did not quote the National Association.

Very little press material except the weekly bulletin, photographs, biographies and articles for special editions of newspapers goes directly from our New York office to the headquarters of our branches.

Our news stories are generally given directly to the press associations and to the newspapers of New York, Washington and Chicago, which are daily in touch through their reporters with our main office and the offices of our congressional committee. It is not usually possible for us to save a news story until we can write to our branch associations about it. If there is time to mail it at all, it must be sent direct to the papers in order that it may be released everywhere on the same day.

Were we working under ideal conditions, we should never send news from National headquarters without notifying our branch associations of the facts so that they might explain

or amplify our story for their local papers. Also, our branch associations would never give out a story involving a question of policy or a definite advance in their campaigns without informing us. We have, however, not had the money to do this work as we should and many awkward situations have resulted. Not only have we frequently been in a false position before the public—one which could have easily been explained had we suffragists all known the facts—but also we have unfairly judged one another's actions merely on the evidence of newspaper reports.

In general, we obtain the best results when we give our news and ideas to the professional writers instead of writing suffrage articles ourselves and mailing them to the papers at considerable expense for printing or multigraphing and postage. This rule, I think, applies to state work as well as to the National Press work. It is a very unusual press chairman who can write with sufficient detachment to have her stories printed in anti-suffrage or neutral papers, while even newspapers favorable to woman suffrage usually relegate the work of amateurs to suffrage columns, which the general reader is likely to avoid. The same material, if handled by a professional writer, without the obvious pro-suffrage slant, is very likely to get across as news.

The usefulness of our Weekly Press Bulletin is limited because we cannot save live news for it; because it is impossible to write one set of items equally interesting to the sophisticated readers of the states where suffrage is a political issue and to those where suffrage work is yet in the propaganda state; also because many of the smaller papers won't set up typewritten copy unless it has a strong local interest. However, the answers to the questionnaire that I recently sent out to our press chairmen have convinced me that even with these limitations, the Bulletin has considerable value, especially in the states where organized press work is just beginning, and in the states where the press chairmen combine our bulletin news with local news in such a way as to meet the individual requirements of the newspapers in their territory.

In this report, it is not possible to take up in detail the

various branches of our work, but it is, I hope, possible to make members of the Convention realize two facts. The first is, that there now exists a most remarkable and unprecedented demand for information about suffrage and suffrage events. We are news as we have never been before. Moreover, we are no longer amusing and sometimes picturesque; we are of real intellectual and political interest. The other fact is that we have not in any particular been able to take advantage of all the opportunities we have had, although we realize that publicity is as the breath of life to the suffrage movement. Without it, the benefit of any kind of suffrage work is reduced to a minimum. With publicity of the right kind, we secure full value for all our labor of organizing and campaigning.

Our failure to measure up to our opportunities is, of course, due primarily to lack of money, although in some instances a greater co-operation would enable us to offset the poverty handicap. Having no appropriation, our press work is, of course, not in the least like that of any political organization or reform movement which is able to buy plates, pay for matrix material, or send great quantities of typewritten and printed material to newspapers throughout the country. We have, in fact, had a much smaller appropriation for running expenses than have some of our branches and our Congressional Committee. But, even assuming that we shall never have the large sums necessary to do our work as it should be done, and admitting that in some instances we get more space because we work as amateurs, it would seem ridiculous, were it not so deplorable, that we are unable to afford workers enough to do those things which can be done only by suffragists. We can never expect the newspapers to pay experts to collect the facts on suffrage which we would most like to have published. If we fail to supply them with the best sort of material, and to dramatize it, so to speak, in order to make its news value apparent, the papers very naturally fill the space with stories which are easiest for professionals to write. There is very little information on suffrage of any news value which is not printed, provided some-

one has had time to get it into shape. The professional writers are many of them most intelligent concerning the suffrage movement, but they cannot be expected to do the work which it is our place to do.

While there are some editors who give us space because they have to—that is, because we are always doing something different and making news which cannot be ignored—there are perhaps even more editors who are either suffragists or who have a real interest in the suffrage movement, and are therefore eager to give us all the space which the business department of their paper permits. And, by the way, one of the most valuable kinds of press work is that which can be done by every suffragist individually. Newspaper and magazine offices are most sensitive to the praise and blame of readers. Suffrage departments are sometimes stopped because no readers write their approval. Individual newspaper policies, belittling or perverting the suffrage issue, are sometimes persisted in because no readers write their disapproval. Also, it is discouraging to the editor when a reader writes a letter complaining of one news item or one cartoon, although she has ignored everything which has been printed in favor of suffrage.

Above all else, it is necessary to bear in mind that the newspapers cater to all of their readers and not merely to suffragists. Instead of being angry with the reporter for featuring some point which seems to us a bit silly, or for leaving out something that we consider important, we must remember that the reporter probably had a hard time to make the story interesting enough to get published at all. Nor should we feel grieved if a trivial human interest story gets on the front page while an account of a meeting or a convention is cut out entirely. What we consider vital happenings in the suffrage movement are often not news at all and we must realize that although newspapers do sometimes make mistakes, on the whole they know their business better than we do.

It is in my opinion almost impossible to have suffrage news given out successfully by anyone who is not a very

ardent suffragist. Knowledge of publicity does not in the least make up for lack of conviction and enthusiasm. For instance, anyone who is a suffragist first and publicity person second will try to kill a good news story if there is anything in it prejudicial to the suffrage movement. In some cases it is impossible to keep a story out and the decision of the person interviewed must necessarily be to state facts in an impartial manner rather than let the story go out in a garbled and inaccurate form. There are many other instances, however, when a person can kill a story by refusing to comment upon a rumor or upon definitely known facts. During the last year when any reporter has brought me an alleged statement by a member of the Congressional Union criticising the National Association, I have refused to comment and have also discouraged attempts to interview members of the National Association on this subject. When, however, I have been asked for a statement of fact as to the conflicting policies of the Union and the National, I have made the statement without comment. It is very undesirable to criticise other suffragists, but when there is known to be a difference of policy, it seems wise to state that difference in such terms that the public will understand there are principles at issue upon which reasonable women may easily differ.

Demands upon the press bureau, as upon every department at Headquarters, have materially increased during the past year. There is, of course, little doubt that the increase during the coming year will be even greater. For carrying on the press work in anything like an adequate manner, we need now at least one person who is skilled in research work and has had legal training; one person who can devote all her time to reading and filing material, two stenographers, and one person who will give out all the material prepared by the other four. At present there is only the press chairman and one assistant who divides her time between filing and stenography. The proposed budget for next year provides no increase in workers and contemplates a cutting down of the running expenses of the press bureau. I feel that the members of the Convention would wish to increase

rather than decrease the press bureau budget, if they realized that the demands which now come to us cannot be met by the local associations without a much greater expenditure of time and money than are necessary for centralized work. The press work which can be done by wholesale, so to speak—that is the assembling of news which is circulated throughout the country by the great magazines, the press associations and the syndicates—can obviously best be done in the headquarters which is, more than any other place in the country, a clearing house for information, ideas and knowledge of the personalities of suffragists. Moreover, preparing data and statistics for the use of other suffragists can in many cases be better done by the National Association than by local associations which, in the stress of legislative work and active campaigns, cannot take time for any sort of research work. In other words, the State Associations should be able to demand of the National the work which the National can do most economically, which it can do without infringing upon the press work the local associations are best able to do for themselves, and which it would do if the financial resources of the Press Bureau were adequate.

ELINOR BYRNS.

REPORT—DATA DEPARTMENT

The Data Department of the National Association existed from January 23d until April 15th. The department was created at the suggestion of the executive secretary, Mrs. Dennett, the secretary of the Literature Committee of the National Association, Mrs. Bjorkman, and myself.

After a year or more of experience at National Headquarters, we all realized fully the need of a source of accurate information on all facts pertaining to woman suffrage and the subjects which are allied with it in the minds of the public. We believed that this information, if carefully prepared and filed, could be used with almost equal advantage in the literature department, in the press bureau and in the organization work of the National Association.

The National Budget of last year provided for a Data

Department if a plan were adopted which would secure the payment by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company for one-half the time of one person, who should spend the other half of her time as Chairman of the Data Department, and also of a part of the time of a stenographer, who should devote the rest of her time to the Data Department.

The plan was in operation for less than three months, but the experiment proved a very interesting one.

The first work undertaken by the Data Department was to make a card catalogue of laws affecting women and children in the non-suffrage states, the subjects to be covered being labor laws, domestic relations, equal guardianship laws, prostitution and white slave laws. We planned to do this work because of the very great demand for the information, especially after the publication of our study of legislation in the equal suffrage states. I secured the services of a volunteer worker, Miss Helen Ranlett, who is like myself a member of the New York Bar, and, in the time which we had free for this library work, we made a preliminary study on all of these subjects in thirty out of the thirty-nine non-suffrage states. Before we had time to verify and check up on our results, or study the decisions which modified the statutes, the Data Department was abolished. This part of the work of the Data Department is at this moment quite useless. Another two months' work would, I think, have put the results of our preliminary work in such shape that they would be extremely valuable to us all.

We still feel the demand, and have, with great regret, been forced to write many letters telling suffragists and professional writers that we were not able to supply them with the information which they requested, and which they had believed we would soon have.

During the recent campaigns we have especially felt the lack of such information, as we have received a number of requests from the campaign states for information for their speakers and press workers.

During the time that the Data Department was in existence, we developed quite a large correspondence, proving

that there was a real demand from suffragists for accurate information on many points. A number of our correspondents expected such a wide range of information, that it would have been absurd for us to try to answer them. Many others, however, asked very pertinent questions, which it seemed our duty to be able to answer.

Even during the short time the Department was in existence, it became obvious that the work would soon fall into certain lines so that the answering of questions asked, either by our suffragists or professional writers, would be almost a matter of routine; in other words, suffragists and writers in every part of the country wanted to know practically the same things. After looking up the information for one we had it in such shape that the sending of it to another was a very simple matter.

Since the middle of April, when I took over the press work again, I have been able to collect only such information as I have found most essential for press work.

The Executive Secretary and I have found, moreover, that instead of answering inquiries by the best possible evidence on any point we have had to send second-hand information. That is, we have not been able to look up many points ourselves, but have had to say—"In such and such a magazine or newspaper, we saw such a statement"; or "We have understood from so and so that such a thing is true." This has been far from satisfactory to us, and has, of course, been even more unsatisfactory to those who have made inquiries from us.

ELINOR BYRNS,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE LITERATURE COMMITTEE

The function of the Literature Committee has been radically different this year from the previous years inasmuch as the literature department of the National Association was by vote of the last convention, converted into the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., as an independent corporation.

The actual incorporation did not occur until the latter part of February, and previous to that time the National Literature Department did very little new publishing, but simply continued the sale of the literature on hand, until the new Publishing Company was ready to take over the business.

After that the duty of the Literature Committee was assumed to be to make recommendations to the Publishing Company as to the kinds of literature which it might be advisable to print and to give advice and information when requested.

Until the end of March, the chairman of the National Literature Committee was also one of the five directors of the Publishing Company. At that time, however, she resigned from both positions because the conditions under which the literature was published had been made essentially different from those announced to the convention and approved by it. The Literature Company had concluded after a few weeks of experiment that it could not conduct the business on a paying basis, if it adhered to the plans made at the convention. It therefore asked the National Board to release it from the agreement in regard to certain joint salaries, and to lessen its floor space and its rent. The request was granted by the Board. The Literature Company Board also reduced its own staff workers and dismissed all but one who had had any previous experience with the literature. The result of the action of the two Boards was that the Data Department was entirely abolished, the editor given up, a new business manager appointed who had known nothing of suffrage work heretofore and the promotion work in the main office abandoned.

Under those circumstances, it seemed to me that the outlook for the production of good literature was seriously hurt, and I earnestly advised both the Literature Company Board and the National Board to let the literature come back into the National Association as a regular department of work, on the same basis as previous to the convention. This proposition not being accepted, I felt that I could not wisely remain either a member of the Literature Company Board of

Directors or the Chairman of the Literature Committee of the National Association. The National Board thereupon voted that it should be *ex-officio*, a part of the duty of the executive secretary to serve as Chairman of the Literature Committee.

Since that time I have rendered what service I could in response to questions from the Publishing Company.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY WARE DENNETT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

Madame President and Members of the Convention:

I come before you to report on the first nine months' work of the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., the "infant industry" of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

At a session of your last Annual Convention held at Washington on December 4, 1914, the committee on the proposed incorporation of the Literature Department of the National Association, presented its report to you. This report was accepted by you, and you voted that a Publishing Company should be incorporated as outlined in that report.

On January 22, 1914, the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., was incorporated. The incorporators were Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Miss Esther G. Ogden and Miss Helen Potter, and the incorporators were by the certificate of incorporation made directors of the Company for the first year. Later it was deemed advisable to increase the number of directors to seven, and Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett and Mrs. Cyrus W. Field were elected as additional directors. Mrs. Dennett and Mrs. Dreier have since resigned from the board, causing two vacancies. One of these vacancies has been filled, and the officers and directors of the Publishing Company, at the present time, are as follows: the President, Mrs.

Cyrus W. Field; the Vice-President, Mrs. Raymond Brown; the Secretary, Miss Helen Potter; the Treasurer, Miss Esther G. Ogden; the Chairman of the Literature Committee, Mrs. Edward O. Parker; and our Director-at-Large, Mrs. Stanley McCormick.

It is a fact that the solution of a problem on paper, and the practical working out of the same problem are two different matters, and this fact was brought home to the directors of the new Company almost immediately after its formation.

Two matters in particular could not be worked out as planned, and as one of these matters involved a change in the plan for the issuance of the capital stock, as contemplated in the report submitted to and accepted by your Convention, and as the other involved a slight change in the Budget of the National Association, I feel that I should go into some detail in explanation.

On January 23, 1914, the organization of the Publishing Company was completed by the meeting of the incorporators and of the board of directors, and the Publishing Company was ready to take over the business of the Literature Department of the National Association. On that day an inventory was taken of the stock of literature on hand, and a statement made of the assets and liabilities of the Literature Department. The value of the assets over the liabilities amounted to between \$5,000 and \$6,000. The Literature Department had a valuable asset to transfer to the new company in the value of its business—called the good will. This item, however, was not of the same character as the tangible assets.

The report submitted to the Convention contemplated a corporation with a capital stock of \$50,000, of which \$26,000 was to be issued to the Trustees for the National Association, and \$24,000 was to be sold to subscribers for cash at its par value. The directors of the Publishing Company decided, after serious consideration, that upon the showing made on January 23, 1914, they were not willing to issue \$26,000 par value of stock to the National Association, on the same basis that it was proposed to sell to the other subscribers, who

were to pay the par value of the stock in cash. It was necessary, however, that the control of the company should be retained by the National Association. The directors of the Publishing Company, facing this situation, made the following proposal to the National Board. That the Publishing Company issue two classes of stock: \$30,000 par value of 5 per cent. Non-Cumulative Preferred Stock, and \$20,000 par value of Common Stock, both stocks to have equal voting power. That it issue to the Trustees for the National Association \$6,000 par value of Preferred Stock for its tangible assets, and \$20,000 par value (all) of the Common Stock for its good will. That the balance of the Preferred Stock be issued at par to other subscribers for cash. In this way the control of the company remains with the National Association, but the cash subscribers and the National Association, to the extent of the stock representing its net tangible assets, have a prior claim against the earnings of the company up to 5 per cent in any year, and against the assets of the corporation in the event of liquidation.

In this matter your Board met us fairly and accepted the only terms which we felt we were justified in offering.

The second matter has in reality only to do with the management of the Company's business, and the arrangement of the Association's offices at 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City. As planned, the Publishing Company and the Association were to divide the services of several people, and were to share space, as the Literature Department had formerly done. After a trial of this plan, however, it was found that this arrangement was not practicable. It imposed upon the Publishing Company a payroll of nearly \$6,000 a year, and an annual rental of \$1,200; a burden which the Publishing Company could not bear! We were using up our capital on poorly economized labor and rental so fast that we were appalled. Appeal was made to the Board of the Association on the ground that we could not continue to carry on the business at the loss which we were incurring. In order to give us a chance to work out of a bad situation, the Board voted to release us from all obligation as to part salaries,

and the fixed rental, and permitted us to lease from them a separate portion of their offices, paying to them the same rate per square foot that we had previously paid them. This left us free to make a new adjustment of our work and our workers.

I wish that I could come before you now, and tell you that all had been plain sailing and fair weather, and that we had accomplished all that we had planned. This I can not do, for we have had many obstacles to overcome, and we have had our set-backs; but I believe that a fair beginning has been made, and that in another year you will find that there is a steady gain in the efficiency and value of the literature service which you are obtaining.

The position which we, as directors of the new Company, have taken, has been that the money received from the sale of the capital stock is a trust fund in our hands; and that the purpose of the subscribers has been that the money should become a part of a permanent fund to be used in the preparation of suffrage literature and supplies.

With this in view we have felt that it is our duty to put the Company on a firm financial basis, and by January 13, 1915, when the first annual meeting of the stockholders will be held, we will be able not only to report on what we have done, but we will be in a position to say what we will be able to do in future work.

We feel that we know now to some extent where we stand and what we can do. We have been hampered by very unfortunate office management, due to the fact that in a work largely philanthropic it was found impossible to secure the services of an executive woman willing to work for the salary we were then able to offer. This has been rectified and we are sure of better results in the future. We have also been greatly hindered by lack of space, but we hope to make better arrangements with the National Association for the coming year. Lack of space means lack of storing capacity, and means that sufficient stock can not be kept on hand to give the promptest service.

A very important factor in the further development of

our work, is the need of data, and the preparation and editing of new material. This, if done by a paid worker is pure outlay, represents propaganda pure and simple, and can not be expected to earn any return. Part of this work is being done by the Literature Committee, whose work is of course donated, but much of the work, particularly as to data, requires a paid worker. The sale of literature alone would not pay our expenses. The profit earning part of the business is in suffrage novelties, which are, of course, in themselves, excellent propaganda material. It is our hope that the earnings on these novelties will enable us to enlarge our business.

Let me say further that we, the directors of the company, believe that the Publishing Company is going to be a success; that you are going to get better service from it than you could get in any other way; and that the question of strictly propaganda activity can be worked out by using the profits which we earn on other branches of the work.

Have you stopped to realize the difference between the financial status of Suffrage Associations and of the Publishing Company? There is not a single Suffrage Association which is not supported by membership dues and donations. The Publishing Company on the contrary maintains of itself a paid office staff of five persons, pays rent and all expenses from the sale of literature and novelties and is entirely self-supporting.

Now to enable us to carry on this work and to give you even cheaper literature than you are now able to get from us, let me tell you what you must do. As soon as we print all the suffrage literature in the United States, our prices will go down. Because we will be printing in larger quantities and more often than we do now. For instance—we are obliged to print our Rainbow Flyers in one-half million lots to get a price from the printer that will enable us to sell them at our present rate. If we were printing Flyers for every association it would mean better prices on account of the volume of work and less delay in filling our own orders. We would be printing Flyers so often that our stock could be kept up. As it is now, if one Flyer sells better than another we

have to wait until we feel able to order another one-half million of various kinds before the one that has been sold out can be replenished. This is also true of all our literature.

All of this necessarily means that we can not always have on hand enough literature to supply every demand; but, if you will give us *all* your printing I can assure you that after a short time there will be cheaper rates on our own literature, less delay in filling orders and your printing bills will be much lower than they now are. We need your cooperation and your ideas—AND YOUR PRINTING.

The amount of stock subscribed and paid for (outside of the National Association stock) prior to November 1, 1914, is \$8,430.00. We still have 1,557 shares of stock to be sold at a par value of \$10 a share. This will give us a good working capital. Before this Convention ends all our stock should be subscribed for so that we can do our share in supplying every demand upon us for the CAMPAIGNS OF 1915!

EDITH M. J. FIELD,
President.

REPORT OF THE LEGAL ADVISER

Nov. 10, 1914.

Your legal adviser is glad to be able to report that since our last annual convention two bequests have been paid over to the Association. One of these had involved us in a lawsuit in the state of Ohio, and the other was collected without trouble other than the delay incident to the settling of an estate. The matter of the bequest of Sallie J. McCall, which was reported on in some detail at the last convention, was finally settled this summer after long litigation in which the Association was ably represented by W. C. Cochran, Esq., of Cincinnati, and the property in question, consisting of one hundred shares of stock in the Cincinnati Street Railway Company of the value of between five and six thousand dollars, was transferred to the Association on August 21, 1914. There was also received \$704.95, accrued dividends remaining after the inheritance tax and Mr. Cochran's fees had been

deducted. The second bequest was that of the late Senator Thomas W. Palmer of Michigan, and amounted after deduction of the inheritance tax to \$4,750. This sum was received by the Association in July.

The matter of the bequest of Mrs. Lila S. Buckley of Kansas, reported on at the last convention, is still unsettled, the case not having yet been reached on the calendar. Tentative proposals of a compromise have been made to our Kansas representative, A. L. Wilmoth, Esq., of Concordia, but the only one of these proposals that your Board of General Officers has felt inclined to entertain has not yet taken the form of a definite offer.

In February your legal adviser was requested to attend a meeting of the Board of General Officers at which meeting action was to be taken on certain proposals made by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company to the Association. As the proposals in question are more properly treated in detail in the report of the President of the Publishing Company, they have not been so treated in this report, but have been made the subject of a short supplemental report which will be accessible to any member desiring further information in the matter.

The only other questions with which your legal adviser has had to deal during the past year have been those having to do with the legal aspects of certain political and propaganda work of the Association. Because of their relatively unimportant character these questions have been omitted from this report.

MARY TOWLE,
Legal Adviser.

REPORT OF FIELD SECRETARY

In making this report, I might tell you that I have spent about \$900 of your money, have raised about \$200 by collections and the sale of pins, buttons, pencils, etc., part of which was used for expenses while part was turned over to local leagues. I might also tell you that I have traveled about 8,000

miles since April 9th and that I have been in a number of towns in the four campaign States in which I have worked since April 9th, Montana, North Dakota, Missouri and Nevada.

The pride I feel in having helped Jeanette Rankin win in Montana is very great, but I feel an equal pride in the other States, too, for to work with these splendid western women is an opportunity to learn so much that is beneficial, but I will not dwell upon Jeanette Rankin, Mrs. E. M. Darrow, Mrs. H. G. Miller or Mrs. Draper Smith, for you can see for yourselves just what they are like; but splendid as they are they would not have gotten quite so far had it not been for the other splendid women and men who worked so hard with them.

The duties of the Field Secretary as outlined to me when I took up the work, were to go about establishing a more friendly and more cordial relationship between the National Headquarters and the branches of the National in the States. As to how effective that plan might be I cannot say, for owing to the pressing needs of the campaign States, my duties were elsewhere, but through the hearty and cordial receptions that were given me as a national representative in the four States I have already mentioned, I feel certain that such a plan definitely carried out in all the States would keep them so in touch with the National Headquarters that many misunderstandings would be cleared up from the past, and many avoided in the future.

I would like to tell you about some of the experiences I have had—some of the places where I have slept and didn't sleep. Only once on my whole trip did I have to stop speaking on account of the rudeness of the crowd, and even then, they were just good-naturedly too indifferent—they preferred to voice their own views rather than hear mine, so I simply gave them the floor. In this town, there were eight saloons for a population of two thousand, so you can easily imagine why they were more opposed to suffrage than for it.

One day I was telling a man about the splendid reception that I had received everywhere I went and that all the other

speakers too had been cordially received at all of these street meetings, and I rather marvelled that we should meet with such kindly treatment invariably. His reply was, "It's not so very surprising. Did you ever see people go to a circus and abuse the animals?"

Many phases of the opposition to us came to light in different places, but it was constantly demonstrated to me that wise enemies are often better than foolish friends. We can only win by education, organization and then legislation. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon education followed by the most perfect form of organization that it is possible for us to get. In speaking of the difficulty in organizing women, a man made the comment, that when it came to fashions in clothes, women seemed to organize in a day or week. Had my mind worked rapidly enough, I might have replied, that the necessity for education first made the suffrage organization harder.

As a national worker who has been so closely in touch with the Campaign States, I have been chosen to present to Dr. Shaw their expression of gratitude. I take great pleasure in the performance of this privilege.

JANE THOMSON.*

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

On the first of January, 1914, the following women were appointed to serve on the National Congressional Committee:

Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Vice Chairman, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Helen Gardener, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Mary C. Bradford, Denver, Colo.
Mrs. Sherman M. Booth, Glencoe, Ill.
Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, Lexington, Ky.
Mrs. John Tucker, San Francisco, Cal.
Mrs. Edward Dreier, Brooklyn, N. Y.

I assumed the responsibility as Chairman early in January, and after opening our headquarters in the Munsey Building, at Washington, D. C., divided the Committee's work into three departments—Lobby, Publicity and Organization. The lobby and publicity were continued from the Washington office, and an organization office was opened in Chicago

*See special Resolutions and Greetings, page 211.

during the latter part of January, as it was decided that Chicago was much better situated geographically effectively to carry on the program laid out under the organization department.

As Congress was in session, it was necessary for us, as a committee, to concentrate our attention on the lobby at the Capitol, and to determine as quickly as possible both the policy to be adopted by the committee and the wisest method of legislative procedure. In order to facilitate this work, Mrs. Booth and I joined Mrs. Funk in Washington, and dividing our duties, we proceeded to investigate the temper of Congress.

The Susan B. Anthony amendment, known in the present Congress as the Bristow-Mondell resolution, had been reported out favorably by the standing committee on Suffrage in the Senate, and if we desired, could be placed as unfinished business on the calendar in the Senate, which would enable us to have a discussion on the woman suffrage question on the floor of the Senate, terminating in a vote on the question.

The situation in the House of Representatives was not so favorable. There is no standing Committee on Suffrage before that branch of Congress. The Mondell amendment was in the Judiciary Committee, and as that Committee was composed of men if not actually opposed to suffrage at least indifferent on the subject, there did not seem to be any immediate chance of action in the House. We discovered very soon, however, that the Congressional Union was circulating a petition among the Democrats requesting them to caucus on the subject of establishing a Suffrage Standing Committee. The members of your Congressional Committee felt this to be a great mistake. It gave the Democratic party a splendid opportunity to commit themselves as opposed to woman suffrage, using their *states' rights* doctrine as a reason for their action. We discussed the advisability of circulating the petition with the members of the Congressional Union, who were convinced they were right in putting the Democratic party on record for or against suffrage, and it developed during our discussion that their policy of holding the Democratic party, as the party in power, responsible, was to be put into action at once and announced as soon as the Democrats had voted in caucus. Knowing, as we did, that this policy of the Union was diametrically opposed to the policy of the National Association, which has always been a non-partisan policy and a policy to hold the individual, and not the party, responsible for his attitude on suffrage, we tried desperately hard to block the petition and avoid the Democratic caucus voting on the subject at that time, but as the Congressional Union had a lobby of forty women as against our three, it was impossible for us to head off the petition. The Democratic party caucused, and not only voted against a Standing Committee on Suffrage, but Mr. Heflin, of Alabama, amended the resolution before the caucus so that the members of the caucus were enabled to vote, saying definitely that the woman suffrage question was a

question to be determined by the states and not by the national government.

This, then, was the general situation in Congress when our committee began work at the Capitol. It was now necessary for us to make a complete canvass of both houses of Congress, to tabulate the records of the men, in so far as we were able to secure the information, and to determine at the earliest possible moment whether or not it was advisable to force the Bristow amendment to a vote in the Senate.

The Senate had no very important legislation before it. The members of Congress were unusually impatient for an early adjournment, and wished only to consider at the present session of Congress such administration measures as the President had called for, and it looked as if an adjournment would come immediately after the trust legislation had been passed. You must remember that at this time war with Mexico was not even appearing on the horizon, and outside of the trust legislation, there was no political or administration issue important enough to keep the members in Washington. As the Judiciary Committee in the House was discussing trust legislation preparatory to introducing it in the House before it was sent over to the Senate, it seemed an auspicious moment for us to introduce suffrage legislation in the Senate. We would then have an opportunity for unlimited discussion until the trust legislation was sent over from the House, and we would have no opportunity to bring up our bill after the discussion of the trust legislation, because adjournment would be the order of business in the mind of every Congressman and Senator. The coming Congressional elections made the members unusually restless, as every politician wishes to return home in time to repair his fences for the approaching Fall elections. We therefore determined to canvass the Senate, and to advise with the men favorable to suffrage in that body as to the best method of procedure.

My first call was upon Senator Borah, of Idaho, who is a strong personal friend, a staunch suffragist and has the advantage of being a Progressive Republican from an enfranchised state. I began my conversation by explaining that I was calling upon him officially, when I was interrupted by his saying that he did not wish to have any personal misunderstanding with me in regard to his attitude on the national suffrage amendment, then pending before Congress. "I cannot vote for this amendment, and want you to understand my reasons for taking such a stand. I do not believe the suffragists of the country realize what they are doing to the women of the South, if they force upon them universal suffrage before they are ready for it. The race question is one of the most serious questions before the country to-day, and the women must help solve this question before they can take on their greater responsibilities," etc. "I am also a strong conservationist, and entertain a state's rights attitude of mind on both these questions." I thanked him for his frankness, and expressed my regret that we were going to lose his

vote, but gained his consent to serve on our Advisory Committee in the Senate.

My next call was upon Senator Burton, of Ohio, a reactionary Republican, and an old and intimate friend of my father's. When I explained my mission, he amazed me by saying that he intended to vote for our amendment, but that in casting a vote for it, he did not mean that he was in favor of woman suffrage, and did not consider that he was casting his vote for woman suffrage. When I inquired just what he thought he was doing by voting for the national suffrage amendment, he explained at length that he was very much in favor of submitting all such propositions to the people, and letting them decide. He said: "By voting for the Bristow amendment, I will be submitting the woman suffrage question to the people, in so far as I am able to do so, through national legislation."

Senator Johnson, of Maine, a Democrat, and a strong believer in the states' rights principle, told me on the same morning that he would use his influence to a certain extent in Maine for the promotion of woman suffrage, but could not conscientiously vote for this national amendment.

Going next to see Senator Saulsbury, of Delaware, I found that he was extremely interested in the idea of having the people of the states decide whether or not they favored woman suffrage, and expressed the same idea as Senator Burton, in regard to submitting the proposition to the people throughout the country. Senator Saulsbury is a strong advocate of states' rights, so he was not willing to go as far as Senator Burton and vote for the Bristow amendment. On the other hand, he said he was willing to introduce some sort of a national amendment which would submit this proposition to the people, if such an amendment were practicable.

These four interviews gave us both a geographical and political idea of the general sentiment in the Senate. Here were the same ideas expressed from Idaho to Maine, and from Ohio to Delaware, the views of men ranging from a Progressive Republican from a suffrage state to a reactionary Democrat in a New England non-suffrage state, and from a stand-pat Republican in a middle western non-suffrage state to a Progressive Democrat in a southern non-suffrage state.

This rough canvass of the Senate, where there is a Democratic majority, showed that the states' rights doctrine predominated to such an extent as to place an insurmountable barrier in the way of passing the Bristow amendment, at least during this session of Congress. In order to prove this canvass to be correct, we interviewed personally every member of the Senate. By interview we mean that we found out, in as great detail as possible, not only whether the man would vote for or against the Bristow amendment, but just how he stood on the woman suffrage question, whether it be in the state or national government. This detailed canvass proved that our estimate was correct, and we

discovered that we had about 44 votes, if the Bristow amendment could be brought up for roll call.

The following men agreed to serve on the Advisory Committee in the Senate: Senators Borah, of Idaho; Bristow, of Kansas; Shafroth and Thomas, of Colorado; Owen, of Oklahoma; Clapp, of Minnesota; Smoot, of Utah, Kern, of Indiana; Lea, of Tennessee, and Ashurst, of Arizona.

They unanimously agreed with us that it would be of great educational value to have the question brought up before the Senate during the present session of Congress, as there never had been a debate on the question of woman suffrage in Congress. We therefore placed the Bristow amendment on the calendar as unfinished business, which meant that every day at 2:00 o'clock, no matter what other subject might be before the Senate, according to the rules of that body, the question of woman suffrage was before the Senate, and it would require the unanimous consent of those members present to postpone the discussion of this bill to another hour or day. As we always arranged to have our friends in the Senate at 2:00 o'clock, it was impossible for the men opposing our measure to gain the necessary unanimous consent, and for ten days the woman suffrage question was discussed pro and con, at great length. At this time the speakers on both sides of the question had practically been exhausted, so it was brought to a vote. The roll call in the Senate was as follows:

Ashurst	Kenyon	Sherman
Brady	LaFollette	Smith, Arizona
Bristow	Lane	Smith, Michigan
Burton	Lea, Tennessee.	Smoot
Chamberlain	Myers	Stephenson
Clapp	Nelson	Sterling
Chilton	Newlands	Stone
Clark, Wyoming	Norris	Sutherland
Crawford	Owen	Thomas
Cummins	Penrose	Thompson
Gallinger	Perkins	Townsend
Gronna	Poindexter	Walsh
Hollis	Ransdell	Warren
Hughes	Shafroth	Works
Jones	Sheppard	

I wish to draw your attention to the fact that our vote was 44, which was the exact number of votes we had pledged, showing three facts which were very significant. First, that a detailed canvass proves to be an accurate method of estimating the strength of an amendment. Second, that the speeches made by the members had no effect upon the decision of the individual members to change their vote. Third, the lobbyist has very little chance of converting the members—conversion

can only be brought about by an expression from the Representative's *Congressional* district, which is the reason why a Congressional district organization throughout the country is necessary if we are to pass national legislation at an early date. This Congressional district organization must act efficiently and promptly, and when that has been accomplished, the suffragists of the country will have convinced their Representatives in Washington of their seriousness of purpose, and, in my judgment, not until we have reached that point of co-operation and efficiency will we enfranchise the women of the United States.

During the canvassing of the Senate, we were more and more impressed with the necessity of meeting the states' rights argument, and felt more and more keenly the barrier of the state constitutions in advancing our cause. An analysis of these constitutions proved most illuminating, and in arguing with the Senators upon this point, they constantly reiterated the general idea of submitting this question, as well as other big national questions, for the decision of the people. We also discovered at this time that there were seven or eight different amendments before Congress on the woman suffrage question. For example, there is a bill giving us the right to vote for Presidential electors. There is another bill giving us the right to vote for Senators and Congressmen, etc. A national constitutional convention is thought by many to be a more advantageous method of working for national legislation. Our work as a Congressional Committee, representing the National American Woman Suffrage Association, is maintained in Washington for the purpose of promoting national legislation. We therefore were obliged to take carefully into consideration the advisability of these other measures, and to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of them before we determined upon our next step.

The Bristow amendment would soon be voted upon in the Senate. The trust legislation was entirely occupying the attention of the Judiciary Committee in the House, and we were more or less at a standstill in our lobby work at the Capitol. A general canvass of the House of Representatives convinced us, in an even more pronounced way than in the Senate, that we were again blocked by the states' rights doctrine, and also by the action of the Democratic caucus which prevented us from being reported out of the Judiciary Committee.

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It was at this time that Mrs. Funk, Mrs. Booth and myself interpreted our duty as a committee to mean that we were appointed not

only for the purpose of national propaganda and for the promotion of the Bristow amendment, but that our duty was a more extensive one and required us to meet whatever political emergency might arise during our term of office. We therefore set about to originate a new form of amendment to the United States Constitution which would meet the states' rights argument, if such a thing were possible. As Mrs. Funk is a lawyer, Mrs. Booth and I agreed it was important for her to draw up such an amendment, and we would then submit it to several lawyers and to our Advisory Committees in both the House and the Senate for their consideration. At the end of a week, Mrs. Funk presented the rough outline of an amendment to Mr. Felix Franckfurter, an able lawyer in Washington, who was at that time connected with the Government, but who has since gone to the Harvard Law School where he is teaching constitutional law. He worked on some of the details of the amendment, and it was next sent to Judge Hiram Gilbert, of Chicago, who is considered one of the best constitutional lawyers in the State of Illinois, and also to Judge Calhoun, a lawyer of international reputation, who was our former Minister to China. We adopted the rewording of the amendment by Judge Gilbert, and then sent it on to the Progressive Legislative Bureau in New York, where it was endorsed by their corps of lawyers who draft all their bills. The amendment was at this time discussed with our Advisory Committee in the Senate, and met not only with their approval as an amendment, but they considered it a very shrewd political move on the part of our organization.

At the next meeting of the National Board, I presented the amendment, and after nearly two months' consideration and discussion with some of the leading suffragists of the country, they voted unanimously endorsing it and instructing us to have it introduced whenever we thought it advisable. This action was passed by the National Board about two weeks before the vote came up in the Senate. Not wishing in any way to interfere with the Bristow amendment, we did not discuss even the idea of the Shafroth with any other members of Congress, excepting of course our Advisory Committees, or with the suffrage organizations.

Immediately after the vote was taken, it was introduced by Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, who is one of the best and strongest suffragists in the Senate.

The Congressional Union had requested Senator Bristow to reintroduce the Susan B. Anthony amendment immediately after the roll call on the suffrage vote, so that we did not interfere with their request, but, of course, would have had it introduced ourselves if we had not known beforehand from Senator Bristow that he had consented to introduce it for the Union.

Both the Shafroth and the Bristow amendments were at once sent to the Standing Committee on Suffrage, of which Senator Thomas, of Colorado, was Chairman, and in due course of time they were both reported out favorably.

Now, to go back four or five weeks in the history of the legislative work, the Congressional Union asked for a hearing before the Judiciary Committee in the House. Upon inquiry we discovered the hearing was not an exclusive one granted to the Union, and that the Federal Society was to be given part of the time apportioned for the suffragists, and that the anti-suffragists were to follow with an equal amount of time. We therefore considered it necessary that the National Association should be represented at this hearing, and wrote to Judge Clayton, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, requesting time enough for two speakers. He wrote a circular letter to the Congressional Union, the Federal Society and ourselves, allotting the first hour to the National Association, the next twenty minutes to the Federal Society, and the last hour of the suffragists' time was given to the Congressional Union. The hearing was just at the time of the big blizzard, and our speakers were storm-bound, so that when we appeared before the Committee, there were only Mrs. Funk, Mrs. Booth and myself to represent the National, and as Mrs. Booth was not prepared to speak, and as I was Acting Chairman for the time given our Committee, it left Mrs. Funk as our only speaker. We had discussed, the night before the hearing, the possible phases of the suffrage question Mrs. Funk could use in her speech that would be new to the Judiciary Committee. As an organization, we have been conducting hearings before the Judiciary Committee of the House for over forty years, and as many of the members of that Committee have served several terms, they are as familiar as we are with all the suffrage arguments. We therefore decided to be perfectly frank with the Judiciary Committee and draw to their attention the fact that they, as a Committee, possessed the power, if they wished to exercise it, to suggest to Congress some other form of legislation than had been presented to them. Mrs. Funk made this statement to them, and said that in interviewing the members of the Judiciary Committee individually, we found that they were convinced that woman suffrage was a question which was growing so rapidly throughout the country, that it would only be a short time before the women would succeed in gaining their political freedom, but that as a Committee, and because there was a majority of Democrats on that Committee, they did not feel that they were able to report the Mondell amendment out of Committee in any form. She pointed out to them the national bills and amendments that were before Congress, drawing their attention to the fact that a national constitutional convention was a possibility, and that, as a matter of fact, if it was the states' rights doctrine which they considered a serious impediment to national suffrage legislation, it might be possible to amend the United States Constitution in such a way as to submit by national amendment the subject of woman suffrage to a vote of the people.

I have gone into the details of this hearing for the purpose of clearing up in your mind the misunderstanding which arose among the members of the Congressional Union in regard to Mrs. Funk's speech, and

because of the attack made upon us of bad faith in a letter circulated by one of its members. In reading this report, if anyone wishes, we can mail, upon request, a copy of the stenographic record of the hearing.

As the original draft of the Shafroth-Palmer amendment was drawn by Mrs. Funk, I am going to call upon her to present both the amendment and the argument.

"The Shafroth-Palmer amendment is as follows:

"Whenever any number of legal voters of any state, to a number exceeding eight per centum of the number of legal voters at the last preceding general election held in such state, shall petition for the submission to the legal voters of said state of the question whether women shall have equal rights with men in respect to voting at all elections to be held in such state, such question shall be so submitted and if, upon such submission, a majority of the legal voters of the state voting on the question shall vote in favor of granting to women such equal rights, the same shall thereupon be deemed established, anything in the constitution or laws of such state to the contrary notwithstanding."

"This amendment to the United States Constitution must pass both branches of the National Congress by a two-thirds vote, and be ratified by a majority vote of three-fourths of the state legislatures before it becomes law.

"So far it is identical with the Bristow-Mondell amendment. The difference between the two amendments is that after the Bristow-Mondell amendment has passed three-fourths of the state legislatures, it completely enfranchises the women. The Shafroth-Palmer amendment, after it has passed three-fourths of the state legislatures, enables eight per cent. of the voters of the state to bring the suffrage question up for the consideration of the voters at the next general election. Such a petition may be filed at any time, not only once, but indefinitely, until suffrage is won, and a majority of those voting on the question is sufficient to carry the measure. In other words, every state where the women are not at present enfranchised may be a campaign state every year. If the male voters in the states where women are not enfranchised are obliged to hear the woman suffrage question agitated and discussed at a perennial campaign, how long will it be before, in desperation and self-defense, they will vote in favor of it?"

"Now, why is the Shafroth-Palmer amendment easier to pass Congress than the Bristow-Mondell amendment?"

"First of all, it shifts the responsibility of actually enfranchising the women from the Senators and Representatives to the people of their respective states. The politician is always ready to shift responsibility.

"Second, the states' rights doctrine is the one objection raised to every federal issue that comes before Congress. It is primarily the greatest obstacle to federal legislation on any subject, and is recognized as a valid objection by the members of Congress, and particularly those members from the North, who feel that they owe to the members of the South the justice of refraining from interference in matters vital to the South. This condition arises from the fact that the fifteenth amendment was passed over the heads of the South, and, as they express it 'thrust upon them.' This they resent bitterly, because while it affected the North little, if at all, the negro question affected the South vitally. The bitterness is accentuated by the members of the reconstruction period, when the negro was first enfranchised, and by the fear that at some time in the future Congress will again force upon the South a condition to which it is violently opposed. The women of the South share this sentiment up to a certain point, and at least two state presidents of suffrage associations wired their Senators to vote against the Bristow-Mondell amendment.

"Third, the Democratic party is committed to the initiative and referendum, but not to woman suffrage. It is the psychological moment to co-operate in the Democratic principle to 'Let the people initiate legislation' and take advantage of the 'majority party' favoring it. This can be more effectively done than by attacking the 'majority party,' to do which is not to meet the issue practically. We are confronted in the national Congress with the fact that we have a Democratic majority in both houses and a Democratic President in the White House. The President has endorsed the initiative and referendum, and has fully convinced himself of its merit. He has not yet endorsed suffrage—somewhat to his embarrassment having made much of the point that it is not in the party platform. We, in this resolution, ask him to endorse something that is in the party platform, and a principle over which he has declared himself, namely: The initiative and referendum. We are, in other words, asking the Democratic party to give us, the women of the country, the initiative and referendum on the question of whether or not we shall be allowed to vote, and no state can have this question forced upon them or even settled until a majority of the voters of the state cast their ballots in favor of it.

"The difficulty we encounter in trying to pass national suffrage legislation, is that we are not well enough organized, using the Congressional district as a unit, which is the only organization line recognized by a Congressman or Senator to demonstrate to him that the majority of his constituents desire national action on the woman suffrage question. Now, before we have actual voting strength enough in the national Congress to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment, it is necessary for us to have more suffrage states. Our representation in Congress is a very small one because the enfranchised states happen to be those states with the smallest delegations. For example, the following eleven suf-

frage states: Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, Colorado and Kansas, have a total representation in the House of 40, and in the Senate of 22. Add Illinois, where we have a municipal and Presidential vote, and you make our total in the House 66, and in the Senate 22. As we require a two-thirds vote of both branches before we can pass an amendment to the United States Constitution, we fall short of the necessary two-thirds vote in the House by 224, and 40 votes in the Senate. The single votes that we are able to gain from the different delegations in Congress do not make up this difference, so we must wait until we have won some of the states with large enough delegations to swing the balance of power.

"We made a careful and exhaustive study of the constitutions of every one of the forty-eight states, with the inevitable conclusion resulting that every state that had come into the suffrage column had had the advantage of a somewhat modern and democratic constitution. Also, that they had the advantage of the western spirit, which is less reactionary and more progressive and advanced perhaps than in the older and more conservative states. Examining and considering carefully the constitutions of the disfranchised states, we discovered that a very large per cent of them are so restrictive as to be almost prohibitive, and this, together with the political control of legislatures that had come about through machine politics in the older states, rendered it imperative that some action be taken in aid of these states before we could hope to number them in the suffrage column. A few examples of restrictive constitutions and bad conditions will suffice.

"Under the New York constitution, a resolution for an amendment must be passed by two successive sessions of the legislature before it may be submitted to the people. Nearly sixty years ago the women of New York started a campaign to induce the legislature to submit this measure to the people. Probably there are not five states nor ten states in the Union where so much time, money and ability have been expended in an effort to let the people decide upon this question, for it must be borne in mind that the spirit of each state constitution is that these problems are problems for the people themselves to determine.

"The New York legislature last session passed this resolution, and in all probability the coming legislature will do the same. Then the matter will be submitted for a decision of the people. Meantime, during the more than half a century that the women have been working to this end, the great city of New York has grown up, with its manifold political ramifications and controls, a city where for years past they have been naturalizing foreigners at the rate of something over fifteen thousand a year, decreasing each year the proportion of American born citizens and increasing the foreign born citizenship, which is generally opposed to the advancement of women.

"If the matter of suffrage is submitted to the state of New York in 1915 and does not carry, under the New York constitution the resolution

cannot again be submitted for two years. Meantime all the energy that should be expended in directly educating the people, must again be wasted trying to pass a majority vote in two successive legislatures. It is the opinion of one of the great suffrage leaders in New York, as expressed to me, that if the amendment does not carry in 1915, the people will not have an opportunity to vote upon it for another fifteen or twenty years.

"In the state of Illinois, the women have been trying for a quarter of a century to induce the legislature to submit an amendment to a vote of the people. The Illinois constitution is among the most restrictive. It was adopted more than fifty years ago, when the state was a small agricultural community. It is now third in size, with the second largest city in America and the fifth largest in the world in its boundaries. The constitution is bursting at the seams. Its provision is that only one section may be amended at a session, and although there is pressing and serious need of amendment, there has been no amendment in twenty-two years. This is because of the political nature of its control.

"Another state can only amend its constitution when three-fourths of the legislature speaks, when three-fourths of all the people vote to amend the constitution, and when two-thirds of all the people in every county so vote. This would mean that if one hundred per cent of all the people in every county except one voted to adopt an amendment, and in that one county there was only one less than two-thirds, it could not carry. In a number of states an amendment must pass two sessions of the legislature. In some it must pass by a two-thirds, three-fourths, or three-fifths majority. In many states it must be adopted by a majority of the highest number voting at the election, and I wish to say here that there is no record of any amendment upon which there is the slightest controversy having been carried under such conditions. We recognized, and it cannot be gainsaid, that the sentiment in Congress reflects the sentiment in the states.

"The early passage of the Shafroth-Palmer amendment would eliminate the state constitutional barrier, and leave for the state organization only the work of ratification of the Shafroth amendment, which only requires a majority vote in both branches of the legislature. Again the legislators in the state are able to shift the responsibility of the enfranchisement of the women to the voters of his state. He is not voting directly on the question himself—he is only voting to submit the question to the people. You can readily see that here again the Shafroth-Palmer amendment is easier to ratify in the state legislatures than the Bristow-Mondell resolution would be, because in the ratification of the latter amendment, the legislators are practically casting the final vote on the enfranchisement of the women all over the country. In other words, where the women use the initiative and referendum petition system of submitting the question of woman suffrage to the voters of the State, they are enormously impressed with the educational value of the work

in connection with the petitions, whether they win or lose the state for suffrage.

"The simultaneous consideration of suffrage in every state at the same time, would give overwhelming accumulative impetus to the movement, and would increase suffrage activity inestimably. Federal sanction would dignify the movement in states where suffrage has not yet been treated seriously enough, and many women heretofore timid to stand openly for it, would be encouraged to do so. The fact that the national Congress had taken any action whatsoever in regard to the suffrage question, would stamp it as a national issue, and it would make it most difficult for the Democratic or Republican party to ignore the suffragists when they next convene their respective national conventions, and I very much doubt whether they would be able to decline to put a suffrage plank in their national platforms.

"Respectfully submitted,

"ANTOINETTE FUNK,
"Vice Chairman."

In dividing up the work of the lobby, Mrs. Sherman Booth, the third active member of the Congressional Committee, undertook to card catalogue Congress by the same method which she used so successfully on the Illinois legislature. I now take great pleasure in calling upon Mrs. Booth to give us a digest of her records.

This closes the report on Congress and the lobby.

We opened the Publicity Department of the National Congressional Committee with the idea of publishing the news from the Capitol by our own Washington correspondent, who would have the grasp and knowledge of the political situation, as well as giving out local and national news on suffrage and humanitarian legislation. For this reason we selected Mr. Arthur Dunn, who had been a Washington correspondent for thirty years, as the head of this bureau, and in addition to publishing the local and national political news, he supplied nearly four hundred papers with a weekly résumé of the situation at the Capitol. He proved to be of inestimable value to the lobby work of the Committee, because of his personal acquaintance with every man in both branches of Congress. There are many times when an emergency arises, and to be able to get a message to a Senator or a Congressman in a committee room, a critical situation may be saved. This Mr. Dunn was able to do, and during the time we were pressing for a vote in the Senate, it enabled us to take advantage of many points, which, otherwise, we would have been compelled to let go by.

During the summer months, the National Board appointed me Chairman of the Campaign Committee to assist the campaign states, and as this work was of vital importance, and as it required an entirely different sort of publicity campaign work, we transferred the press work from

Washington to Chicago. Mr. Dunn was unable to undertake this campaign work, and it was at this time—early in July—that we were fortunate enough to secure Mr. Charles T. Hallinan's services at the head of the Publicity Department, which was to include both the campaign and the Congressional Committee's work for the rest of the year. Mr. Hallinan, who was formerly of the Chicago Evening Post, was safely tucked away in the country, writing a novel, when we presented the proposition of this national suffrage publicity work to him. Being an ardent suffragist, and recognizing the great opportunity of service in this country in this particular line of the suffrage work, he has taken hold of the department with the real vigor of an enthusiast. I think it is unnecessary for me to say anything more in introduction, as you have all become familiar with his work during the last few months. I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. Hallinan.

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESS BUREAU OF THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, CHICAGO, NOV. 1914.

"When your chairman assigned me to the publicity work of the Campaign Committee and the Congressional Committee of the N. A. W. S. A., I found myself confronted with a publicity tradition—if I may call it that—within the suffrage movement, which was very different from that with which I was familiar.

"That is, I found myself expected to send out regular weekly bulletins to unknown women, located at remote points in the various states, who were called 'State Press Chairmen.' These women, I was told, would take my material and in turn feed it out to local women, who in turn would give it to the papers. I wanted very much to accept this tradition, partly from sheer amiability and partly because I respected, and had, indeed, a vivid sense of, the devotion and the capacity for detailed and persistent endeavor which this machinery of the National represented.

"But my training and the stream of events were too much for me. When news developed in the field of the Congressional Committee or in that of the Campaign Committee, I found myself whipping it into shape and sending it out instantly over the country, through the channels with which, as a newspaper man, I was already familiar. The results were gratifying, though every little success found me further and further from the good old ways with which my devoted colleagues were familiar. I tried several times to frame up a 'Bulletin Service' which would help these women in furnishing news to their constituents. But in nearly every case, the 'story' seemed too good to jeopardize by delay in delivery, and I gradually and mournfully gave up the attempt to fit the live news into the service which I found in existence.

"Of the five professional methods of getting news out over the country, we used, during that brief campaign, all but one. First, we sent out stories through the big press associations, which means the Associated Press, the United Press and the International News Service. Secondly, we sent out stories through various 'newspaper syndicates' which use material, especially when it is accompanied with pictures, of a general news character. We also sent out some matter, though not very much, through the Washington correspondents of the big daily papers, and finally we established direct communication with the seven hundred evening papers and the four hundred morning papers of the country.

"The fifth method which was open to us—that of sending out 'plate matter' through the Western Newspaper Union or the American Press Association—we did not use. This is a very common form of publicity but we did not attempt to use it, first, because it is very expensive, and second, because my experience convinced me that it was the sort of service which can best be done state by state rather than nationally. A State Press Chairman—I really believe in State Press Chairmen and in intensive state publicity—who has worked up a personal connection with the small daily and weekly papers in her state, is alone in a position to furnish this plate service on an economical and effective basis. She—or he!—can give that matter a local color and make it seem like state or local news. She can vary the plate service so as to make it appeal to the different nationalities in her state. In short, it is an admirable method when it is handled with insight into local conditions, but it is pretty extravagant when it is handled on a national scale.

"The most interesting results came from our direct contact with the daily papers. This meant writing up a 'story' in a straightaway newspaper style over a Chicago date line and sending it out by mail to be released at a given time. The melting pot story, for example, was sent out in this fashion, and had an extraordinary popularity. So far as we know, only one big newspaper violated the release date and printed the story ahead of time. I am inclined to believe that was an accident. The story of the National's joining the Buy-a-bale movement was handled partly through the big press associations, and partly by direct contact with the papers in the fashion just described. The publicity on the motion picture play was likewise handled in this way.

"It is entirely possible for the suffragists to get a great deal of legitimate publicity through this direct contact with the big daily papers of the country. This requires, first, that we send out news that is interesting to the general public as well as to suffragists, and second, that we write our news in a style of entire detachment and without any traces of partisan coloring. Nothing could be easier than to get the newspapers of the country accustomed to the appearance and style of our press matter so that they learn to trust it and to use it gladly. The one thing, usually, which prevents a propaganda from doing this successfully, is that movements very seldom tell the truth about themselves, and editors

are justly suspicious of the matter which they send out. If we have the sound sense to make our publicity vital, if we demonstrate that our press bureau exists primarily for furnishing news and not for concealing or distorting it, we will find a vast growth in our publicity results.

"The suffragists of an older day expected their cause to gain through the conversion of men's minds. They believed that man was essentially a reasoning being and would weigh solemnly the pro and con and finally 'come out for suffrage.' But we know to-day that man is not essentially and simply a rationalistic being; he is partly imitative; partly emotional and always more or less suggestible. We make our greatest gains the more we forsake the didactic and argumentative tone of an earlier day, and take ourselves and our cause for granted. When a man sees suffrage news in the paper day after day, the assumption gradually forms in his mind that the movement is growing. It acquires the form and character of an avalanche, and if he is of the ordinary temperament, he would rather be on an avalanche than under one, and after a while, as the process goes on, he will declare that he has always been a suffragist and cannot, for the life of him, understand how anybody can be on the other side! For one man—let us confess it—who has read John Stuart Mill, there are tens of thousands who have read nothing on the subject except unimportant squibs of news. The more we reckon with this fact, the more successful we shall be.

"CHARLES T. HALLINAN."

A Chicago office was opened for the purpose of carrying on the organization work. Our idea is to build up in each state a Congressional district organization for the purpose of using pressure upon Congress and keeping the states in close touch with the Washington work.

The following plan was mailed to the President of every state association, called the "Detailed Organization Plan," and each state President was requested to present this plan to her Board for consideration and adoption.

Each state Board is to elect a State Congressional Chairman who acts under the direction and supervision of the State President, and at the same time keeps in direct communication with the Congressional Chairman in Washington. Should any dispute arise between the Congressional Committee and the State President as to the duties of the Congressional Chairman or the carrying out of instructions in regard to the Congressional work in the state, we want it thoroughly understood that it is our idea that the Congressional Chairman is acting under the State Board and not under the Congressional Committee.

When the State Congressional Chairman has been elected, she should communicate with the local suffrage organizations in each Congressional district, requesting them at an early date to appoint members of their various organizations to meet and elect a Congressional Committeeman to represent their district and act under the state Congressional Chairman.

The duty of the Congressional Committeeman is to obtain all possible information about the Congressman representing that district in Washington. For example, his reputation as an individual in the community in which he has lived; if he has been a business man, his record as a business man, all to be looked up and confirmed; and if a professional man, much information can be secured as to his standing in his profession. If he is married, we want the information about his wife; whether or not she is a suffragist; if she belongs to a suffrage organization; if she has done any suffrage work in her home district. All this information is valuable to the lobbyist in Washington in working in Congress. The affiliations of a man are of great importance, particularly when a man has not definitely made up his mind to oppose a measure but is really open to reason. At such a time, the detailed information which can only be obtained by the people in his own city or town is of the utmost value, because it impresses him not only with the thoroughness and system of our work, but, so to speak, we have "the goods on him."

After this information has been gathered by the Congressional District Committeeman, a copy of it should be put on file at the state headquarters, and a copy sent through the State Congressional Chairman to the Congressional Committee in Washington. In this way the Congressman's record is filed and kept in both the state and National headquarters.

Another duty of the district Committeeman is to appoint a secretary in each local suffrage organization throughout her district for the purpose of giving us an opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency and strength of our organization when in Washington we desire a telegraphic communication from a man's constituency to bring pressure upon him suddenly, whether it is upon a parliamentary technicality or upon an amendment itself.

Let me illustrate.

If a vote is pending in Congress and we have only 36 or 48 hours' notice, it is very difficult to demonstrate to the members of Congress the support of our organization, which is, after all, the biggest argument for suffrage which we can present to them, unless we can secure telegraphic communications within that length of time. This plan we believe would work out in the following way:

The Chairman of the Congressional Committee in Washington would send a wire to each of the State Congressional Chairmen, stating the exact request to be made of the Congressman by his constituents. The State Congressional Chairman in turn wires her instructions to her Congressional Committeemen, the Committeeman in turn communicates to her secretaries, and not only would the Congressman receive within 24 or 36 hours individual telegrams requesting him to vote upon the measure, but he would receive a message from the suffrage organizations stating the number of women represented.

In other words, we could demonstrate quite clearly to these Congressmen the extent of the activity and interest in this question throughout his entire district.

I do not believe that it is the American man who is opposed to woman suffrage, and in spite of all our propaganda work, we have not reached the bulk of the men in this country, and, as a matter of fact, they are still ignorant of the fundamental reasons for our persistent requests for the ballot. It is the politician who is opposed to us, and who will continue to be opposed to us just as long as he is able to be elected in his district without the help of the women. He realizes that the days of independence in representing his constituency will be over when the women are in a position to hold him responsible for the way he votes in Congress, and that the days of corruption and graft will be at least very much diminished when women as well as the men elect him to office.

No argument which can be presented by a lobbyist in Washington is of any value in trying to convert a man who is opposed or indifferent to the question, for the reason that the lobbyist is powerless to force him into a decision. The only authority that the politician recognizes is an authority from the concerted action of his constituency. To demonstrate to these men over and over again that your Congressional Committee in Washington is backed by hundreds of thousands of organized women all over this country, is the most convincing argument that can be presented to such men as are representing us now in the United States Congress. Thanks to the partial franchise of the women of Illinois, the suffrage party of the country has at last attained a practical political position. If we are only willing to face practical political facts, we can, by united action, bring about definite results in the political arena, by demonstrating political knowledge of complex political situations and by actively campaigning against men who do not support and represent us in Congress.

In following out this organization plan, we believe it will benefit the states as well as the National Association. We intend not only to tabulate a man's record in Congress upon the suffrage question, but also upon the humanitarian measures which are the measures the women of the country are most interested in, and to report to the Congressional Chairman and in turn to each Congressional district in the various states the voting record of every Representative in Congress.

Washington is a long way from the great majority of the Congressional districts of the country. Comparatively few of the voters of the United States read the Congressional Record, except when their representative in Congress makes a speech on the Floor of the House or Senate and mails a marked copy to the important men in his home district to prove to his constituency how hard he is working for them in the national Congress. I doubt if there are many men, unless it is a man of business who happens to have financial interests and there is

some pending legislation in Congress which will directly or indirectly affect that business, who ever glance at the roll calls in the Congressional Record to see whether or not their Representatives have voted for or against the important legislation before Congress.

For this reason we took from the Congressional Records, since the year 1912, the actual votes of every Congressman upon the humanitarian measures before Congress, the prohibition and the suffrage questions. We had this record of each Congressman printed and mailed to each state association showing the exact way in which each Congressman was representing the women of his district. We selected the Congressmen, after this digest had been made, who had voted persistently against every humanitarian question, and the prohibition and suffrage questions, and published what the newspapers regarded as a "blacklist." As a matter of fact, we did not apply that term to it because it was not a "blacklist." It was simply a list of the men, who, in our judgment, ought to be defeated for re-election because of their outrageous records. It was the only direct and quick way we could reach the women of the country with this startling fact of misrepresentation of some of the conspicuous and leading Congressmen in Washington. It was a report of the National Congressional Committee to the women of the country interested in national legislation and to the suffrage organizations in order that they might possess accurate material with which to wage a campaign against any of these individuals at the Fall elections, if the state association should decide it advisable.

To illustrate the effect of publishing the records of these men I want to cite the case of James R. Mann. Mr. Mann is one of the ablest men in Congress, a strong Republican and leader of the minority party in the lower house.

His views on suffrage have made him conspicuously mediaeval, but we felt it of vital importance to gain his support. Ten days after the Congressional Committee report went out he wrote the President of the Illinois Association and came out in favor of suffrage. What converted him? His personal feeling undoubtedly remains the same, but he is an able statesman and a good politician.

The women of his district had spoken at last, and he listened to their voices and he bowed gracefully to the inevitable. The information sent out from Washington by the Congressional Committee of N. A. W. S. A. was accurate and complete, and no one knew this better than Mr. Mann. His respect for our work grew, and now we have this able leader working for suffrage instead of against it.

It may have been only a coincidence that Mr. Mann should have chosen that particular day to express himself in favor of suffrage, but I am strongly inclined to believe the organization work in the state, in co-operation with the lobby work in Washington, brought about this result. If we did not accomplish but this one thing during the entire winter, we would have done a good year's work, because of the position

Mr. Mann occupies in the House and because of his efficiency as a promoter of legislation when he is actively working for it.

In following out this particular political plan to its logical conclusion, I firmly believe that we should select every two years three or four of the most prominent suffrage obstructionists in Congress and help to defeat them by waging a political campaign against them in their respective districts, and that it would be a comparatively short time before we would have demonstrated to these Congressmen not only that we are in earnest in the advocacy of our cause, but that we are shrewd enough politicians and possess competent enough organizations actually to demand from our representatives representation.

I cannot lay too much stress upon the importance of this systematic tabulation of records and co-operation with the state organizations, because even with our perfect and hastily put together organization of the past year, we have demonstrated beyond any question of doubt the efficiency of this plan and the practical results obtained by it.

The National Congressional Committee maintained two field organizers, Miss Lily Glenn, who spent most of her time in Kentucky, and the other, Miss Lavinia Engle, who divided her time between North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Missouri.

Following is Miss Glenn's report:

"In Washington I began the organization of a Press Committee, the plan being to appoint a Press Chairman living in Washington from every state in the Union, particularly the south.

"On Marth 4th, I was sent to Kentucky to organize under the direction of Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, both for Congressional and local suffrage work, going first to Frankfort, where Mrs. Breckinridge and three lieutenants were watching the suffrage bill which had been introduced providing full suffrage for women. They had established suffrage headquarters at the Capitol Hotel, where practically all of the Senators and Representatives were staying during the session. I met the Senators and Representatives in the hotel and at the Capitol, and this first-hand knowledge of the men helped me in my work in their districts.

"I spoke on suffrage before thirteen county teachers' institutes, and made speeches in thirty-two other counties, covering in all forty-five counties, as follows: Barren, Simpson, Logan, Todd, Christian, Trugg, Lyon, Caldwell, Marshall, Calloway, Fulton, Hickman, Carlisle, Ballard, Livingston, Union, Henderson, Hopkins, Ohio, Hancock, Russell, Clinton, Daviess, Wayne, McCreary, Pulaski, Perry, Leslie, Woodford, Anderson, Fayette, Clark, Washington, Trimble, Carroll, Gallatin, Boone, Kenton, Grant, Madison, Pendleton, Lewis, Boyd, Lawrence and Pike.

"I was able to form twenty-seven organizations with full list of officers (all of them county leagues), in two counties appointed chairmen, in seven counties did not effect an organization, though membership cards were signed, and nine counties visited were previously organized. I have secured 1,739 new members to the state organization. These mem-

bers do not pledge themselves to any dues, but are asked to give to the extent of their ability. In Kenton and Fayette counties several of us spoke at all the meetings, and we took no credit for any of the members enrolled.

"Whenever possible, I spoke to all kinds of women's organizations, and various other gatherings. Usually I found the women's clubs fair-minded, and only once was there any question as to the advisability of letting me talk. The woman's club in one of the county seats did not give me permission to come to the meeting until they had taken a vote and decided to adjourn as a club and just listen as individuals to my speech on suffrage. They notified me by 'phone, and I almost ran to get there before they changed their minds. All of them signed membership cards.

"In Richmond I addressed the Eastern Kentucky Normal School, and reached the high school students in many towns during the chapel exercises. I talked in picture shows and on hotel verandas through the summer.

"For some time after I came to Kentucky, I explained the Shafroth amendment to the people, but as I went further into untried territory, I found it was necessary first to talk to them on the A B C's of suffrage before we could effectively explain how we expect to work for the vote. So from that time on my work has been in the line of propaganda. When I say that I met jeers and laughter on the streets in the most unenlightened sections, so soon as my business in town became known, and in one instance heard a suggestion that it would be well to run me out of town, you will understand why it was of no use to talk ways and means for the national enfranchisement of women. I will add, however, that invariably after the meetings I would hear no more ridicule, because the best in every town always came to the front and took up suffrage work.

"Most of my work has been in counties where there has been no suffrage agitation. One of these places was Elkton, Todd County, my father's birthplace. Needless to say, I was very successful in Elkton, because they felt I was one of them. There, too, lives the mother of Supreme Court Justice McReynolds, and she wanted very much to come to the meeting, but having had a fall some time previously, she could not walk up the steps to the church. She told me that while her son is opposed to woman suffrage, she could not see any reason why she could not have a mind of her own.

"Sometimes I organized two and three counties a week, and sometimes only one. At Bedford, Warsaw and Carrolton I spoke from the court house steps while my audience sat on the lawn. In Somerset, a town of about 5,000, I spoke at the fountain square. I reached Somerset at three in the afternoon, and at once asked permission to use the court house that night (Saturday). They were not willing to give it to me, so I put up some handbills in the store windows (these were so worded

as to fit any occasion, and I always carried them), announcing that I would speak at the fountain square, getting the permission of the mayor and the chief of police. I spoke from an auto, and the policeman on duty signed a card, and helped distribute the literature. It was a success. We have held successful street meetings in Louisville, Covington, Lexington and Lawrenceburg as well.

"The average man is much more willing to help the suffragists than the average woman in Kentucky. In two towns the town bands offered their services, and in one of these towns lives the anti-suffrage Speaker of the Kentucky House. The band never fails to draw a large crowd.

"Every means of transportation has been used in Kentucky this summer but the flying machine. The other organizers and I have ridden in mail hacks over roads so rough that springs were out of the question, and where the driver had frequently to get out and walk behind to see that the wheels did not come off. Our autos were sometimes drawn by mules over the huge rocks, while we trudged behind. I have travelled on boats up the Ohio to reach Kentucky towns, and have forded the Cumberland River. I rode a mule to Hyden, Leslie County, because the trip was too hard for a horse, carrying my clothing in saddle bags. It is on the road past 'Hell for Sartin,' made famous by J. Fox, Jr., and sixteen miles from the railroad through wonder country. My meeting at Hyden was in the church, and the minister introduced me, endorsing suffrage. It is a strong Progressive community, and 116 people joined the association and formed a league that night.

"At another time I rode 22 miles in a mail hack to Albany, Clinton Co., where I organized a league with a minister as President.

"Union County was the last county to be organized, and the President of the league is Mr. N. C. Hammack, President of the Kentucky Education Association. Our Governor is not a suffragist.

"Under the capable leadership of Mrs. Murray Hubbard, State Congressional Chairman, the Congressional work has been whipped into such shape that Kentucky will be able to render efficient service to the Congressional Committee during the coming year.

"LILY GREEN."

I want to take the opportunity here of expressing my deep appreciation and gratitude of the cordial co-operation of the state organizations through the entire year. I know how difficult it has been many times to cope patiently with my ignorance of the suffrage organizations and past detailed history, but it has been a real inspiration to represent a body of women who are serving the cause with such generosity.

With this, the report of your Congressional Committee, I respectfully submit the following suggestions and recommendations:

I suggest that the time is at hand when not only the state officers of the state suffrage organizations, but the entire body of suffragists in the states, should be kept informed of and in touch with the national

situation in all of its bearings upon our cause; that they should be informed of the make-up of Congress, and that they should be supplied with information not only as to what the individual member may profess by words, but what he stands for by deeds, as evidenced by his official attitude toward suffrage, and other kindred causes.

I suggest that although a man professes to be a suffragist and even lends support at times, if he fails to uphold measures of great human and moral importance, then the thinking women in his district should know this, in order that she may form her judgment of his value with all the facts before her. I suggest that this data is not generally available and can only be acquired by research work requiring time, opportunity and special preparation.

I suggest that many questions dealt with by the national Congress are local in their economic and political bearing, and frequently become controlling factors in the success of suffrage. I suggest that suffragists in the several states and various localities should be able to get information concerning these matters from your Congressional Committee.

I suggest that ours is the cause of every individual suffragist, and that every individual suffragist is entitled to a true, uncolored, unvarnished statement as to the situation bearing upon suffrage at Washington at all times, whether such report is favorable or discouraging, based upon the best information obtainable; and, further, that when a request is made of your Committee calling for a conclusion on the subject, the facts upon which such conclusion is based should be set out.

I further suggest that many members are elected to Congress who have given but little, if any, thought to woman suffrage, and that with these it is of vital importance to wage a dignified and unending campaign of education, and that to this end it is essential that Committee members with this work in charge have a thorough understanding of general national politics, and further, that they keep in touch through state and Congressional organizations, in so far as possible, with the Congressional situation in the different states and districts.

I suggest further that our National organization cannot take its proper place, nor the work of your Congressional Committee approach the highest point of efficiency, without a press or publicity department; that such a department is the right arm of your Congressional Committee, without which fully one-half of the force of your Committee work would be wasted and without effort.

I suggest that the suffrage campaigns of the past, and particularly those of this Fall, have demonstrated the urgent need of better and fuller co-operation between the National and state organizations, in organizing, framing and carrying to ultimate success all campaign work.

Further, that this work could be standardized, and the campaigns more effectively administered with greater saving of time, money and energy under a carefully worked-out system of co-operation.

I further suggest the following plan in general outline for campaign work, such suggestions being merely tentative:

A state holding a constitutional convention should be regarded as in the campaign class.

All states, once they decide upon inaugurating campaigns, if they desire aid from the National, should at once advise the National Board of this fact.

The Committee, as suggested, should then make a thorough and painstaking investigation of the exact situation in the proposed state with reference to:

The status of the various political parties.

The attitude of each political party toward suffrage.

The character and temper of state officials toward suffrage.

The extent and general efficiency of the state suffrage organization.

The number of workers, organizers and speakers available in the state.

What the state might reasonably do by way of financing the campaign.

The amount of money reasonably necessary to carry the campaign.

The organization of the opposition if any.

The interests opposed and their probable activity.

Whether the campaign is undertaken for the purpose of education, or to pave the way for a second campaign.

Whether the campaign is undertaken to break down or weaken some constitutional or moral obstacle.

Whether the campaign is undertaken to induce favorable and path-finding legislation.

What the probable chances of success are from the various view points.

With the report of this Committee before the National Board, such Board could then decide the extent and character of aid it could best render the state, whether in money, organizers, literature, speakers or all of these.

With this decision before them, your Committee should work out a general campaign plan, modified in each state to meet the special need of that locality.

Such special literature for the states, bearing on local situations, as might be deemed necessary, could probably be prepared by the press department of your Committee, with the aid, advice and assistance of the various state committees and officers, accomplishing much saving in time and energy by the centralization of the work and great economy in the matter of printing, etc.

The need of each state being known under a general plan, there could be greater economy and efficiency in the management of salaried organizers. The publicity department could render valuable assistance and co-operate extensively with the press agents of the states. With all speakers routed by one department, we would reach a higher degree of economy and effectiveness.

I suggest that there is no more pressing need than for a National Speakers Bureau to meet a constantly increasing demand for speakers from all sections of the country. Such a bureau should have a selected list of speakers, with tabulation as to their special qualifications, time of availability, cost of service, etc. With all available speakers upon the books of a bureau, whether in the locality or within easy distance of the place requiring such services, they could be supplied at minimum cost and maximum convenience. I suggest that, as the Woman Suffrage Council of Washington have inaugurated such a bureau, they would probably be willing to turn the same over to the National control, should it be so desired.

In conclusion I most earnestly suggest that those forces who have always opposed movements, based upon the principles of democracy, are now centering their fire upon the advance of women into the national field; that their work is no longer sporadic or confined to dis-associated localities, but that their organization is national in its scope with its ramifications planted in great vested interests, and that our organization, to succeed, must be built along lines co-extensive with theirs.

I further suggest that we cannot afford to leave untried nor unexplored any field or any avenue which carries us in the direction of our goal.

To sum up these suggestions briefly:

Your Congressional Committee recommends to this convention first the establishment of a Publicity Bureau in connection with your National Headquarters.

Second; the standardization of the co-operative work between the National Association and the various campaign states.

Third; the establishment of a Speakers Bureau to meet the demand for suffrage speakers.

Fourth; the further organization of Congressional districts.

Fifth; the appointment by Board of Directors of a special Finance Committee for financing the work of the Congressional Committee and the Publicity Bureau.

Respectfully submitted,

RUTH McCORMICK.

HISTORY OF SUFFRAGE IN SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1.

(The Susan B. Anthony Amendment.)

April 7, 1913.

HOUSE RESOLUTION No. 9.—Creating a Committee of the House of Representatives, known as the Committee on Equal Suffrage. Introduced by Edward T. Taylor, of Colorado. Referred to the Committee on Rules. Congressional Record, page 47.

April 8, 1913.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1.—Introduced by Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Page 95 Congressional Record.

Jan. 24, 1914.

MEETING OF THE RULES COMMITTEE.—Members:

Robert L. Henry, Texas, Chairman.
Edward W. Pou, North Carolina.
Thomas W. Hardwick, Georgia.
Finis J. Garrett, Tennessee.
Martin D. Foster, Illinois.
James C. Cantrill, Kentucky.
Henry M. Goldfogle, New York.
Philip P. Campbell, Kansas.
Irvine L. Lenroot, Wisconsin.
Edwin A. Merritt, Jr., New York.
M. Clyde Kelly, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Lenroot moved to report House Resolution No. 9 favorably to the House. Only 8 members were present. The vote stood for Mr. Lenroot's motion:

FOR:	OPPOSED:
Foster, Illinois.	Hardwick, Georgia.
Campbell, Kansas.	Pou, North Carolina.
Kelly, Pennsylvania.	Cantrill, Kentucky.
Lenroot, Wisconsin.	Garrett, Tennessee.

Mr. Lenroot then moved to report the resolution without recommendation, and Hardwick offered as a substitute that action on this motion be postponed.

FOR POSTPONEMENT:	OPPOSED:
Pou, North Carolina.	Cantrill, Kentucky.
Hardwick, Georgia.	Lenroot, Wisconsin.
Garrett, Tennessee.	Campbell, Kansas.
Foster, Illinois.	Kelly, Pennsylvania.

Feb. 3, 1914.

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Called by signature of 51 names to petition requesting it, circulated by the Congressional Union.

Quotation from the Washington Post, Feb. 4th: "It had been given out yesterday that many members would sidestep the whole matter by remaining away from the caucus, and thus break a quorum. Just before the caucus was held, the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, who constitute the ruling body of the Democratic membership, met in Representative Oscar J. Underwood's

office in the Capitol and resolved to take decisive action. Mr. Underwood counseled, it is understood, that it would be unwise to avoid the question longer, and that action should be final, as the Rules Committee for many months has been juggling with the proposition."

Representative John E. Baker, of California, offered a resolution calling for the creation of a Suffrage Committee in the House.

Representative J. Thomas Heflin, of Alabama, then moved a substitute:

"RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this caucus that the question of woman suffrage is a State and not a Federal question."

Mr. Baker spoke to the motion, Mr. Heflin moved the previous question and closed debate, and the vote was taken on Mr. Heflin's substitute, the motion being carried by a vote of 123 to 55, thus dictating to all Democrats in the House that suffrage should not be considered Federally, and was as follows:

THOSE WHO SUPPORTED HEFLIN.

Abercrombie	Bowdle	Lazaro
Ainsberry	Buchanan (Tex.)	Lever
Bartlett	Galloway	Morrison
Booher	Clark (Fla.)	Oldfield
Brown (W. Va.)	Cox	Park
Burnett	Dies	Rayburn
Cantrill	Dooling	Rubey
Collier	Estopinal	Shackleford
Dent	Gard	Stephens (Miss.)
Diffenderfer	Allen	Taylor (Ark.)
Driscoll	Barnhart	Vaughan
Finley	Bell	Weaver
Adamson	Brodbeck	Witherspoon
Ashbrook	Burgess	Gittins
Bathrick	Chandler	Graham
Borchers	Clark (Mo.)	Gudger
Bruckner	Cullop	Henry
Byrnes (S. C.)	Dixon	Howard
Carr	Doughton	Key
Conroy	Falson	Lee (Ga.)
Dickinson	Garrett (Tenn.)	Lieb
Donovan	Garrett (Tex.)	Moss
Edwards	Gordon	Padgett
Flood	Hammond	Patten
Aiken	Heflin	Reilly (Wis.)
Bailey	Houston	Rucker
Beakes	Johnson (S. C.)	Susson

Talbott	Page	Humphreys
Ten Eyck	Post	Kitchin
Walker	Rothermel	Leshner
White	Russell	Lonergan
Young	Stanley	O'Brian
Glass	Talcott	Palmer
Gregg	Tuttle	Quinn
Hardwick	Watkins	Rouse
Hensley	Wilson (Fla.)	Saunders
Hull	Baltz	Stedman
Kindel	Goeke	Taylor (Ala.)
Lee (Pa.)	Griffin	Underwood
Loft	Hay	Watson
Murray (Okla.)	Holland	Wilson (N. Y.)

THOSE AGAINST THE SUBSTITUTE.

Adair	Keating	Reilly (Conn.)
Buchanan (Ill.)	Lebeck	Sherwood
Decker	Metz	Stone
Doolittle	O'Shaunessy	Taylor (N. Y.)
Francis	Reed	Williams
Hayden	Seldomridge	Carew
Levy	Stevens (N. Y.)	Crosser
McDermott	Taylor (Colo.)	Donohoe
O'Hair	Townsend	Foster
Raker	Brown (N. Y.)	Goulden
Scully	Connelly (Kans.)	Kinkaid
Smith (N. Y.)	Dershem	McAndrews
Stringer	FitzHenry	Neely (W. Va.)
Thompson	Gilmore	Rainey
Baker	Kettner	Sabath
Church	Logue	Smith (Md.)
Deitrich	Mitchell	Stout
Evans	Peterson	Thomas
George		

March 3, 1914.

HEARING BEFORE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

1 hour National American Woman Suffrage Association.

20 minutes Federal Equality Association.

1 hour Congressional Union.

2 hours Anti-suffragists.

MEETING OF COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Motion made to report House Joint Resolution No. 1 out,

without recommendation, with the Prohibition Amendment, made by Chandler, of New York.

After heated discussion, wherein the Committee objected to being the body to kill all unpopular bills, motion carried to report out the suffrage amendment House Joint Resolution No. 1.

August 27, 1914.

MEETING OF HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE.—Campbell, of Kansas, moved that the House be given an opportunity to vote on the Bristow-Mondell resolution. To head this off, Pou moved to adjourn. Pou, Garrett and Campbell voted in favor of adjournment; Campbell, Goldfogle and Kelly against it. Henry then cast the deciding vote for adjournment.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1."

April 7, 1913.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1 (Susan B. Anthony Amendment).—Introduced by George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon. Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage, Congressional Record, page 19. COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—(Hearings.)

Jan. —, 1914.

REPORTED BACK TO SENATE.—(Senate Report 64.) Congressional Record, page 19.

SENATE RESOLUTION No. 124.—To print additional copies of hearings before Committee on Woman Suffrage on subject of suffrage parade.

Dec. 19, 1913.

DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 1216.

Dec. 26, 1913.

DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 1665.

Jan. —, 1914.

DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 1814.

Jan. —, 1914.

DEBATED.—Remarks relative to disposition of petitions on subject of woman suffrage. Congressional Record, page 2076.

Jan. —, 1914.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT ASKED FOR.—A vote on Senate Joint Resolution No. 1 objected to, pages 2076 and 2077.

Feb. 9, 1914.

DEBATED.—Page 3328.

Feb. 20, 1914.

Page 3991.

Feb. 12, 1914.

RESOLUTION BY KEATING TO PRINT HEARINGS, BEFORE THE RULES COMMITTEE, ON THE RESOLUTION, House Resolution No. 411, TO CREATE A COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Referred to Committee on Printing, page 3556.

Feb. 17, 1914.

MR. BARNHART, ON COMMITTEE ON PRINTING, REPORTED RESOLUTION 411, WITH AMENDMENT.—Debated (by Barnhart, Mann, Madden and Fitzgerald), amended and agreed to. Page 3771.

Feb. —, 1914.

DEBATED.—Page 3469.

Feb 18, 1914.

DEBATED.—Pages 3840-48.

Feb. 27, 1914.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT OBJECTED TO.—Pages 4302-05.

Feb. 28, 1914.

DEBATED.—Page 4393.

March 2, 1914.

DEBATED.—Pages 4435-39.

March 2, 1914.

Made unfinished business. Pages 4440-46.

March 2, 1914.

VOTE.—Page 4442.

March 2, 1914.

VOTE.—Page 4444.

March 2, 1914.

VOTE.—Page 4445.

March 3, 1914.

DEBATED.—Pages 4486-90.

March 4, 1914.

DEBATED.—Pages 4530-34.

March 3, 1914.

DEBATED.—Page 4575.

March 3, 1914.

DEBATED.—Page 4562.

- March 3, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 4578-82.
- March 2, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 4585-93.
- March 5, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 4615-20.
- March 6, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 4656.
- March 6, 1914.*
Unanimous consent objected to. Pages 4659-62.
- March 4, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 4704-08.
- March 9, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 4792.
- March 9, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 4795.
- March 10, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 4856.
- March 11, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 4946.
- March 13, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 5132.
- March 13, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 5151.
- March 16, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 5231-33.
- March 16, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 5236.
- March 17, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 5278-83.
- March 19, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 5454-72.
- March 19, 1914.*
VOTES TAKEN AND REJECTED.—Page 5471.
- March 20, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 5509.
- March 20, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 5559-66.
- March 20, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 5566-68.
- March 21, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 5644.

- March 21, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 5648-58.
PETITIONS, MEMORIALS AND DEBATES.—8693, 9266, 10427, 10682, 11276, 12235, 12364, 12635, 12886, 12902, 17391.
- SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 128.
(The Shafroth-Palmer Amendment.)
- March 20, 1914.*
INTRODUCED IN SENATE BY JOHN F. SHAFROTH, OF COLORADO.—Page 5519.
- March 20, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Pages 5519-22.
- March 20, 1914.*
VOTE ON REFERENCE TO COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY.—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Page 5520.
- April 30, 1914.*
REPORTED BACK.—Page 8059.
- March 20, 1914.*
BRISTOW RESOLUTION No. 130.—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Page 5522.
- March 20, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 5522.
- April 7, 1914.*
REPORTED BACK.—Page 6777.
- April 7, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 6777.
- April 8, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 6854.
- SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 130.
(The Susan B. Anthony Amendment.)
- March 20, 1914.*
REINTRODUCED BY JOSEPH L. BRISTOW, OF KANSAS.—Referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Page 5522.
- March 20, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 5522.
- April 7, 1914.*
REPORTED BACK TO SENATE AND DEBATED.—Page 6677.
- April 8, 1914.*
DEBATED.—Page 6854.

PETITIONS, MEMORIALS AND EDITORIALS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE DURING THE SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

From Dec. 1, 1913, to Oct. 3, 1914.

(Report compiled Oct. 3rd, before adjournment of Congress.)

TITLE:	BY WHOM PRESENTED:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Federal Woman's Equality Assn.	Geo. E. Chamberlain	Feb. 9, '14	3328
Cal. Newspaper Clippings.	Jos. R. Knowland	Feb. 20, '14	3991
The States Rights Shibboleth, by Mary Beard.	Miles Poindexter	Mar. 17, '14	4281
Testimony from California.	John D. Works	Mar. 2, '14	4435-39
Testimony from Colorado.	John F. Shafroth	Mar. 2, '14	4585-93
Excerpts from Bryce's American Commonwealth Relative to American Woman.	Nathan P. Bryan	Mar. 2, '14	4575
Petition of Mrs. Jas. Bennett.	Wm. O. Bradley	Mar. 5, '14	4606
Article by Susan Whitcomb Hassell, 21 Telegrams and Articles.	Jas. E. Martine	Mar. 19, '14	5463
Letter by Wm. L. Marbury, States Rights Applied to Woman Suffrage.	Blair Lee	Mar. 19, '14	5455-56
Summary of Investigation Concerning Woman Suffrage in England. Paper Relating to Woman Suffrage in California.	John D. Works	Mar. 11, '14	4946
Text of Report on Woman Suffrage in House of Representatives, 1884.	John D. Works	June 2, '14	10427
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont's Telegram.	Moses E. Clapp	June 5, '14	10682
Dr. Shaw's Letter re Belmont Telegram.	Henry F. Ashurst	Mar. 6, '14	4656
Editorial on Ashurst and Suffragists.	Charles S. Thomas	Mar. 9, '14	4792
Letter by Mrs. Medill McCormick.	John F. Shafroth	Mar. 12, '14	5034
Petitions and Telegrams on Woman Suffrage.	Mar. 13, '14	5151	
	Many Senators	Mar. 16, '14	5231-33

TITLE:	BY WHOM PRESENTED:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Petitions and Telegrams on Woman Suffrage.	Many Senators	Mar. 16, '14	5236
Letter by Mrs. Medill McCormick.		Mar. 17, '14	5278
Telegram from Texas.	Morris Sheppard	Mar. 17, '14	5278
Article by Helen Gardener.	John Sharp Williams	Mar. 19, '14	5457-60
Article by Annie Riley Hale.		Apr. 14, '14	7196
Essay by Bishop of Kensington.	A. W. Lafferty	Apr. 10, '14	7095
Declaration of Independence, 1914.	J. W. Bryan	May 9, '14	8693-96
Article by Miss Mary Smith of Washington.	J. Thomas Heflin	May 13, '14	9266-68
Speech in House in 1884.			10682-3
Petitions on Woman Suffrage from:			
Utah: Salt Lake City.	Reed Smoot	June 27, '14	12235
Illinois: Chicago.	J. Hamilton Lewis	June 27, '14	12235
Pennsylvania petitions.	George T. Oliver	June 27, '14	12235
New Mex.: Albuquerque Women's Clubs.	Thomas B. Catron		
Georgia: Atlanta.	Hoke Smith		
Michigan:			
Cass County.			
St. Joseph County.			
Ann Arbor County.	Charles E. Townsend		
Allen County.			
Kalamazoo County.			
Flint County.			
Kansas: Topeka.	Joseph L. Bristow		
Rhode Island:			
Woonsocket.			
Westerly.	Henry F. Lippitt	June 27, '14	12236
Newport.			
Providence.			
Massachusetts:			
Rockland.			
North Abingdon.			
Groveland.	John W. Weeks		
Mansfield.			
Marlborough.			
Worcester.			
West Newbury.			

TITLE:	BY WHOM PRESENTED:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Minnesota: Owatonna. Chisholm. Cottonwood.	Knute Nelson	June 27, '14	12236
New Mexico: Portales.	Albert B. Fall	June 27, '14	12236
North Carolina: Charlotte. Chapel Hill.	Lee S. Overman	June 27, '14	12236
West Virginia: Fairmont.	Nathan Goff	June 27, '14	12236
Nebraska: Chadron. Table Rock. David City. McCook. Kenesaw. Uplands. Central City. Shelby. Custer County.	Geo. W. Norris	June 27, '14	12236
Washington: Seattle.	Miles Poindexter	June 27, '14	12236
New York: Monroe County. Chenango County. New York City. Syracuse. Richbury. Sayville. Malone County. Franklin County. Huntington County. Mount Vernon. Freeport. Hempstead. East Hempstead. Niagara Falls. Cambridge. Port Washington. Islip. Rockaway.	Elihu Root	June 27, '14	12236

TITLE:	BY WHOM PRESENTED:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Michigan: South Haven. Saginaw. Alpena. Montgomery. Harbor Springs. Kalamazoo. Paw Paw.	Wm. Alden Smith	June 27, '14	12236
Oregon: Portland.	Harry Lane	June 27, '14	12236
Pennsylvania: Oxford. West Chester. Plymouth. Conshohocken. Philadelphia. Delaware County. Altoona. Shippensburg. Harrisburg. Washington. Somerset. Wyalusing. Towanda. Morristown. Lancaster. Williamsport. Scranton. Erie. Mercer County. Weelsboro. Tunkhannock. Reading. Bloomsburg. Carlisle.	Boise Penrose	June 27, '14	12236
Washington: Seattle. Petitions and newspaper clippings showing clubs, etc., represented, amount- ing to over 10,000 women.	J. W. Bryan	June 29, '14	12364
Colorado: Denver.	John F. Shafroth	July 3, '14	12635
Wyoming: Laramie.	Frank W. Mondell	July 8, '14	12886
Wyoming: Laramie (U. of Wyo.)	Francis E. Warren	July 9, '14	12902

TITLE:	BY WHOM PRESENTED:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.	Dudley Doolittle	Sept. 29, '14	17391

OBJECTIONS TO UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT IN SENATE TO CONSIDER SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1. (Susan B. Anthony Amendment.)

OBJECTOR AND STATE:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Nathan B. Bryan, Florida	Jan. 21, '14	2076-77
Hoke Smith, Georgia	Jan. 16, '14	1814
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts	Jan. 14, '14	1665
James A. Reed, Missouri	Feb. 27, '14	4302-03
General objection	Mar. 6, '14	4460-62

SPEECHES AND REMARKS FAVORING SUFFRAGE DURING SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

SPEECH AND STATE:	CHAMBER:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Henry F. Ashurst, Arizona	Senate	Jan. 21, '14	2079-87
Joseph R. Knowland, California	House of Rep.	Feb. 20, '14	3991
John D. Works, California	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4435-39
John D. Works, California	Senate	Mar. 5, '14	4615-17
John D. Works, California	Senate	Mar. 11, '14	4946-47
John D. Works, California	Senate	June 2, '14	10427-28
John F. Shafroth (Remarks), Colorado	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4532
John F. Shafroth, Colorado	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4585-93
Charles S. Thomas, Colorado	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5281
Charles S. Thomas, Colorado	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5463-64
Nathan P. Bryan, Florida	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4562-76
Wm. E. Borah (Remarks), Idaho	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4588
Lawrence Y. Sherman, Illinois	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4533
Charles M. Thompson, Illinois	House of Rep.	Mar. 20, '14	5509-10
Lawrence Y. Sherman, Illinois	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5644-58
Albert B. Cummins, Iowa	Senate	Mar. 5, '14	4618
Joseph L. Bristow, Kansas	Senate	Feb. 18, '14	3841-42
William H. Thompson, Kansas	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4530-32
Joseph L. Bristow, Kansas	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5464
John R. Thornton, Louisiana	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5464
Charles E. Townsend, Michigan	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5464-65
Wm. Alden Smith, Michigan	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5647

and 5654

SPEECH AND STATE:	CHAMBER:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Moses E. Clapp, Minnesota	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4486
Moses E. Clapp, Minnesota	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4578-82
Moses E. Clapp, Minnesota	Senate	June 5, '14	10682-83
Moses E. Clapp (Remarks), Minnesota	Senate	June 13, '14	11276
(Article 1884 to be printed.)			
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5457-60
(Helen Gardener's Speech)			
Jacob H. Gallinger, New Hampshire	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5460
Jacob H. Gallinger, New Hampshire	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5467
Jacob H. Gallinger (Remarks), New Hampshire	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5564
Francis G. Newlands, Nevada	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5468
(States rights)			
Asle J. Gronna (Remarks), North Dakota	Senate	Feb. 27, '14	4304
Asle J. Gronna (Remarks), North Dakota	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5460
Robert L. Owen, Oklahoma	Senate	Feb. 18, '14	3842-43
Robert L. Owen (Remarks), Oklahoma	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4590
Robert L. Owen, Oklahoma	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4704-08
Robert L. Owen (Remarks), Oklahoma	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5647
George E. Chamberlain, Oregon	Senate	Feb. 9, '14	3328
George E. Chamberlain, Oregon	Senate	Feb. 18, '14	3843
George E. Chamberlain, Oregon	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4532-33
Harry Lane, Oregon	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5278-79
A. W. Lefferty, Oregon	House of Rep.	Apr. 10, '14	7095-96
George Sutherland, Utah	Senate	Feb. 18, '14	3841-42
Geo. Sutherland (Remarks), Utah	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4589
Geo. Sutherland (Remarks), Utah	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5566
Geo. Sutherland (Remarks), Utah	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5646
Geo. Sutherland (Remarks), Utah	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5652
Miles Poindexter, Washington	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5281-83
Miles Poindexter, Washington	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5465-66

SPEECH AND STATE:	CHAMBER:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
Miles Poindexter (Remarks), Washington	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5565-66
J. W. Bryan, Washington	Senate	May 9, '14	8693-96
Wesley L. Jones, Washington	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5463
Francis E. Warren (Remarks), Wyoming	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4587
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4592
Frank W. Mondell, Wyoming (History of Session)	House of Rep.	Aug. 13, '14	14936-42

SPEECHES AND REMARKS OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE DURING THE SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

SPEECH, OBJECTION AND STATE:	CHAMBER:	DATE:	PAGE IN RECORD:
J. Thomas Heflin, Alabama	House of Rep.	May 13, '14	9266-68
Frank B. Brandegee, Conn. Constitution, Connecticut	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5466-7
Nathan P. Bryan, Florida	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4486
Wm. E. Borah (Remarks), Conservation Negro and States Rights, Idaho	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4487
Wm. E. Borah (Remarks), Idaho	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4593
Wm. E. Borah (Remarks), Idaho	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	
Wm. E. Borah, Idaho	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5465
Wm. E. Borah, Idaho	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5559-66
John W. Kern (Interrupting Shafroth), Indiana	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4589
Wm. O. Bradley (Remarks), States Rights, Kentucky	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5455
Ollie M. James, Kentucky	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5462
Blair Lee, Maryland	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5455-57
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4488-90
Jas. K. Vardaman (Remarks), Amendment, Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 5, '14	4618-20
Jas. K. Vardaman, Negro Ques., Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 17, '14	5279
James K. Vardaman, Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5464-5
John Sharp Williams, Amendment, Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5468-70
Jas. K. Vardaman (Remarks), Negro Ques., Mississippi	Senate	Mar. 20, '14	5564-65-66-68
Jas. A. Reed (Remarks), Missouri	Senate	Mar. 4, '14	4533

SPEECH, OBJECTION AND STATE:	CHAMBER:	DATE:	RECORD:
Jas. A. Reed (Remarks), Missouri	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5648
Jas. A. Reed (Remarks), Missouri	Senate	Feb. 27, '14	4303
Key Pittman, States Rights, Nevada	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5466
Jas. E. Martine (Remarks), New Jersey	Senate	Mar. 2, '14	4589-90
Jas. E. Martine, "Pedestal," New Jersey	Senate	Mar. 19, '14	5460-61
Jas. A. O'Gorman (Remarks), New York	Senate	Mar. 21, '14	5646
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4486-88
Atlee Pomerene, States Rights, Ohio	Senate	Mar. 5, '14	4617
Geo. T. Oliver (Remarks), Penna.	Senate	Mar. 3, '14	4487
Finis J. Garrett, States Rights, Tennessee	House of Rep.	Feb. 20, '14	3993-94

PARLIAMENTARY BLOCKING AND DEFENDING SUFFRAGE IN SENATE.

BLOCKING, DATE AND PAGE.	STATE, DATE, PAGE, DEFENDING.
	Arizona, Jan. 21; 2076; Henry F. Ashurst
	Colorado, Jan. 21; 2077; Charles S. Thomas
	Connecticut, Mar. 2.
	Connecticut, Mar. 2; 4444; Frank B. Brandegee
Nathan P. Bryan, Jan. 21, 1076	Florida
Nathan P. Bryan, Mar. 2; 4443	Florida
Nathan P. Bryan, Apr. 8; 6854. Jan. 21; 2076	Florida
	Georgia
Benj. F. Shiveley, Feb. 28; 4393	Indiana
	Kansas, Jan. 21; 2076; Jos. L. Bristow
	Kentucky
Ollie M. James, Mar. 2; 4445	Massachusetts
Henry Cabot Lodge (Sarcasm), Jan. 21; 2078-79	Massachusetts
Henry Cabot Lodge, Mar. 2; 4445	Massachusetts
J. Sharp Williams, Jan. 21; 2076-78	Mississippi
	Mississippi, Jan. 21; 2078; John Sharp Williams

BLOCKING, DATE AND PAGE.	STATE, DATE, PAGE, DEFENDING.
James A. Reed, Mar. 2; 4441	Missouri
James A. Reed, Mar. 2; 4445	Missouri
Henry L. Myers, Mar. 2; 4442	Montana
Henry L. Myers, Mar. 19; 5454	Montana
	New Hampshire, Jan. 21; 2077-78; Jacob H. Gallinger
	New Hampshire, Feb. 27; 4444; Ja- cob H. Gallinger
Porter J. McCumber, Jan. 21; 2078	North Dakota
Porter J. McCumber, Feb. 27; 4304	North Dakota
Porter J. McCumber, Mar. 2; 4440- 41	North Dakota
Porter J. McCumber, Mar. 2; 4444	North Dakota
	North Dakota, Mar. 2; 4442; Asle J. Gronna
	Oregon, Jan. 21, 2078; Geo. E. Cham- berlain, at critical moment.
	Tennessee, Mar. 2; 4444; Luke Lea
	Utah, Jan. 21; 2076; Reed Smoot
	Virginia, Jan. 21; 2078; Thomas S. Martin
Claude A. Swanson, Mar. 2; 4441	Virginia
	Washington, Jan. 21; 2077; Wesley L. Jones

INTERRUPTIONS:	DATE:	PAGE:	STATE.
Edward Keating	Feb. 20	3991	Colorado
Emmett Wilson	Feb. 20	3991	Florida

N. B.—Active defenders and watchers throughout: Smoot, Shafroth, Thomas, Ashurst.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Early in the summer Mrs. Desha Breckinridge advanced the valuable idea of a special campaign committee to be appointed by the National Board for the purpose of giving aid in the Campaign States by establishing a speakers' bureau for their benefit and to devise means for raising necessary funds to be used in this (campaign) connection.

Mrs. Breckinridge made this motion at a National Board meeting and it was unanimously carried. She had consulted Miss Addams and myself on a trip from Chicago to New York and I had most enthusiastically indorsed her idea. My indorsement, I think, would have been less enthusiastic could I have foreseen that I would have been selected as chairman of this committee. A special finance committee was also appointed at this time to handle the funds. Mrs. Stanley McCormick was appointed chairman, Miss Addams treasurer and I secretary.

It was necessary in the interests of efficiency to appoint some one to take charge of the speakers' bureau and the publicity department of the Congressional Committee which had been closed for the summer months. It was at this time that we were fortunate enough to secure the services of Mr. Charles T. Hallinan, who became head of the publicity department for the joint campaign and congressional committees. Miss Ethel Smith of Washington, D. C., spent her vacation establishing a speakers' bureau in the Chicago headquarters as a member of the special campaign committee, and since her return to Washington the bureau has been conducted by Mrs. Josephine Conger-Kanecko and through it as many National speakers have been routed through the campaign states as our finances would permit and special speakers have been provided for special occasions, and for temporary work whenever it has been possible for us to respond to numerous demands. Our activities have only been limited by our financial ability.

As soon as we assumed our duties we were faced with the discouraging fact that to do really active Campaign service we would need a fund of not less than \$50,000.00.

All told we had less than \$13,000 to do the work of this committee. We collected and distributed in cash an amount less than would be used on the campaign of an alderman in an off year.

The plan of self-sacrifice day had been suggested to Mrs. Breckinridge by a Wisconsin suffragist and this suggestion was adopted by the National Board and a general appeal went out to the women of America to sacrifice something in aid of suffrage and to contribute the amount to the general fund for use in the Campaign States. Details concerning the fund raised on sacrifice day are reported to this convention in the financial report of the special finance committee. Mrs. Antoinette Funk, while walking through the capitol building one day, observed a bride with much gold jewelry in evidence and expressed the wish that a little of the gold used for personal adornment might find its way into a treasure chest for the Campaign States and so the idea of the melting pot was formed. The campaign was well advanced by this time, but we recognized in the melting pot an idea that can be continually useful in financing local, state and National suffrage work. We recognized, too, that we could not exhaust its possibilities in a limited time and that it would be well for us in one locality at least to put into practical operation some workable plan for bringing money to a melting pot—some idea that might be helpful to all suffrage organizations.

The plan indorsed by us was put into operation in Washington by the Woman Suffrage Council and was as follows:

A carefully selected list of names was taken from among the various suffrage organizations, colleges, churches, etc. These women received a letter asking for a contribution to the melting pot and further urging them to accept a sub-committeeship, making themselves responsible for soliciting from at least six people a contribution and for keeping track of this group until their possibilities had been exhausted. The names of these persons were carefully scanned by the general committee and two or three out of each group of six were asked to go at the head of a further sub-committee and so something not unlike an endless chain was created. Although

this was put into effect hastily and during the intense heat of a Washington summer, it was an enormous success, and now at the close of the campaign contributions are still coming in and we consider that the top soil of melting pot possibilities has not been scratched. This somewhat detailed report is made in the hope that it may be of assistance to some suffrage unit, and in order that the name "Suffrage Melting Pot" may not be encroached upon we are making an application for a copyright of the same.

The amount raised and distributed as the result of this committee's activities, the number of speakers and organizers sent into the campaign states and the publicity resulting from the same will be contained in detail in the report of the chairman of the campaign finance committee and of the presidents of the various campaign states, and in the report of the work of the publicity department of the joint committees. I hereby append the report of Mrs. Funk, one of the members of this committee, who spent ten weeks speaking through the campaign states as follows:

"From the time I left Washington August 25th until I returned to Chicago October 27th, I have covered approximately eight thousand miles. After speaking three days in Indiana where the suffragists were straining every nerve to secure a constitutional convention I spent two days in Chicago and then started into the western states. My first three days were spent in Omaha and although my original itinerary contemplated my coming to Nebraska for the last ten days of the campaign this was afterwards changed and I went back to Montana a second time, so my observations regarding Nebraska refer to Omaha alone. Here existed an almost unbelievable condition of opposition. The brewers had come openly into the field against us. The brewing interests are connected with many of the big financial ventures in that city. Bankers, merchants, tailors and other business men whose wives were in suffrage were brazenly warned that the brewing deposits would be withdrawn from banks, that patronage would be taken away from merchants and trades people, even doctors were threatened with the loss of their clientele if

their wives continued actively in the campaign. The result was a paralysis of action among many women who would naturally have been leaders and supporters of the work. Mrs. Draper-Smith was doing all that was humanly possible under the circumstances to stem the tide of opposition, but money for publicity and organizing and many speakers seemed to be a necessity. Upon my report to Mrs. McCormick of the Omaha condition all extra aid possible was given to Omaha. The situation there fully demonstrates the need suggested in the report of the congressional chairman for highly organized and efficient co-operative work among all the states to meet these menacing conditions.

"My trip through South Dakota was interesting in the extreme. This state and North Dakota are agricultural states. The cities are small and far apart. The villages are scattered over vast areas. By far the larger per cent of population dwells in the country on farms and ranches. The two Dakotas are almost pioneer states even now. At the same time they present the highest degree of educational advantages and of general literacy perhaps in the whole United States. Their laws are generally good and for that reason there appears to be a good deal of apathy on the part of both men and women regarding suffrage. The states are prosperous and the people have not felt to any extent the pinch of wrong political conditions. The great problem in both these states was to reach the people and make them think. When they think at all upon the subject they are apt to think right. At the time of writing this report there are no results from this state, but I am convinced that whatever the vote against the suffrage amendment may have been it was the vote of indifference and lack of special information not to any extent real opposition to suffrage.

"I believe from what I could learn that in South Dakota the liquor interests were making their last fight for state control and about the time I arrived there Mrs. Pyle had ascertained that a large amount of money was being used to subsidize the state press, and simultaneously the literary efforts of the anti-suffragists which have appeared in the press

during the last year appeared in the leading Dakota papers and anti-suffrage ladies at \$100.00 a week and expenses appeared on the platform of the principal towns and cities. During my campaign in the Dakotas I spoke wherever possible out-of-doors, even though meetings were arranged for me in halls, court houses and churches. I found that the small audiences that would assemble in these places were made up of women and men already interested and that the uninstructed voter would only listen when you caught him on the street. I spent the week of the state fair at Huron with Mrs. Pyle and witnessed a wonderful demonstration of activity. As high as 50,000 people a day were in attendance. The grounds were covered with yellow banners. Every prize-winning animal, every racing sulky, automobile and motor cycle carried our pennants. Twenty thousand yellow badges were given away in one day. The squaws from the reservation did their native dances waving suffrage banners. And the snake charmer on the midway carried a Votes For Women pennant while an enormous serpent coiled around her body. I spoke during the fair four and five times a day and held street meetings down town in the evening. When not thus engaged I assisted Mrs. Pyle and her committee in distributing thousands of pieces of literature and was amazed at the eagerness of the people to receive the same. Mrs. Pyle and myself investigated the fair grounds to see how much was thrown away and found almost none. In both North and South Dakota there appeared to be a general lack of interest in the political situation and I was not able upon the investigation I made to find that the politicians who professed themselves ardent suffragists were going out of their way to advance the cause. They appeared to be in a waiting and receptive attitude.

"The work through North Dakota was almost pioneer work. Mrs. Darrow had asked me to go into the untilled suffrage field. In many places they had never heard a suffrage address, nor had a suffrage meeting ever been held. I zig-zagged across the state from the southeast to the northwest corners and in Minot was arrested for making a street speech. There was no law that I could discover against my speaking

in the street and I was convinced and am still that it was the result of the petty tyranny of town officials unfavorable to women. A fine of \$5.00 imposed upon me by the justice of the peace was remitted by him. He was unable legally to remit the costs of \$2.00 and when I refused to pay the same and took an appeal to the supreme court the city board of commissioners took action and I have just been advised that the costs assessed me have been remitted.

"I spent twenty days in Montana and traveled something like two thousand miles. I think I found more general interest in Montana than in any other state. With one hundred eighteen thousand voters scattered over the third largest state in the union, with many contending elements, with an acute labor situation, with the political control of the state vested very largely in a great corporation there was plenty to occupy the attention of a suffragist worker. Miss Rankin's organization work had been carried to a high degree of efficiency by the most strenuous endeavor on her part. The Amalgamated Copper Company working to defeat the workmen's compensation act had joined hands with the liquor interests, working to defeat suffrage, and had put on the petticoat and bonnet of the organized female anti-suffragist. I spoke to thousands of people all over the state and while on the surface all appeared well, there was an undertow of fierce opposition that could be felt but that cannot be estimated until the votes are counted.

"Nevada was like a story in a book—a big, little state. With eighty thousand inhabitants and eighteen thousand voters, and so thoroughly was it organized by Miss Martin that I believed she could address every voter by his first name. I felt like a fifth wheel. All the work appeared to be finished and hung aside to season by the time I arrived and I was in the unenviable position of being sandwiched between Dr. Shaw who had just preceded me and Miss Addams who immediately followed me. I went over the desert however and to mines and spoke in butchers' homes and at meetings that wound up with a supper and a dance and came away with the

certainty that Miss Martin had two or three thousand majority votes tucked away in her inside pocket. On this trip I learned of hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature sent out by our enterprising friend, the Honorable Tom Heflin of Alabama. I know now why it was that all last winter he jumped up in Congress every few minutes and read into the congressional record something about the horror of women voting. He had a long business head, that Mr. Heflin, and he was thriftily saving postage on the anti-suffrage work in the interest of the "society opposed," of the liquor interests, of organized crime and of all those forces that have taken arms against us. For you must know that Mr. Heflin used his congressional frank and filled thousands of mail sacks to this end while you and I and all other mere citizen tax payers footed the postage bill."

RUTH McCORMICK,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

November 12, 1914.

The Membership Committee reports that the following organizations have applied for admission to the National American Woman Suffrage Association as Affiliated Members, that they have complied with the requirements for membership, and have been duly elected Affiliated Members by unanimous vote of the Membership Committee:

The South Carolina Equal Suffrage League
The Louisiana Equal Suffrage League
The Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore
The Washington Woman Suffrage Council
The Georgia Woman Suffrage League.

Respectfully submitted,

LILLIAN F. FEICKERT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

The Elections Committee submits as its report to the Convention the following plan for carrying on the elections of 1914:

The name of a candidate for nomination at the Primary must be presented to the Elections Committee by a nominating petition signed by at least ten members of the convention, at least twelve hours before the Primary opens.

The Primary shall be held on the second day before the last day of the convention from 8 to 10 A. M., and the result shall be announced not later than 5 P. M. of the same day.

The Election shall be held on the next to the last day of the convention from 8 to 10 A. M. The ticket shall contain the names of the two candidates for each office who receive the greatest number of votes at the Primary.

The Primary and Election shall be conducted by the Elections Committee assisted by fifteen persons chosen by the convention on the first day of the convention in time to have them trained in Election methods.

Each member of the convention may personally cast one vote. In case of a tie vote for the candidates for any office at the Election, a second Election shall be held to fill such office.

This scheme for holding the election has two objects.

1st. It should avoid criticism as to its legality. So it is in harmony with the paragraph in the 1912 By-Laws relating to elections which perhaps should still control our 1914 election as no other By-Law took its place in the revision of 1913. But to avoid any possible question the 1912 By-Law should be re-enacted before the Primary in accordance with notice duly given of amendment of By-Laws.

2nd. The election, Primary and caucuses preceding should interfere less than formerly with the important convention work and yet every facility should be afforded each

independent-minded delegate for publicly placing in nomination her selection for official positions. To secure the signatures of ten members as petitioners for any candidate will take less time than caucuses. The nominating petitions can be publicly posted as soon as presented to the Elections Committee, and the prescribed twelve hours intervening will enable the Elections Committee to print ballots with all the names that have been duly presented. The printed ballot however will in no way curtail the right of the voters to write other names on the ballot.

The early hour for balloting—8 o'clock—will permit most of the vote to be cast before the convention opens.

To facilitate matters six ballot boxes shall be used and the delegations shall be allotted to the various polling places, according to their numerical strength so that about the same number shall be voting in each booth. When the boxes are opened the ballots shall be mingled together before any count is made.

One of the Credentials Committee should be in attendance at each ballot box at the time of casting the vote, to determine whether or not the person desiring to vote is eligible.

When the person desiring to vote has been identified as eligible by the member of the Credentials Committee, she shall be given a ballot with the Elections Committee member's initials thereupon, and after marking it and depositing it in the ballot box her name shall be marked on the Credentials Committee list as having voted.

There should be no electioneering in the room in which the ballot boxes are.

To assist the Elections Committee in counting the vote, two other members of the convention should be selected.

Two watchers representing different parties may be present, but they should not handle the ballots,—only watch and speak if mistakes are made.

GRATIA ERICKSON,
Chairman.

REPORT OF PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE

The logic of events during the past year gives emphatic emphasis to the value of presidential suffrage. It is of itself the most significant and far-reaching of any act of voting because of its political potentiality in bringing the voice of womanhood into the electoral college, and into the arena of Federal legislation. Moreover the consideration that it calls forth from politicians on account of the fact that over three hundred thousand offices of emolument and honor are filled by the presidential administration renders it the most direct means towards the great end of full enfranchisement; for in any state the party most advantaged by its exercise by the women will support their efforts for the full rights of citizenship. The favorable decision the past year by the Supreme Court of Illinois leaves no room for any further contention regarding its constitutionality. It can be granted by any state legislature by a bare majority vote, and this can be obtained by many states that could not secure the large vote necessary to submit a constitutional amendment for full suffrage. Even where that can be obtained, the experiences of suffrage campaigns have proved too often that they were premature, and the great outlay of time and strength that they have involved have resulted in defeats whereby further progress of the cause has been impeded.

In view of the comparative ease by which it may be secured and the significance of its possession as a political factor in obtaining full suffrage, the following recommendations are submitted:

That any state contemplating a campaign for full suffrage shall first secure presidential suffrage. That those states that have secured favorable action for a constitutional amendment for full suffrage by one legislature, shall seek to obtain presidential suffrage before attempting further action for full suffrage.

By such a program it is quite probable we might double the vote of women in the presidential election of 1916.

ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES,
Chairman.

REPORT OF CHURCH WORK COMMITTEE

The work carried on by the Church Work Committee in various states, has been so varied and so interesting that it will be impossible to give any impression of the scope of the work, in a ten minute report, so we will only give a brief summary of the most important things that have been done by the Committee. The Ministerial Association of Atlanta, Ga.—through the influence of Mrs. McLendon, President of the W. S. A.—received your Chairman at their monthly meeting in January and for the first time permitted the subject of Woman Suffrage to be brought before their Association for discussion. At the expiration of an hour when your Chairman left the meeting, a number of clergymen followed her into the Hall to express their personal interest in the subject. One clergyman asked to be permitted to call upon her at the hotel that evening to talk further on the subject, which he did, remaining until midnight, so interested did he seem in the subject. Two ministers called on the following day to enquire how they might co-operate in arousing interest among church women, and the wife of a prominent Methodist minister went to the general Methodist Conference and presented a petition urging that the Conference grant Laity rights to women in the church.

Your Chairman addressed the Ministerial Association in Tampa, Florida, and with Mrs. Boyden Douglas of New Orleans, went before the Ministerial Association of that city, where a most interesting discussion followed during which a resolution was offered and carried, that the New Orleans M. E. Ministerial Association recommend to the general conference the giving of Laity rights to women. While this was not in the direct line of woman suffrage, it was considered by conservative New Orleans women as a step in advance and an indication that the clergy were awakening to their duty to stand by their women.

From New Orleans, at the urgent request of Dr. Nina Wilson Dewey, State Chairman of church work for the State of Iowa, your Chairman went to Des Moines to attend the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference and to help fill en-

gagements made by Dr. Dewey for a number of church meetings on March 29th. The clergymen in all the leading Protestant churches had consented to permit the suffrage speakers to occupy their pulpits at one of the regular Sunday services, morning, afternoon or evening. Eighteen different church meetings were held on that day in addition to the large mass meeting arranged by the Conference Committee in the Berchel Theatre in the afternoon.

The speakers at the church meetings were—Jane Addams, Rev. Dr. Olympia Brown, Rev. K. W. Powell of Custer, S. Dakota—who is called because of her eloquence, "The Anna Shaw of the West," Mrs. Ella S. Stuart of Chicago, Mrs. Upton of Ohio, Mrs. Ida B. Smith of Cedar Rapids, Miss Dunlap of Des Moines, Miss Ellis, Mrs. Maud Wood Park of Boston, Miss Kate Gordon of New Orleans and Dr. Dewey. So many churches asked for speakers that Mrs. Craigie and some of the others addressed three different church meetings during the day. Splendid notices of the meetings had been given in advance, one paper giving an entire front page, with pictures of the women who were to speak, sketches of their work and the churches where they were to speak; consequently the audiences were large, and a committee appointed to attend each meeting, to make an actual count of the number in attendance, found by actual count that the speakers reached in their combined audiences 6,000 persons. That it was possible to find in a city so many clergymen willing to resign their pulpits on Sunday to suffrage speakers was due to preliminary work that had been done by Dr. Dewey and Mrs. Craigie, who had been before the Ministerial Association urging the clergymen to support woman suffrage and started them to think on the subject. What was accomplished in Des Moines could be done in any other city, if the women will go about it in the right way.

Mrs. Capwell in Buffalo has succeeded during the past year in having suffrage meetings in many of the Buffalo churches, before Men's Clubs, Women's Missionary or Women's Aid Societies, Christian Endeavor and even at the weekly prayer meetings.

Your Chairman had 4,000 letters printed and distributed to clergymen throughout the states asking them to preach on Mothers' Day on the need of the mothers' influence in the state, and various State Chairmen report that more and more clergymen are coming to observe Mothers' Day as a fitting time to declare their belief in the principles of equal suffrage, not only for the state but for the advancement of church work. The letter sent out this year was brief but direct in its appeal. It was as follows:

Dear Sir: In view of the fact that in the moral and social reform work of the churches the mothers and church women are striving to correct serious evils, such as the Liquor Traffic, White Slavery, Child Labor, etc., evils that exist in our cities as a menace to the morals of their children outside the home, and in view of the fact that church women are learning that much of their effort is ineffective, and of no value, because they are denied the weapon of Christian Warfare, the *Ballot*, which gives to Christian Citizens the only possible power to register their peaceable assertion of conviction and will in shaping the governmental affairs of the City, State or Nation, we ask if you will not—in justice to the mothers of your church—choose for your topic on Mothers' Day some subject bearing on "The need of the mothers' influence in the State"?

MARY E. CRAIGIE,
Chairman.

Expense Account
Church Work Committee
1914

Traveling Expenses, New Orleans to Des Moines.....	\$50.00
Des Moines to Washington.....	50.00
Printing 4,000 circular letters for Mothers' Day	8.00
Postage	10.00
Express	2.50
	<u>\$120.50</u>
Donated by M. E. Craigie to Church Work.....	\$120.50

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

WHEREAS, There is no question of greater importance to the people of the United States than the political freedom of its women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association urge upon the United States Senate and House

of Representatives to take up at once the amendments now pending in Congress for the enfranchisement of women.

RESOLVED, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of such legislation as shall protect the rights of its women citizens who marry unnaturalized foreigners.

RESOLVED, That we petition Congress to protect women against state denial of the rights of citizens of the United States who vote for members of Congress, Presidential electors and United States Senators in the state wherein they reside, by making Federal laws in pursuance of that clause of the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution, which says that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

WHEREAS, the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex is in accord with that greater democracy for which we are working; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association urge all women to encourage such industries and institutions as adhere to this principle.

WHEREAS: The present war in the countries of Europe has already turned their fertile fields into desolation, their cities into ruins, their arts and industries into ashes, and has left their people homeless and bereft,

AND WHEREAS: The slow gains of human brotherhood and civilization are being lost because of the hatred that now supplants love between the people of these countries,

AND WHEREAS: It is our conviction that had the women of these countries, with their deep instinct of motherhood and desire for the conservation of life, possessed a voice in the councils of their governments, this deplorable war would never have been allowed to occur; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in Convention assembled, does hereby affirm the

obligation of peace and good will toward all men, and further demands the inclusion of women in the government of nations, of which they are a part, whose citizens they bear and rear, and whose peace their political liberty would help to secure and maintain.

RESOLVED:—That we commend the efforts of President Wilson to secure peace. Sympathizing deeply with the plea of the women of fifteen nations, we ask the President of the United States and the representatives of all the other neutral nations to use their best endeavors to bring about a lasting peace, founded upon democracy and world wide disarmament.

WHEREAS, the 46th Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been one of the greatest and most delightful meetings in the history of the organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we extend to the suffragists of Tennessee a cordial appreciation of the invitation which brought us to this historic state; that we extend our thanks to the people of Nashville, especially to the local committee for their broad and generous hospitality, their untiring energy and unflinching interest in all that has pertained to our comfort and pleasure, and to the ladies of the Hermitage Association, whose hospitality at the home of Andrew Jackson gave us so much pleasure; to our hostess of Sunday evening who so delightfully entertained this convention at her home; to the Centennial Club, who have kept open house for us during the entire week, to his Excellency, the Governor of Tennessee, to the Governor-elect of the State, to United States Senator Luke Lea, to His Honor, the Mayor of Nashville, and other distinguished men for their splendid addresses; and moreover

That we express our sincere thanks to the untiring pages and ushers; to the management of the Hotel Hermitage; to those who have so generously placed their motor cars at our disposal; to the merchants of Nashville for their elaborate and beautiful decorations; to the railroad representatives for their courteous attention; to the representative men of Nash-

ville for their hearty interest and fine spirit; to those who have sent the exquisite flowers from day to day; and last, but far from least, to those of the press and its representatives, who so faithfully and accurately have published our proceedings.

FRANCES E. BURNS, Chairman.

REPORTS OF AFFILIATED MEMBERS

CAMPAIGN STATES

MISSOURI EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

The Missouri Campaign for Woman Suffrage was a short but dramatic one!

In the 1914 Legislature, a bill was introduced by a few suffragists, was referred to Committee, reported out favorably, and put on the Calendar with lightning rapidity, and the petitioners were sent home, feeling that the victory was won. And then the unexpected happened! With equal dispatch the bill was taken off the Calendar, referred back to the Committee and pigeon-holed, too late in the session for another bill to be introduced. In the first flush of indignation, the women said "The question shall not be shelved. The Suffragists of Missouri will bring it before the voters through that new democratic device whereby the people can make their wishes heard—the initiative petition." And so the petitions were printed, with little comprehension of how difficult it would be to find people to circulate them. With an empty treasury, not a single county in the state organized, and only the two great cities ready for work, the task presented unusual difficulties.

To appreciate the whole campaign, one must realize that Missouri is larger than any state east of or bordering on the Mississippi river and larger than all the New England states together, counting Rhode Island twice; that she has 114 counties, in many of which are no railroads and with roads almost impassable; that her two great cities are on her border and that she has no newspapers which cover the whole state; that her population includes many who are racially opposed to Woman Suffrage and that her strongest labor unions are forced, through their occupation, to fight the gaining of political power by women.

With these handicaps to overcome, on June 27 fifty women from the Districts represented, filed with the Secretary of State 38,000 signatures secured from every county but four in twelve of the sixteen Congressional Districts—And so the fight was on!

In July, our war chest held the magnificent sum of \$12.65, but a S. O. S. call to the National Board and to our sister states brought a generous response, and gifts amounting to \$3,264.10, came in from

National Headquarters, from Massachusetts, Vermont, Maine, Connecticut, New York, North Carolina, Michigan, Kansas, New Jersey, and from England, while \$1,826.40 was raised at home.

Through our press work, most of the county newspapers were reached, 274 papers received 33,000 columns plate in less than three months, weekly news bulletins were sent to 200 papers not using plate; material was furnished each week to 38 suffrage columns; signed articles to 42 papers each week, 30 cuts and 12 cartoons with special write ups were routed—at a total cost of \$1,691.96. In addition to this, the Woman's Journal was sent to many editors, to all the State Legislators and to all the county chairmen. Five hundred dollars worth of literature was distributed in 90 counties, the county and state fairs covered, speakers furnished to Chautauquas, political meetings, county round-ups, suffrage rallies, moving picture shows and wherever a ready-made audience could be found.

The greatest enthusiasm was aroused where Dr. Shaw, Jane Addams, and Mrs. Breckinridge spoke, while Rosalie Jones and Helen Todd made lasting friends for the cause during their short visits. The president traveled 1,500 miles in six months, speaking from one to as many as ten times in a day and to audiences varying from 50 to 5,000. Missouri had one organizer for three months, another for one, and the vote in places visited, showed conclusively that winning a campaign is largely a question of getting a hearing in the country districts and an honest vote in the cities. In Kansas City, where the women were at the polls with cameras, the adverse majority was less than 1,000, and another time that will be overcome.

Before the election, defeat was conceded for all fifteen of the amendments, without reference to merit, and the politicians claimed a 300,000 majority against woman suffrage. The good amendments were snowed under because they were in the bad company forced on them by special interests for that particular purpose, and the order "scratch all amendments" which was sent out all over the state caused the loss of many a vote, which No. 13 would have won, had it been divorced from all other measures. As it was, the Suffrage amendment received more votes than were cast on any other, showing the widespread interest in the cause and when the question is resubmitted in 1916, it will surely carry.

Meanwhile, thorough organization and an adequate campaign fund is the motto, and education the watchword, of the Missouri Suffragists, and, given a fair show, these will win in this state as they have in twelve others.

HELEN GUTERIE MILLER, President.

MONTANA

An attempt was made to get a suffrage bill through the Twelfth Legislative Assembly in 1911. It was voted on in the House, and received a majority but lacked the necessary two-thirds to pass. The Democratic and Republican conventions in 1912 recommended to the Legislature the submission of the Woman Suffrage question. The Socialists and Progressives endorsed the principle.

We had a booth at the State Fair, and had at this time formed a State Central Committee, with myself as temporary chairman and Miss Ida Auerbach of Helena as temporary secretary. One-half of the counties were visited and temporary county chairmen appointed. Two weeks before election, we campaigned against the election of Mr. McNally, the labor representative for the Legislature. He was elected, but voted for our bill in the Thirteenth Legislative Assembly. After election, letters to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were written from all over the state, asking the Governor to recommend the passage of the suffrage bill in his message to the Legislature, and asking the Lieutenant-Governor to help us in the Senate.

The first meeting of the State Central Committee was held in Helena at the opening of the Legislature, and at that time permanent officers were elected. The Committee was visiting the Legislature at the time the Governor read his message recommending the passage of the Woman Suffrage Bill. With no discussion the Bill passed with only two votes against it in the House. On February 1, the women celebrated the passage of the Bill in at least a dozen towns in the state.

The second meeting of the State Central Committee was held in Livingston immediately following the meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. The third meeting was held in Butte, just preceding the State Fair, where we had a suffrage booth.

In January, 1914, we opened our headquarters in Butte. The campaign was opened with a speaking tour through the state with Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw as speakers.

Every newspaper in the state received a letter written each week by Miss O'Neill, telling the suffrage news. About once a month, some propaganda was sent. At the beginning of the campaign, letters were sent to women's clubs, Grangers, and labor unions and farmers' societies asking them for aid in the campaign and requesting that they pass resolutions favoring suffrage. This work was continued throughout the campaign. Monthly and bi-monthly letters were written to the county chairmen and all the women who had shown especial interest in the campaign. These letters attempted to keep them in touch with the activities of the state and give detailed instructions for new activities.

Practically all of the literature used was printed in the state. We wrote or copied a great deal of the National literature, and wrote some of our own. This was distributed very generously over the state, with new

leaflets for special occasions. A few weeks before election, 20,000 voters in country districts were each sent a personal letter and leaflets written especially for farmers. For this circularizing, we used stamped envelopes which bore no indication on the outside of the contents. From the beginning to the end of the campaign, the women of the state were very helpful. The house-to-house campaign was the most effective work that was done. In many small communities and in some of the large ones, the women were very faithful in this work.

During the campaign our women spoke in every county and outside women spoke in all but seven very small counties. We tried to have each month a state wide or sectional demonstration. In May we celebrated the Second, which the Governor proclaimed as Woman's Day; in June, we had our State Central Committee meeting in Lewistown, just following the meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs; in July, we had a campaign in the southeastern part of the state with headquarters at Billings. General Rosalie Jones and Colonel Ida Craft were our star speakers. In August, we planned to have the same demonstration in the northern part of the state. The excellent work done by Miss Blake in that part of the state and the loss of our campaign funds in the State Savings Bank caused us to give up this plan. We spent one week in September at the State Fair in Helena, where we had headquarters at the Fair Grounds and in the city. We sold our "Suffrage Daily News" on the streets and at the Fair. The parade with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as speaker at the auditorium was a great success. Mrs. Root, of Los Angeles, and Miss Gratia Erickson and Florence Lord, of Chicago, helped us in preparing for the parade. On November 2, we celebrated Suffrage Day all over the state. Women distributed leaflets, held meetings with their local speakers, and gave hat bands to the school children on which was printed, "I want my mother to vote." The towns were placarded with suffrage posters. At all demonstrations of any kind, the suffragists were urged to have suffrage floats. Material and instructions were sent from headquarters before such days as the Fourth of July, County Fairs, etc.

During May, and part of June, we had Mrs. Cotterill from Seattle speak before labor unions. Miss Margaret Hinckey, of New York, spoke to the unions during July and part of August. These were the only workers in the campaign who received salaries except the stenographers. I think, in one case, a Montana woman received a little more than her expenses, but the rule was merely to pay expenses. The story of our finances is a very sad one. The financial support from outside of the state made it possible for us to win. I have not the exact figures of the money spent, although it was something less than \$8,000. Over half was received from outside the state.

It was our plan to use some of our own women with the outside speakers. However, Mrs. Funk did very valuable work under very trying circumstances. We had outside speakers in the state from April until the middle of October, but not more than three in the state at one time.

The last two weeks of the campaign there were no outside speakers, although ten or twelve of our own women were kept busy speaking every night.

Not a single candidate for office spoke against woman suffrage, that I know of. Perhaps this was due to our campaign against Mr. McNally in 1912. The precinct organization was very effective where it was worked out in detail. The National American Woman Suffrage Association aided us in many ways. The Field Secretary, Jane Thompson, came early in the campaign, and Mrs. Funk and Dr. Shaw spoke at the time when we needed them most. We could not have won without the valuable help of the National Association and the many friends all over the country.

JEANNETTE RANKIN.

NEBRASKA

Woman Suffrage Association

The Legislature of 1913 did not pass the Bill for the submission of an amendment to Nebraska's Constitution giving the ballot to women. Hence the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association availed itself of the Initiative method and the question was submitted to the vote of the electors in November, 1914.

Under our initiative law, petitions must come from two-fifths of the Counties and there must be as many voters' signatures as fifteen per cent of the vote for Governor at the last previous election. In this instance that meant 38,000 signatures from thirty-eight Counties. The labor of securing these signed petitions was performed by volunteers—men and women suffragists—and on March 14, 1914, the petition was filed with 41,707 signers from sixty-three different Counties. Before the time for filing additional names expired, enough were added to bring the total to about 50,000 and to have nearly every County represented.

The Finance Committee received generous help from the National Association and from Massachusetts. The money raised in the State was gathered by the "Hardy plan" devised by the State Treasurer and her able assistant, Mr. Hardy. This plan provided for an assessment based on population. Not all the Counties raised the full quota, but enough was paid into the Treasury to avoid taking collections at meetings and to leave the various Committees free to plan work with an assured income to count upon.

Our Press Committee gave bi-monthly service to one hundred and sixty-two country newspapers during three months of the spring and summer. This service was used by the editors quite generally until crowded out by the paid political advertising preceding the primaries. The plate was sent to the papers at no cost to them. News service to the daily papers in the State was given throughout the campaign and to some special interest papers.

Our Educational Committee prepared and circulated programs of excellent quality, suitable for seventh and eighth grades, for High Schools, and for adult persons. A different program was furnished for each of these groups. They were all full of propoganda availably arranged for entertainment purposes. This Committee also did work in various Colleges of the State.

Our Publicity Committee presented our cause through hundreds of moving picture shows by getting slides shown there with brief, terse Suffrage sentiments on them.

It also arranged for speakers before picture show audiences in many cases. This Committee maintained a Speakers' Bureau through which speakers of National reputation as well as many local leaders were scheduled for tours through the State. It also arranged for automobile tours made possible by the remarkable generosity of some of our men Suffrage friends who gave their own time and the use of their machines. Two of these cars were driven six thousand miles each by their owners in Suffrage work. Auto tours approximating 20,000 miles and meetings in five hundred places during the summer and fall constituted one of the achievements of this very efficient Committee. In a State four hundred miles East and West, two hundred miles North and South, with a rural population of more than 800,000, crossed by three lines of railroad, thousands of voters must be reached in off-the-railroad places. It is well to remember that the area of this State is 22,010 square miles greater than that of Rhode Island, Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maryland combined. New England is not so large as Nebraska by over 11,000 square miles.

Our organization was now complete. We had splendid service from the organizers we employed and generous help from Kansas, Colorado, and many individuals from elsewhere. Our own workers were able and faithful.

We met well financed and well organized opposition. While our campaign cost about \$25,000 the opposition circularized the State with literature which our experience indicates cost not less than twice our total expenditure. We had the active opposition of the German-American Alliance and Nebraska has about 50,000 German voters. The Alliance is an influential organization among them. We had 90,782 affirmative votes, 99,036 negative, out of a total 246,593 voting. Without changing any of the negative ones, another campaign able to bring the 56,775 who did not register an opinion to a vote in favor would give us a handsome majority in favor of our amendment.

Without doubt, the interest stirred by the campaign of 1914 will grow and the next will come to a successful conclusion. The Association feels that good work has been done and a permanent impression has been made on the public sentiment of the State in behalf of our Cause.

GRACE M. WHEELER,
Chairman of Campaign Committee.

NEVADA

Equal Franchise League

Every suffrage campaign is necessarily shaped by characteristics within the state, physical, sociological, moral and industrial.

There are in Nevada certain unusual conditions as regards its geography, its distribution of population, its electorate and its industries that produced peculiar difficulties and necessitated a special type of work to reach and educate the voters.

Nevada has a population of only 80,000 people on an area of over 110,000 square miles, a territory one-quarter larger than Great Britain with its more than 40,000,000 inhabitants, an area larger than the whole of New England. Of these 80,000 people, 40,000 are men over twenty-one years of age, of whom only 20,000 remained in the state long enough to vote at the last general election. Twenty thousand voters, scattered over an area of 110,000 square miles, gave an average of one voter to every five square miles to be sought and educated.

It is true that some of these voters are massed together in the towns, but, with one exception, in towns of less than 1,000 votes.

Nevada has, therefore, the lowest urban and the most scattered rural population in the United States. Nevada has also the highest proportionate male population, the lowest proportionate population of women and the largest "floating" or transient vote in the whole country. This large floating vote is due to mining, railway and irrigational construction, and other transitory occupations.

The difficulty of reaching and educating this vote for suffrage, distributed over the greatest proportionate area in the United States, a vote which is constantly changing, passing in and then out of the state, was met in the following ways:

1. By press work. Nevada's forty-five newspapers, chiefly rural weeklies, were supplied every week with a special bulletin of news, comment and argument from suffrage headquarters.

2. Every editor, over one hundred school districts, and three hundred representative names from our sixteen counties received the *Woman's Journal* every week.

3. A suffrage essay contest was conducted by the College Equal Suffrage League in the schools of the state, so by educating the children to suffrage we could educate the parents in the widely separated rural school districts. The winning essays were published in the local papers.

4. Every voter in the state, according to the county registration lists of 1912, was circularized by the county organizations, and again by state headquarters, with different kinds of suffrage literature. This comprehensive piece of work by no means insured the education of every voter in the 1914 election; a prominent Nevada sociologist estimated the voting population as fifty per cent. transient, which makes the 1912 regis-

tration lists fifty per cent. wrong as regards the 1914 lists. The new voters in the 1914 election were circularized from the primary registration lists available after September.

5. Our last, and next to the state-wide circulation of our vote, the most important educative factor in our campaign was personal contact with the voter. We accomplished this by means of canvasses and street meetings in the towns, and by seeking out the rural voters by train, automobile, stage and even on horseback, "prospecting for votes" among the miners in our vast mountains, and the farmers in our remote valleys. To reach less than one hundred votes at Austin, the County seat of Lander County, required a journey of two days over the desert in a motor narrow-gauge railroad costing on an average more than ten cents a mile. In most cases it required several days' journey away from the railroad to seek out the scattered vote in the outlying precincts of our northern and southern counties. A house to house canvass was made with the houses twenty to thirty miles apart on cattle ranges and on the desert.

Nevada is rightfully classified as a "doubtful" state as regards its Republican and Democratic character. Election figures for the last ten years show that Nevada has always gone Democratic when powerful Democratic leaders were seeking re-election, and Republican by as many votes as it went Democratic, when a powerful leader like the late Senator Nixon was successfully seeking election to the United States Senate in 1904 and 1910. The Democrats, the Progressives and the Socialists of Nevada have endorsed equal suffrage, and many individual leaders of the Republican Party support it. In the election of 1912, 20,115 votes were cast, of which 7,986 were Democratic, 5,620 Progressive, 3,313 Socialist, and 3,196 Republican.

Besides the endorsement of every party in the state but the Republican, equal suffrage was endorsed by every labor union which has voted on the subject, and by a state-wide conference of labor representing 6,000 members.

The State Suffrage Society had only fourteen paid members and no County organizations in 1912, and now has over 1,000 paid members, a large additional enrollment, suffrage organizations or committees in every county, and an advisory board containing the names of United States Senators, Francis G. Newlands and Key Pittman, Congressman Roberts, Governor Oddie and Lieutenant-Governor Ross, the late President Stubbs of the State University and Bishop Robinson, besides judges, editors, bankers, and other business and professional men, who are leaders from every county.

In less than two years of suffrage work the Nevada Equal Franchise Society has secured a larger percentage of Nevada's 18,000 women as paid members than are enrolled members of all suffrage associations in the state of New York, with its splendid suffrage background and its powerful workers.

We did not win without opposition; a powerful organization, called the "Business Men's League," opposed us to the last, as did the largest mine-owner in the state, who was a multi-millionaire and controlled several newspapers as well. We had fierce and bitter opposition from these newspapers, including the Reno Evening Gazette, the leading Republican newspaper of the state, controlled by Mr. Wingfield, and active support from only one or two, notably the Nevada State Journal.

The object of the opposition was to keep Nevada a "wide-open State" and restore the gambling law, maintaining Nevada, entirely surrounded by equal suffrage states, as a kind of "men's playground of the western world." As Nevada is the most "male" state in the union, having two hundred and twenty men over twenty-one years of age to every one hundred women, the need of woman's direct influence in the social and civic life of the state is apparent. The men of Nevada instinctively responded to this need by their big majority for woman suffrage on its first submission to them on November third of this year.

In addition to organization, presswork, school essay contests, circularizing the voters' registration lists, canvasses and personal journeys, to visit every precinct in the state that had twenty-five votes, we aimed to reach the voters from every other possible angle; circularizing the Catholic population with special literature, sending organizers who belonged to labor unions to talk before every union in the state, sending specially suitable organizers to talk before the Mothers' and Women's Clubs.

The campaign in Nevada was won largely because we were able through organization to reach the voters—reaching the voter is the final test of an efficient campaign.

Since the majority of the people are good and not bad, and since our cause is just, a majority of the voters are going to support it if they can be reached and the cause presented to them. By canvasses of the towns and our organizing and speaking tours all over the state, in one of which we covered over 3,000 miles this summer by automobile, we were able to reach personally nearly every one of our 20,000 voters. Sometimes we went on horseback, sometimes we climbed on foot.

Out of two hundred and forty precincts in the state every precinct that had twenty-five votes in it was reached, canvassed and an open-air meeting held. Over one hundred and eighty of the two hundred and forty precincts were organized with a woman precinct leader, who distributed our literature sent from headquarters, and "picketed the polls" all day election day, November 3, 1914, handing out our final appeal to the voters, to "give Nevada women a square deal," and vote for the amendment on non-partisan lines, as a humanitarian and reform measure, appealing to the members of all parties.

Out of 18,193 votes cast on the amendment, 10,936 were for, 7,257 against, giving a majority of 3,679, or a twenty per cent. majority in favor of the amendment.

Every county in the state carried but four, in each case a county with one of the largest or oldest towns in the whole state, i. e., Washoe County with Reno, 600 votes against out of a total of 2,400, Ormsby County with Carson went 141 votes against, Storey County with Virginia City and 31 votes against, Eureka County with Eureka and 48 votes against.

According to our books the whole campaign conducted for three years, through two successive sessions of the legislature beginning in 1911, cost seven thousand dollars.

The whole lesson of the campaign is that thorough organization by which the adverse vote in the towns is *kept down*, and by which the country vote is reached and educated, is sure to win. The same principle applies to the Eastern campaigns, where the prejudice against such reforms as woman suffrage is perhaps deeper seated; the greater difficulty of winning in the East is undoubtedly one of degree and not of kind.

These principles applied in the Eastern work will be sure to win in the end, paving the way, with the Western States already won, for the National amendment.

ANNE H. MARTIN, President.

OHIO

Woman Suffrage Association

After our annual convention last year, our executive committee had a conference in Portsmouth, preceding a conference in Columbus on detail campaign work. We formed a campaign committee consisting of our own executive committee and a representative from each state organization endorsing us, making a committee of twenty-nine members.

Our usual plan of asking for hearings and endorsement from farmers' institutes was continued. Forty-two farmers' institutes and one hundred and thirty-one subordinate granges endorsed during the year.

After we had launched our initiative petition we found that in order to avoid a probable adverse ruling by an unfriendly state official, we had better withdraw it and put it out under another heading, which we did.

We held several conferences during the year and opened our campaign in Toledo April 14th and 15th, Jane Addams being the speaker.

May 2nd was celebrated throughout the State. The big event of that month was the pageant "A Dream of Freedom" by the Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Woman Suffrage Party.

In June the suffragists journeyed to Salem holding a meeting in the old Friends Meeting House where the Woman's Rights convention of 1850 met. This was followed by street meetings in Salem and towns roundabout. The following day our executive committee met in Canton with Mrs. Catt as speaker at a banquet.

Having secured 131,271 names to our petitions, some thousands more than we needed, we presented them to the Secretary of State July 30th. This presentation was rather spectacular, being preceded by a parade,

representatives of each county carrying their own petitions in decorated baskets. A public meeting on the State Capitol grounds followed, attended by thousands.

August and September were devoted largely to political work, aside from the regular campaign work. We went before the Republican and Democratic Conventions, were given hearings before the resolutions committees of both, but did not secure endorsement. The Progressive Party endorsed.

We had unusual success with our county fair work and although we have been speaking at county fairs and distributing literature for the last ten years, this work was much more effective than usual because of our increased organization. Local people managed the details of the speaking and distributed the literature.

More than half a million women in the State of Ohio have by enrollment and endorsement declared themselves in favor of suffrage. Nevertheless the antis continue to say only ten or twelve per cent. of Ohio women want to vote and people believe them.

Many influential state organizations endorsed, the most important being the Federation of Women's Clubs.

During the campaign we had seventy-four people in the field, twenty of these came from outside the state. These people worked in groups sometimes as many as ten at a time going into a county and staying until each town and hamlet had been covered. When the campaign closed we had some sort of organization in eighty-three of our eighty-eight counties.

The strength of the campaign was the beautiful self-sacrificing service of our workers, their hearty co-operation each with the other, their praise of each other and their indifference to personal recognition or reward; their only concern was that they do their work as well as it could be done. In the conviction that they fought a good fight they have their compensation.

Our defeat was due to the wet and dry fight. Realizing that we could not win if that question was to come up the State president secured the promise of the head of the Anti-Saloon League that he would not bring forward a prohibition amendment in 1914. When the brewers saw that our petition was surely to succeed they initiated an amendment, also by petition, to repeal certain existing temperance legislation and called it the "Home Rule Amendment." We urged the Anti-Saloon League to take the defensive merely and not introduce an amendment. We believed that the brewers had brought up their measure in the hope of diverting dry support from the suffrage amendment and thus defeating both suffrage and temperance. We set forth our position to this effect in our official paper at the time. However, the Anti-Saloon League prefers to make offensive, not defensive, fights and so initiated a prohibition amendment. This amendment, like the suffrage amendment was defeated, by a much smaller majority than suffrage, however, showing that many men who voted for prohibition failed to vote for suffrage.

The total number of votes cast on the woman suffrage amendment was 843,685; against 518,295; for 335,390; lost by 182,905. This means that 335,390 Ohio men believe women should be real citizens and furthermore, this was within 1,485 of the number of votes against us two years ago, but the total adverse vote was so large that it made the majority against us about three per cent. more than two years ago. We got forty-two per cent. plus of the 1912 vote; thirty-nine per cent. plus of the 1914 vote. Our problem as we see it therefore is to convert an additional eleven per cent. of the Ohio electorate and to its accomplishment we are devoting ourselves with unabated energy and zeal.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, President.

Equal Franchise Association

The Ohio Equal Franchise Association has had a year of large and varied experience.

We have done the usual things—headquarters' meetings, parlor meetings, mass meetings, factory and street speaking, luncheons, teas, markets, County Fairs and every other form of work that suffrage knows.

Our member of the Executive Council, Mrs. Frances G. Richard, Professor of Literature in Miami University and chairman of the department of Literature of the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs, has spoken in most of the southern Counties of the state, and continuous work with weekly meetings has been kept up.

Last April we secured in Cincinnati free of rent a large vacant store on a prominent street, and for five days served lunch there. The walls of the store were covered with posters and cards with suffrage information printed on them. We think this was conceded to be the greatest event in suffrage work in Cincinnati up to that time.

Our County Fair work seemed especially effective this year. We had a large booth where we had quantities of literature for distribution, a voiceless speech, and we served lemonade "like mother used to make," which the crowds liked because it was the genuine article.

With part of the money sent us by the National Association we rented a large empty store in Cincinnati within a few hundred feet of the sixth busiest corner in the United States. One window fronted on the street, and a large side one opened on the lobby of a burlesque theater, and this we decorated with posters and an immense sign which read: "Give the mothers of men the vote that war may be abolished." Silent speeches were turned in the front window and sometimes at the door from eight in the morning till nine at night, and on Saturday nights till ten thirty or eleven o'clock. We averaged ten women a day at this work for seven weeks. All our help was volunteered. We paid no one for any work. The crowds were continuous and interested and the work created a tremendous impression. It was an education for those en-

gaged in it. We learned how to treat all kinds and conditions of men. We were visited by "fifty-seven varieties" of drunks and near drunks. Most of these came to berate us for our presumption in wanting to vote, and to assure us that if the women got the ballot, Ohio would surely go dry, which, in their opinion, would be very deplorable. At first we would treat them civilly, but when we found that they were in no condition to be talked with, we ignored them or if that hint did not suffice, we suggested that they step outside and read the speech as it contained all our arguments, and it was funny to see, when they once understood that we wished them to leave, how meekly they would make their departure. We never had any trouble that we could not settle ourselves.

We had callers from nearly all the suffrage states who came in to bear testimony to the beneficent working of equal suffrage and to wish us success.

Since we had not much expectation that Ohio would win this time, and hope without expectation being dead, we should not say that we are disappointed or disheartened by our failure. Indeed we are not. We feel that our work has been of great educational value to ourselves and to the public, and must bring results in the not very distant future.

Let us keep on with the work and assist The National Association and Ohio by a generous co-operation in the possible and probable states, Let us plead for a concentration of strength on the part of suffragists over the country upon two or three states at a time which we can pull through. As a matter of economy and efficiency, some plan looking toward this end might be carried out, drawing into the work all state associations as far as possible.

Such co-operation and massing of work and money must redound to the honor and glory of Ohio, and we shall soon win out.

FLORA E. WORTHINGTON, President.

PRESENT CAMPAIGN STATES

IOWA

Iowa has undertaken to organize for Suffrage by State senatorial districts and though but twenty out of the fifty districts are as yet really organized the outlook is most promising for a fairly complete organization of the state within the next six months. Miss Mable Lodge of Dover, Delaware, has given four months of work for this state organization plan and has been most successful.

The Mississippi Valley conference held in Des Moines in March gave much inspiration to the Iowa workers and was a successful meeting in every way. In June, Mrs. Ella F. Stewart of Illinois conducted a three days' School of Methods in Des Moines which was well attended and was most helpful.

Des Moines Suffrage workers have been especially active and in August completed a canvass of the whole city. About five hundred helped in making the canvass and in the taking of the birth registration for 1913 at the same time.

The Republican convention in July adopted a strong Suffrage plank and as the Iowa Legislature is Republican the passage of our bill by the General Assembly of 1915 seems assured. The Democratic state convention referred Woman Suffrage to the initiative and referendum but since we have as yet no such law in Iowa this was not a particularly strong endorsement.

The number of dues-paying club members in the state is but little larger than last year but we have added many non-dues paying members. While our budget is very small compared to some of the other states a vast amount of volunteer work has been done. All of the state officers have given voluntary service and many speakers have served us without charge. Altogether we feel that the outlook for suffrage in Iowa in 1916 is most hopeful.

FLORA DUNLAP, President.

MASSACHUSETTS Political Equality Union

The Massachusetts Political Equality Union is organized to help in the fight to secure Votes for Women.

Its founders realize that in all probability the legislature will submit to the voters of the State a Constitutional Amendment granting equal suffrage in 1915, and feel that before this amendment goes to the voters it is absolutely necessary to stir up and organize far more generally than has been done as yet the great amount of latent interest in the movement, which must be turned into active support if that campaign is to prove successful.

We believe that more groups of workers, working through different channels, in more places, as well as from various points of attack, are needed to strengthen and vitalize the whole movement.

Our Union depends upon a Ten-cent Initiation Fee and volunteer subscriptions, and is, therefore, open to all men and women that believe in equal suffrage, however heavy may be the other demands upon their support.

The General Committee is composed of one member from each senatorial district.

The officers are a President, Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary, who, with five other members, make up the Executive Committee. Our Executive Secretary plans the field and office work, superintends it, and also herself does some of the work near headquarters, thus releasing the other organizers for the more remote parts of the State.

The membership of the Union has in two years grown to 2,500, having increased 1,000 in six months, a number that is a very practical proof of the need for an organization of the democratic type of the Union.

The membership is distributed through all of the forty Senatorial Districts, and represents all types of citizens. There are many Grangers—a large number of Trade Union men and women, a notable group of stenographers and office workers—many professional women and home makers—men in public life, of every political party—men of the professions and in business, as well as men and women representing all churches and various races.

At the legislative hearings of 1913 and 1914 the Political Equality Union devoted its portion of the time wholly to brief speeches by working women, and many who were present have testified that the simple statements from these self-supporting women were the most telling and impressive part of the entire hearing.

One organizer has been in the field the entire time since the organization of the Union and a second one has been at work much of the time. For the past four months two organizers have given all their time to field work, and one other, with the Executive Secretary, have given part of their time. The experience of our organizers has shown how great is the need of steady work in the smaller towns and cities and rural districts, and also how ready is the response made to this personal effort.

Last winter the Union organized a series of meetings for Miss Helen Todd of California, and in the spring a banquet was held under the auspices of the Union, where four hundred people listened to George Creel, and other friends of woman suffrage. The Union took most of the responsibility for the arrangements for the National Rally, April 1, in which it co-operated with the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. Later the Finance Committee gave a very successful and delightful *Thé Dansant* at the Copley-Plaza Hotel.

On May 2, twenty-eight meetings in different towns and cities in behalf of the Amendment to the National Constitution were held through the efforts of our members and organizers. Since then, the Association has held several publicity weeks in various sections of the State, and has arranged several very successful series of weekly or semi-weekly mass meetings for a period of time.

On July 1, Mrs. Catlin, one of the organizers of the P. E. U., started on a four months' horseback campaign through the State. Mrs. Catlin started without funds and met all her expenses from collections and donations. She had a most successful four months and she reached the voters in many country sections, and we hope to have more workers like her next summer. She traveled about five hundred and thirty miles and talked to about ten thousand people at meetings.

During June and July the Political Equality Union co-operated with the Equal Franchise Committee, who conducted a suffrage store on Fed-

eral Street, Boston, by supplying speakers one day a week for the noon meetings.

August 1st, we moved into our new store at 1301 Washington Street. This meant an increase in office expenditure, but on the other hand, it meant that the office has a chance to be self-supporting, because we are holding Rummage Sales here for two days every two or three weeks, and from time to time sales of other kinds. Also, it means many larger opportunities for suffrage work, such as evening meetings and a store window in a crowded working class district.

In August and September most of our time was devoted to short campaign trips in the country districts. Late in September, and early in October, we had booths at the County Fairs.

The Massachusetts Melting Pot for the benefit of the Campaign States was cared for by a committee of representative suffragists, and much of the work was done at the Political Equality Union's Headquarters.

On three different occasions this year the Moving Pictures have carried news of our work all over the country: First, the Governor of Massachusetts greeting the National Board on the steps of the State House, April 1st; second, Mrs. Catlin starting on her trip July 1st; and third the Melting Pot Parade in August.

The Union stands for democracy of membership, democracy of organization and democracy of administration.

The plain lesson of our twenty months' work is that more workers are needed—workers that can go out in the field and stay there, giving information, arousing interest and building up membership among the rank and file of the citizens. There is no limit to the amount of very practical work that needs to be done—the demands come to us faster than we can fill them. Lack of funds alone stands in our way.

MABEL GILLESPIE, President.

MASSACHUSETTS

Woman Suffrage Association

The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association has to report the most important and significant work of its more than forty years.

The Legislature at its last session passed the resolution providing for the submission to the voters of a Constitutional Amendment enfranchising the women of the State, by the very remarkable vote of 34-2 in the Senate and 168-39 in the House. If this Resolution passes the coming Legislature, as it is expected to do, the question will come before the voters in November, 1915. Our victory was aided by the fact that before the last Legislature convened our Legislative Committee had succeeded in defeating for re-election several important men who had opposed us, notably Levi H. Greenwood, President of the Senate, one of

the most important machine Republicans in Massachusetts, whose position was considered impregnable. This was done by a sharp and effective campaign, based on the records of these men in having opposed the passage of progressive and humanitarian measures, including the suffrage bill. No threats were made beforehand and no boasts afterwards. In fact, no allusion to our political work was ever made by any of us, and our relations with the Republican party were kept as friendly as possible, in order to leave the door open for the Republican votes in the Legislature necessary to carry our bill.

We also succeeded in defeating the straw vote, or as the antis euphonyously termed it the "public opinion bill," which has menaced us for two years in succession, the first year backed by all the strength of the old "stand pat" Republican machine.

On May second, Massachusetts celebrated its victory by a splendid and impressive parade of 10,000 men and women through the streets of Boston. Though the parade bills amounted to about \$3,000, the donations and league appropriations, and the business ability shown by the women who managed in relays the Parade Headquarters, the Suffrage shop and lunch room, not to mention the generosity of the professional artists, decorators, writers, etc., among our members, brought down the net cost of this immense undertaking to \$428.38.

Our Campaign activities began the day after the passage of the bill. The Chairman of the Organization, Legislative and other Committees started at once on a trip throughout the State, holding work conferences and enthusiastic public meetings in each of the counties.

The work of the Campaign Organization Committee has the co-operation of the strong local associations, Boston having undertaken the organization of the whole of Suffolk County, Worcester of Worcester County, Brookline of Norfolk, Cambridge of Middlesex, Springfield of Hampden and so on. This plan includes the effort to interview and enroll every registered male voter in the State before election day.

Since November 1, 1913, seventy new leagues and twenty-eight new committees have been formed, making a total of one hundred and thirty-eight in the state.

The Campaign Organization Committee consists of fourteen, a chairman for each county, each with a vice-chairman, secretary and a sub-chairman for each legislative district and if the district contains several towns, there is a member from each one. The organizers and certain members-at-large also belong to this committee, which now numbers two hundred and twenty-five. County Conferences are held at regular intervals, and each county chairman makes a monthly report of the enrollments of men and women and of the activities in her district.

The special work of the summer was an automobile campaign through the small towns of four counties. Postal card notices of proposed street meetings were sent to all the registered voters and by this means audiences were gathered in rural places, where a meeting otherwise would

have been impossible. Signatures to card pledges were obtained in the crowds, buttons sold and literature freely distributed. We felt that this was the best possible way of waking up the small and inaccessible towns.

Many factory and street meetings were held under the auspices of the various leagues, and this fall has seen the starting of a state-wide house-to-house canvassing, which if it works as we hope, will be the backbone of the campaign.

The work of systematically placing speakers on the programs of men's clubs, civic and fraternal organizations is actively going on, and to date we have supplied speakers before one hundred and twenty men's organizations.

Workers and literature have also been sent to the County Fairs, twenty-five of which have been covered in this way, and five by local leagues. Seventy thousand colored flyers were distributed in addition to the literature, buttons, pennants and novelties which were sold.

Five salaried speakers are constantly in the field, besides numerous volunteers. We have on our list of speakers one hundred and twenty-five women and seventy-six men willing and ready at all times to do whatever we ask. We have been able to loan two for some weeks in the Ohio Campaign and to sublet one to Nevada. From March 1st to November 1st the Speakers' Bureau has assigned speakers for the following meetings: Fifty-three Men's Organizations; nine Debates before Men's Clubs; twenty-five Women's Clubs; seventeen Hall Meetings; thirty Open Air Meetings; one hundred and thirty-seven State Leagues; totalling three hundred and eight.

Our Headquarters Press Chairman, who is salaried, and gives full time, sends out every week a news bulletin to local suffrage press chairmen, and to editors. The list includes regularly about seventy-five newspapers and is continually being extended.

A Committee of the College Equal Suffrage League of Boston assumed the management of the Literature Department in July, 1914, with a capital of \$300 in stock and \$1,000 in the treasury. The work of the department is done by volunteers who give regular time each week to selling at retail and filling orders, besides assuming general hospitality duties at Headquarters.

Through its organization committee, the Association has this year been working in co-operation with the Woman's Journal in placing the paper in the hands of as many people in the State as possible.

The Congressional work of the Association has been confined to a listing of the Massachusetts members of Congress, with regard to their attitude for or against equal suffrage, and an attempt wherever possible to convert them.

House to house canvassing has been carried on with most valuable results during the year.

The State and Boston Headquarters have an office corps of two managers, four stenographers, a treasurer's assistant and a general office

man, and nine field organizers giving either full or half time. A Workers' Bureau receives all offers, of volunteer help and places the applicants advantageously.

The condition of the legislative work at the present moment is favorable to the second and final passage of the suffrage bill, in spite of the fact that we failed to secure a suffrage plank in the Republican platform. All the other parties have such planks.*

The Ways and Means Committee have under way a second Suffrage Festival more than double the size of last year's; the proceeds of which will be divided between the suffrage work and that of the Red Cross.

Massachusetts has an electorate of 600,000 men. There is widespread ignorance and indifference among them on the subject of equal suffrage; but also much intelligence and a general tradition of progress and intellectual leadership which sometimes makes the old Bay State press forward almost against its will. The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association does not underestimate its task, but it is facing it with courage. Give us Godspeed.

Alice Stone Blackwell, President.

NEW JERSEY

Woman Suffrage Association

The New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association has grown in the past year from forty-six to ninety-six branches (which include practically all of the cities and large towns of the State and many of the smaller towns). Its membership has increased from 7,000 to 22,000, of which about one-fifth are dues-paying.

A State Executive Office is maintained in Plainfield, from which weekly news bulletins are sent to seventy-five newspapers and special press stories are furnished at least twice a month to over one hundred and fifty papers. During the past year about 200,000 pieces of literature have been sent out from this office.

The plan has been adopted of having the monthly board meetings of the Association held in different sections of the State each month, and these are followed by open conferences for suffragists from the nearby towns. These conferences are attended by anywhere from fifty to two hundred and fifty women, and have resulted in every case in greatly increased activity in the branches participating in the conference.

During the past summer a number of county automobile tours were held, a "Flying Squadron" of decorated automobiles going from town to town, holding meetings and distributing literature. These tours were properly worked up and advertised beforehand in the local papers and by announcement posters tacked up on trees and fences and placed in store windows.

*Measure has since passed the Legislature.

During July a series of suffrage debates was held in Asbury Park, the Auditorium there being given to us on condition that the meetings should be debates and not merely presentations of suffrage. From these debates we secured over a hundred columns of publicity in the New Jersey papers, and during the week they were in progress we canvassed the hotels of Asbury Park and nearby resorts and distributed thousands of suffrage fliers.

In co-operation with the National Association a Rally for the Campaign States was held in Paterson in April, and our Association and its branches have sent about five hundred dollars to the Campaign States.

We have secured (in co-operation with the other suffrage organizations of the State) the insertion of referendum planks in the platform of every political party, and feel absolutely sure that the suffrage amendment will pass the coming session of the Legislature, in which case it will go to the voters at a special election in September—thus making New Jersey the next Campaign State.*

We are advocating the running of suffrage shops in vacant stores (same to be vacated as soon as the owners rent them), and such stores are now being conducted in six of our principal cities. A series of suffrage schools are to be conducted in centrally located cities during December.

We have adopted as our slogan for the coming campaign the words "Voters First!" and intend that between now and the election every single voter in the State shall have the case for woman suffrage presented to him, and that systematic work will be done everywhere on election day to get out the voters we know are favorable to us and to ensure a fair and honest count of the vote on the suffrage amendment.

Lillian F. Feickert, President.

NEW YORK

State Woman Suffrage Association

At the State Convention of 1913, it was voted to unite with other organizations in the formation of a State Campaign Committee. Several meetings were held in New York City before a definite union was effected. The Empire State Campaign Committee was formed on November 1st, and hence has been at work eleven months. It labored at the beginning under the disadvantage of having to establish its headquarters, to secure help, to divide work and set campaign machinery in motion. It decided to emphasize for the first year the department of ORGANIZATION fortified by press, literature and agitational efforts.

Few trained organizers could be found and the qualifications of these had to be tested. It was clear that the most valuable service must be given by local workers; the direct constituents of legislators and the friends and neighbors of the voters to whom we must make final appeal.

*Measure has since passed the Legislature.

To arouse such women to activity was the aim of the organization department.

Accepting the plan put into partial operation by Mrs. Livermore, the State was divided into twelve Campaign Districts with somewhat different boundaries. A competent, earnest Chairman was appointed for each District, who, together with the elected Leaders of the Assembly Districts, formed a Campaign Committee for the District. In eight of the twelve districts, a local Headquarters existed in the chief city and permission was secured to make this the Campaign District Headquarters. In the Fourth and Sixth Districts the Chairman makes her own home the Headquarters, the administrative work for the Second District was done from the Central Headquarters under the direction of Mrs. Brown, and a new Headquarters was established in Troy with the aid of the State Committee. In January a series of eight Campaign District Conferences and Schools of Methods were held with the view of acquainting the Leaders and workers with the plans of campaign, and to teach them how to carry them out. The total number of workers enrolled in these Conferences was over one thousand, a few anti-suffragists here and there being included. The total of the audiences at the evening propaganda meetings was fifteen thousand. These winter Conferences were followed by spring County Conventions. The chief aim of the winter meetings was to teach the Assembly District Leaders the plans of campaign; the chief aim of the spring meetings was to instruct and encourage the Captains of Election Districts and local workers, in addition to the necessary business of electing officers.

In a number of counties the old county organization was merged into the newer Assembly District organization in accordance with the vote of the last State Convention. Many of these conventions were ideally successful. Others were total failures so far as securing delegates from over the county was concerned. But from every one there came some good results. The total number of spring conventions was fifty-one. The number of delegates and workers attending them was about three thousand, and the total number of persons gathered for the propaganda evening meetings was twenty thousand.

Meanwhile, all the Campaign Districts which were financially able to do so, kept organizers in the field working up these large meetings, holding meetings of their own and organizing where possible. Other organizers worked directly under the State Committee in the weaker districts. During the year twenty-eight persons have worked in the field under the direction of the State Committee. One was the Chairman who has visited fifty counties, attending conferences or County Conventions and has contributed her expenses. One was Mrs. Brown, the State President, who has visited many of the Districts and has contributed all her expenses. One was Miss Mills, whose salary was contributed by friends. She visited eight Campaign Districts and eighteen counties. Seven other persons worked for short periods for expenses only. Five

persons have worked in the Campaign Districts whose expense accounts have never entered the Central Office. To sum up, thirty-three persons have spoken and worked in Districts not their own for which salary or expenses, or both, have been paid or contributed. This it will be understood does not include any Campaign District Chairman or Assembly District Leader, with one exception.

The total results of the year's organization work plus the many years of continuous agitation which preceded it and whose value we must never forget, is that one hundred and forty-one of the one hundred and fifty Assembly Districts of the State are now organized, the majority well organized, the minority still needing much bolstering aid.

We began with instructions to appoint Captains of Election Districts, the ideal of our plan. Experience taught us that in the more uninformed districts the Captains were soon discouraged and after some months we replaced this plan in such districts by that of Campaign Clubs. The function of these clubs is precisely the same as the function of the Captain. Of these there are now not less than four hundred in the upstate.

FINANCE: The State Committee asked each Campaign District to raise all the money it could and to become self-supporting so far as possible. The definite amount of \$65,000 was assigned to various districts to be raised with the proviso that when raised a promised \$10,000 was to be paid to the State Committee. That amount was raised and the \$10,000 was paid.

We had estimated that a fund of \$75,000 for State Committee and Campaign Districts combined would be the minimum for the first year. The amount was pledged and paid in at the end of the first eight months. The total amount which has passed through the State Committee Treasury is \$31,746. The disbursements have been as follows:

New York Headquarters—Maintenance.....	\$7,395.90
Field Work.....	9,931.43
Press Bureau.....	2,701.21
Literature	620.67
Posters, decorations, buttons, etc.....	1,712.47
Political Conventions.....	238.56
Printing	936.44
Loans to Districts.....	501.47
Miscellaneous, including deposit for Carnegie Hall and traveling expenses of some Chairmen to Campaign Committee meeting.....	761.13

The amounts expended on field work in the various districts were as follows:

First—\$15.58; Second—\$40.00; Third—\$728.43; Fourth—\$707.23; Fifth—\$738.65; Sixth—\$1,045.86; Seventh—\$187.92; Eighth—Nothing; Ninth—\$158.13; Tenth—\$1,713.05; Eleventh—\$1,341.13; Twelfth—\$353.32.

The Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Districts have been practically self-

supporting and will continue to be so. The Fourth District has cost a good deal of money, but by January first, we believe will be self-supporting. Several counties have been self-supporting, chiefly, Oneida, Cayuga and Delaware. The Fifth, Sixth, Tenth and Eleventh Districts have been the heaviest burdens and all these must still receive assistance. The amount paid out on field work is in addition to collections taken in the field, which was \$609.00, a woefully small sum. The counties containing the great Cities of Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, have been self-supporting. Albany and Troy have had help.

ENROLLMENTS: The Committee has urged upon all occasions that suffrage enrollments should be taken and that systematic canvasses of towns and villages should be made. On October first the total number reported for the State was 131,831 and for the City of New York was 133,962 making a total of 265,793.

LITERATURE: The Committee has printed, 1,400,000 leaflets and has 400,000 on hand. Presumably one million have been either distributed or are in local headquarters for that purpose.

PRESS: A Press Department with Mrs. Harriet Holt Dey and Miss Eva Ward in charge has been maintained. Five hundred newspapers have been served with weekly news or propaganda bulletins. One hundred and seventy-five papers have been provided with a page of plate matter three times. Innumerable anti-suffrage articles have been answered. Many pages of propaganda in the form of write-ups or interviews have been furnished the Metropolitan Dailies. Much effort has been expended in preparing the way for coming organizers over the State by press work in local papers. The Department has grown steadily in usefulness and promises to be one of our most powerful campaign agencies the coming year.

FAIRS: We have lent our aid to the big task of covering the State Fairs with speakers and workers. One hundred in all were reached with greater or less completeness. The details will be reported by the District Chairmen.

ART PUBLICITY: The Committee has issued under its Art Department, window decorations, decorative posters, advertising posters, buttons, etc., for sale and benefit to local workers. Fifty thousand road posters were sold at cost for posting over the country, the results to be gathered later.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS: Hearings were asked and willingly granted for our representatives in the Socialist and Progressive State Conventions. Headquarters were maintained at the Republican and Democratic Conventions, and especial literature printed. Every Campaign District was represented at these conventions, seventy-five of our women attending the Republican and sixty the Democratic Convention. We were assured by delegates of both that our presence was the most interesting incident of the conventions, which lacked their former excitement owing to nominations being taken to the primaries. Every party has given the strongest

possible pledge to push our bill through the coming Legislature honestly and fairly, and every delegate to these conventions went home with an increased respect for the New York suffrage movement.

REPORTS: The usual difficulty of securing accurate and regular reports has been a constant annoyance, but a sufficient acquaintance with the condition of the State warrants three statements:

1. The number of active, alert, intelligent workers has been trebled as the result of the year's work.

2. The sentiment for woman suffrage in the State has easily been doubled.

3. The organization of the State, inadequate as we know it to be, is at least four times stronger than any other campaign State has ever had one year before the vote is to be taken.

There are still a good many leaders and Captains who possess the intelligence and ability necessary to successful campaign workers, but who are not yet as efficient as success in 1915 demands. We must hope their indifference will become enthusiasm; their future activity keen enough to make up for lost time.

This in brief is an account of the work of the Empire State Campaign Committee. A good many women have given to it all their time, and all of their ability. Long hours of hard nerve-racking toil have been put in day after day, and no days off have been taken. Apathy and indifference rather than opposition, is the condition to be overcome. It is a heavy price we women must pay for our political emancipation, but those who have seen the vision of coming freedom and useful service gladly pay it. There must be more workers another year; agitation and publicity for our cause must be never ceasing.

The Committee has been completely harmonious and a unit in understanding and plans. The State Association and Committee have shared the same headquarters and have pulled together without a single hitch. Our work together has been more than co-operation; it has been unity. Mrs. Raymond Brown, your President, has been at her desk every day and all day throughout the year, except when in the field, and she has worked many a whole day in the office and then gone out to speak in the evening. She has shown marvelous powers of turning off work, great executive talents, and is an irrepressible optimist. Mrs. Childs, your Treasurer, has also given splendid help to the Headquarters besides keeping her own books.

I wish especially to express my appreciation of the helpfulness of all the members of the Campaign Committee who have each contributed generously of time and money.

I wish also to express my appreciation of the steadfast service, the executive skill and splendid never-failing co-operation of Mrs. Owens, Chairman of the Sixth District, Mrs. Clement, Chairman of the Seventh District, Mrs. Shuler, Chairman of the Eighth District, Mrs. Osterheld,

Chairman of the Ninth District, Miss Watson, Chairman of the Twelfth District, who have superintended their Districts since the organization of the Committee. Mrs. Paddock of the Fourth District, a later Chairman, has done and is doing excellent work. Three Districts—the Sixth, the Third, and the Eleventh, have lost their Chairmen through ill health, and have none at this time.

To one and all who have helped, I express my personal gratitude; to those who have done nothing or little the cause extends—a call to service. Some of us can work no harder the coming year than we have the last, but as there must be more and ever more work done, it follows that there must be more workers. It is always a glorious thing to work for a great cause. It is a blessed privilege to labor for woman suffrage in the Empire State for when New York is won the United States is won; when the United States is won, the civilized world will soon follow. Come on, fight on, the triumph over worn-out tradition lies just ahead!

GERTRUDE F. BROWN, President.

CONNECTICUT

Woman Suffrage Association

As the main object of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association is to obtain votes for women in *Connecticut*, the principal achievement of the Association during the past year must be reckoned to be the great step onward toward the amendment of the State Constitution through the adoption of a woman suffrage plank in the Democratic party platform. As the Progressives, Prohibitionists and Socialists had already endorsed woman suffrage there is now left only the Republican party which has failed to see the signs of the times and to declare for progress that is demanded by the nation.

Much hard work and much careful organization went into plans for bringing pressure on the political party conventions. In this work the officers of the State Association were nobly backed by the leagues and by individual suffragists. Thousands of letters were written to members of the State Central Committees, to members of the party conventions and to prospective candidates before the endorsement of the Democratic Convention was secured. Women responded to the call of the State President and patiently waited upon the Republican Convention in New Haven and the Democratic Convention in Hartford, to show their earnest desire for the ballot. Much still remains to be done to hold the Democratic party to its pledge, that it will submit the question to the voters of the State, but the C. W. S. A. looks hopefully forward to the taking of the first step in the long and tedious process of constitutional amendment during the coming winter.

Another form of work which has occupied the State Association and the affiliated leagues during the whole of the year is the canvassing of voters by wards and towns. The ward campaign work was inaugurated by Miss Pierson and Miss Gregory last November. The organizers spent weeks in the larger cities planning out these ward campaigns and training the workers to undertake the actual canvassing. In the smaller places the work was very generally undertaken by the local leagues and Miss Pierson and Miss Gregory responded to many calls for help and information as to the best ways of conducting the canvasses. This work is preparatory to the popular vote which must be taken after the legislative stages of amendment are completed, as well as preparatory to the recent election, when Representatives were chosen to the Legislature.

The most noticeable growth during the past year has been its spread into counties which were previously almost untouched by suffrage propaganda. In the early summer an automobile campaign was planned to cover Windham and Tolland counties. There were then two leagues in Windham County and none in Tolland County. Miss Emily Pierson and Miss Gregory, the Organizers, with a band of campaigners, covered every town in these two counties, arousing much enthusiasm for woman suffrage and bringing about the formation later of leagues in a number of the towns in both counties.

Owing to Miss Pierson's good management and to the help forthcoming locally, there was a margin over of the money raised for the campaign in these two counties, and by the aid of fresh contributions a short but vigorous campaign was carried out in Middlesex County. At the close of these campaigns both organizers left Connecticut for well-earned vacations, and since their return they have arranged for a series of "little campaigns," each lasting for a full week, centering around some of the cities and larger towns. Several of these campaigns have already been carried out and this work is being continued as long as automobile travel on country roads is possible. Just recently, thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Landers, of New Britain, who pledged to give \$2,000 for the salary and expenses, a *third* organizer has been added to the staff of workers, Miss Isabella Sanders of Illinois, who has already done excellent work in connection with the Little Campaigns.

In regard to National work—work towards the enfranchisement of women by amendment of the United States Constitution, Connecticut has cooperated with the National Association and the Congressional Union by sending a delegation of working women last February to Washington to wait upon President Wilson, and put the case of the women before him; and by organizing a magnificent parade in Hartford which took place simultaneously with similar parades and other suffrage demonstrations all over the country on May 2nd. In this work the State Association was again nobly backed by the local leagues.

Connecticut sent help individually to Nevada and generally to the other campaign States through the National Association. A special Melt-

ing Pot fund was raised in the State and the proceeds forwarded to the National Treasury.

The Annual Convention of the C. W. S. A. was held in Hartford October 22 and 23. There were few changes in the personnel of the Board of the Association as a result of the elections. Nominations were from the floor, but in every case only one nomination was forthcoming and the elections of officers were carried unanimously. At this Convention of about 120 women nearly \$12,000 was raised for the year's work. We raised and spent last year nearly \$19,000.

KATHARINE HOUGHTON HEBURN, President.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

State Equal Suffrage Association

The District of Columbia does not cover much territory, but is important as a political center. We have no suffrage of any kind—we are the National Capitol—and so for the present, at least, are as equals in the hands of the Government, men, women, insane and idiots all the same. The State Equal Suffrage Association is a delegate body, with four auxiliaries, and about four hundred paid-up members. Two of our auxiliaries belong to, and are, active members of the Federation of Women's Clubs. Our Laws concerning women and children are fairly good but we are wholly dependent upon the Congress of the United States for any changes we may wish to make. A number of Organizations are working for Suffrage in the District—when they come out plainly and say no limitations as regards sex, we work with them, otherwise we oppose them. When Suffrage is granted to the District of Columbia, it must come without any sex limitations.

Surely today, as never before, we are thankful we are Americans, and we would like to see the Capitol of our Country well governed in every respect, but its government depends upon the representatives that come to Congress from your various states. If your men and women have not received good and wholesome education at home, they come poorly equipped for the National work to be laid upon them. If you want a clean country—send to Congress clean men—if you want an honest, upright Government, send in the men and women to make it so. If you want your sons and daughters to travel in safety from Sandy Hook to Seattle—send in the right kind of men and women to make and carry into effect good and righteous laws.

CARRIE E. KENT, President.

FLORIDA

Equal Franchise League

The Florida Equal Franchise League came into existence full-fledged in June, 1912. A meeting was called at the residence of Mrs. Herbert Anderson of Jacksonville by herself and Mrs. Eagan both of that city, and the telephone invitation was responded to by about thirty ladies. Short talks were made by many of those present, and an organization was the result. Knowing how the men of the smaller towns shrank from the word Suffrage, the league adopted the name of Florida Equal Franchise. Mrs. Eagan was the first president, but left the city shortly afterward for Paris, and the duties and responsibilities fell upon the vice president and the other officers. How well they fulfilled those duties the following report will show.

Through the courtesy of the owners of a large new office building a League room was opened, literature obtained, and regular monthly meetings were held. With the first novelty of Suffrage to inspire curiosity the meetings were largely attended and a membership of forty-five was enrolled.

In the fall of 1912 a meeting of The National Child Labor Convention brought to Jacksonville two prominent suffrage workers. Mrs. Florence Kelly of N. Y. and Miss Jean Gordon of New Orleans, whom we solicited for an evening of suffrage talk. Imagine our surprise when both the Board of Trade and the Woman's Club declined to rent to us their auditoriums for a suffrage meeting. We secured an adjoining room to our headquarters, opened the door between, and although the evening was inclement, the two rooms were crowded with men and women to hear the reasons for the emancipation of woman. And thus was the first Suffrage Mass Meeting held in my native state of Florida, and I as vice-president of the Florida Equal Franchise League had the pleasure of presiding.

In April 1913 the legislature met. As it meets every two years, the League realized that the plain duty was the presentation of an amendment to the constitution of Florida granting to one half of her Caucasian population their inherited right of full citizenship. A bill was prepared, the assistance of the National Association was solicited, the Executive Board of the League went to Tallahassee, and had with them Miss Jeanette Rankin, a field worker for the National Suffrage Association. The House of Representatives decided to hear us in a committee of the whole, at an evening session. In this case it meant the whole House of Representatives, the whole Senate, and the whole town. Seats were filled, aisles were filled, the steps of the Speaker's rostrum were filled, windows had people standing in them, and in the hall as far as one could see, people were standing on chairs to hear the first call for the rights of women, ever uttered in the Capitol of the State.

Four women and three men spoke, the vote of the committee was publicly called at the close of the speaking, and our bill passed into the House of Representatives without recommendation, but it passed.

Weary days and weeks of waiting, time wasted on petty legislation, House members going home for week-ends and not returning for Monday work, kept us still waiting. At length the bill was called, the vote being 26 to 38. Not a bad showing for a pioneer movement.

As we were leaving for our homes on Saturday evening a Senator said, "Ladies, if you will come into the Senate we will show those men how to treat ladies." So we went back on Monday, and were fortunate in having for our sponsor Senator Cone of Columbia Co., the leader of the Senate. He took up our bill, placed it on the special calendar, and advised us in our procedure, the bill having come into the Senate with recommendation. Again the weary waiting, the petty legislation, the filibustering of the corporation members and the whiskey men, when at last a motion to indefinitely postpone was carried by one majority, 15 to 16, the sixteenth man being one who had been with us from the first. When I asked him why he deflected from our standard he replied, "I decided that the bill would call forth a long debate, and that it would waste time and money." I replied, "Will you please tell me whose time and whose money would be wasted? Do not the women of Florida pay as much tax as the men of the state? Does not the money of the women go to pay for the time spent in legislation? Is it not the time and the money of the women of Florida as well as the time and the money of the men?" He really had not thought of the women having any part in the money of the state treasury.

Hundreds of letters have been written by the president and secretary of the league, replying to inquiries, inciting suffrage work, and doing all possible to further suffrage enlightenment and suffrage work in Florida.

This League affiliated with the National Woman's Suffrage Association shortly after it was organized, and now as president of the League I am also a member of the Political Equality Club of N. Y. and of the Southern States Suffrage Conference of New Orleans.

July 3rd, 1914, the League published an edition of "The State," a weekly paper owned by prominent politicians of Florida, the two editors having called upon me and offered me the edition on condition that I would edit it. Mrs. Medill McCormick took an interest in our publication, and sent to us for two weeks Miss Engle of Maryland, who had had some newspaper experience, and who was most helpful. The League has received letters of congratulation from every state in the Union upon this Suffrage issue, and we feel that it was a grand piece of suffrage propaganda. A copy of the paper was put into the hands of every Senator and House Member in Florida, as well as those seeking office. It was also sent to Florida's representatives at Washington, and widely circulated.

These four achievements have served to place Suffrage prominently before the people of Florida, and the League feels justly proud of the pioneer work.

The League now has new quarters, as Mr. Heard, president of the Heard National Bank, has courteously given the use of a large front room on the first office floor of the Bank building, and the League has had painted on one front window "Florida Equal Franchise League," and on the other "Votes For Women." Nearly every man in the city passes the building every day, as it is in the heart of the banking district, and near the Post Office.

Cake sales and collections, private sacrifices and constant effort, have combined to place Suffrage in large letters before the people of Florida, and to place Florida in the list of campaign states.

Miss Safford of the Orlando Suffrage Association spent three days at Tallahassee assisting us in our legislative campaign, and the weeks of patient waiting and assistance, kindly advice and judicious effort of Miss Jeanette Rankin of the National Association we will ever cherish as a woman's work for the good of her fellow woman. We hope to have Miss Rankin with us again in the spring of 1915.

Of Hilda of Whitby it was said, "Her prudence was so great that not only indifferent persons but even kings and princes, as occasion offered, asked and received her advice." The Florida Equal Franchise League is determined to spare no effort to return to the Hildas of this day the usurped right of full citizenship.

FLORENCE MURPHY COOLEY, President.

GEORGIA

Equal Suffrage Party

The Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia is the youngest of the three state associations in Georgia, having been organized during the present year. It was formed in January under the name of the Eighth Ward Committee of Atlanta and was made a state organization with its present name in March last. Mrs. Emily C. McDougald was elected president.

The Georgia legislature met in the summer and a suffrage bill was introduced into a House Committee but was lost by one vote. Later it was introduced into a Senate Committee and was lost by 4 votes. Better success is hoped for next year as the work this winter promises to be effective.

On July 29th, a special convention was called to thoroughly reorganize the party to meet its expanding needs. A new constitution along the lines of successful northern associations was adopted. A distinction, hitherto not clearly drawn, was made between the state party and the Atlanta Branch. A much larger staff of officers was elected.

From this time it was possible to take up the suffrage work more systematically owing to the aid offered by Mrs. W. G. Raoul and Mrs. Mary Raoul Millis, of Atlanta. Mrs. Raoul gave a room in her house to be used as an office and Mrs. Millis agreed to keep the office open during the morning.

The work has progressed rapidly and in a most encouraging way. The object of the state party is to form a Branch association in every county—the largest town to be Headquarters for the Branch and responsible for the growth of sentiment throughout that community. Six Branches have affiliated with the state party and more are organizing.

In all there are 801 members but the membership is rapidly increasing.

The Fulton & DeKalb Counties Branch (Atlanta is situated in these counties) is by far the largest local association and it is to this Branch that the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia owes its origin and progress up to the present time.

Mr. Carroll Payne, one of Atlanta's well-known lawyers, has recently lent a store on a principal street to be used as an office. This has greatly facilitated matters. A number of other prominent men and women in Georgia have expressed their sympathy and interest in suffrage. It is felt that we have made a good beginning and great success is anticipated.

EMILY C. McDOUGALD, President.

GEORGIA

Woman's Suffrage Association

The progress of the Woman's Suffrage movement in Georgia during 1914 has been most gratifying. The Georgia Woman's Suffrage Association has more than doubled its membership during the past year, our membership at present being well over one thousand. Of these, about five hundred are dues paying.

During 1914, 275 meetings have been held by the auxiliaries of the State Association; five open air mass meetings were held during the summer months, and proved a most effective form of propaganda work. Suffrage flower festivals were held in Macon and in Rome. The Macon Woman's Suffrage Association put on the play, "How the Vote Was Won." The Atlanta Equal Suffrage Association conducted for two weeks a "Votes for Women Cooking School," which met with flattering success. The Rome Woman's Suffrage Association is at present conducting a series of Suffrage musicales and teas, and find this a splendid method of spreading Suffrage sentiment and gaining members for that organization.

To enlarge the scope of the State work, there was organized in Atlanta last February "The Woman's Suffrage Party, Inc.," of Georgia, branch of the Georgia Woman's Suffrage Association. Mrs. McLendon

was made president. The party has secured a charter under the laws of Georgia, and is preparing for an aggressive state-wide Suffrage campaign. The Georgia Woman's Suffrage Association is taking part in the Buy-cotton-goods movement. Mrs. E. T. Martin, of Macon, is Chairman of the Suffragists' Cotton Campaign Committee, and is planning very effective work along this line. The bale of cotton purchased by Mrs. McLendon with money furnished by the Anna Howard Shaw Buy-a-bale fund occupies a prominent place in the lobby of the Ansley Hotel in Atlanta.

At the request of Mrs. McLendon, Hon. Barry Wright, of Rome, last June introduced into the Legislature a bill to enfranchise the women of Georgia, and for the first time in the history of our State the Suffragists were given a hearing before the Committee on Constitutional Amendments. The brilliant address of Mrs. William Felton, of Cartersville, on that occasion, created great enthusiasm, and was widely and favorably commented upon by the press of the State. A vote to bring the bill before the House of Representatives resulted in a tie, which was considered in the light of victory by the Suffragists, at this first hearing granted the advocates of political equality for men and women. The law makers of Georgia were kept well supplied with Suffrage literature. During 1914 the State Association has distributed about 40,000 pages of leaflets, fliers, etc. The Press Committee is not so well organized as we hope to have it in the near future. About twelve of the leading newspapers of the State are kept regularly supplied with local and other Suffrage news. The State Convention of the Georgia Woman's Suffrage Association was held in Atlanta on July 21-22. Mrs. M. L. McLendon was the unanimous choice of the Association for president. The other officers of the Association are as follows: Honorary Vice-president, Madeline John Sevier Wyly; First Vice-president, Mrs. E. T. Martin, Macon; Second Vice-president, Mrs. Jonte DeJournette, Rome; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Amelia R. Woodall, Atlanta; Treasurer, Mrs. Alice C. Daniels, Atlanta; Recording Secretary, Miss Katharine Koch, Atlanta; Auditor, Mrs. Wm. Felton, Cartersville; Counsel, Leonard J. Grossman, Atlanta.

The Suffrage campaign work planned during the Convention is being carried on, and while our progress here in Georgia may seem slow, when compared with that of the States of the North and East, we have only to look back a few years and see how the prejudice with which Woman's Suffrage has been regarded in the South is being overcome, to be convinced that votes for the women of Georgia will be a realization of the near future.

That twenty years ago Suffrage was a forbidden subject at temperance meetings in our State, and that today at the great National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, being held at

present in Atlanta, our President, Mrs. M. L. McLendon, has been invited to welcome the temperance hosts in behalf of the Suffragists, proves the onward march of the "Votes for Women" sentiment.

MARY L. McLENDON, President.

ILLINOIS

Equal Suffrage Association

A year ago, the suffrage bill had passed in Illinois, but still over us hung the shadow of dread uncertainty. The suffrage law had not been pronounced constitutional by the final tribunal—the Supreme Court of Illinois.

Very soon after our last Convention the law was attacked—attacked simultaneously in different parts of the State.

Our State Board immediately took measures for the defense of the law. A special committee was appointed by the Board consisting of the President, First Vice-President, and the Legislative Chairman. The duty of this Committee was to secure counsel for the defense of the law and stand on the watch tower, and never for one moment relax its vigilance until the law was pronounced constitutional.

This committee after careful consideration and consultation with leading men and women of all parties, finally decided upon, and secured as counsel for the defense of the suffrage law, John J. Herrick, one of the most trusted and respected lawyers in Illinois and a recognized authority on Constitutional Law, and Judge Charles S. Cutting, who, in his long career on the bench, had won a reputation for legal ability and unimpeachable integrity and honor. Our counsel was assisted in their work by the following able lawyers, Charles H. Mitchell, Counsel for the Election Commissioners, and Judge Willard McEwen, whom the Election Commissioners secured as special counsel in this case, and also Judge Isaiah T. Greenacre, representing the Teachers' Federation, and Joel F. Longenecker. Many other friends were watching all over the state, and reporting conditions to State Headquarters constantly.

To defray expenses it was necessary to raise a Defense Fund, and the First Vice President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association was appointed Chairman of this Committee, and it was mainly due to her faithful and untiring efforts that this fund was raised. The first letter sent out was for Defense alone, but this did not bring in a sufficient amount. Other letters were sent out afterwards asking for funds to be used for defense and organization work. Enough money was raised to cover all extra clerical work and legal expenses, which had accrued. Not a penny of this money has ever been used for general expenses and the balance left in the treasury will be used for organization work next year.

It has been a year of watchful waiting and wakeful watching.

During this year of stress of anxiety many women never seemed to have the slightest realization of true conditions, or that the liberty which had been given to the women of Illinois might be taken away from them. It was better perhaps to foster this blind confidence.

In the Spring, those opposing us said, "Women down the State are voting because they are interested in local option and not much else, but there will not be 25,000 women who will register in Chicago. Just wait for Chicago and see what a depressing effect the poor vote will have on the Supreme Court, for the Court naturally desires to see some public sentiment on this question."

It was vitally necessary therefore to center our efforts on Chicago. Every local organization in the city worked for registration, and not 25,000 but over 200,000 women registered last spring in Chicago, and they turned out afterwards in goodly numbers to vote.

On May 2d we had the suffrage procession. The Governor and Mayor sat side by side and reviewed the procession. The City Government sent us word that we were going to have not the ordinary body guard given to ordinary processions but the mounted beauty squad, which is always brought out when the President of the United States visits Chicago. So the way for our suffrage procession was cleared by this magnificent company of mounted policemen headed by the Chief of Police himself. Nearly 15,000 women and men representing all parties and all classes and all creeds marched down Michigan Boulevard, and hundreds of thousands of people lined both sides of the way for over a mile and one-half.

This aggregation of suffrage forces on May 2d was another valuable and opportune manifestation of public sentiment.

It has seemed all this year as if there never was a moment for relaxation. One big event has followed fast upon another. We began early in the year to work hard for the big registration, then came the Spring election, then the parade in May, and in June the General Federation of Women's Clubs held its Biennial Convention in Chicago. The question uppermost in the minds of all club women was, Would the President of the General Federation refuse to allow a suffrage resolution to be presented, and would the proposition be turned down as it had been in San Francisco at the preceding Biennial? Another question discussed was, if the suffrage resolution were presented, would it be endorsed by the General Federation itself?

The State Board realizing the delicacy of the suffrage condition in Illinois, with the Suffrage Law still in the hands of the Supreme Court, knew that it was vitally important to have the suffrage question given favorable consideration by this Convention. For that reason the State Board appointed the President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association to look after the suffrage interests.

The General Federation Board appointed a special committee to confer with the Illinois State President. Every courtesy and kindness was extended by the General Federation President and the officers of the General Federation Board. A resolution was prepared and was sent to the Committee on Resolutions and on June 13th it was endorsed by the General Federation. By an extraordinary coincidence that same day word came that the Supreme Court of Illinois had pronounced the suffrage law constitutional. The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association had already planned a Banquet on that evening to be given in honor of the General Federation. All of these events came at an opportune moment, and this great Banquet became historic in its significance, and it was transformed into a Banquet of Thanksgiving, where a thousand women and men gave expression to their joy over these two great victories.

Almost immediately after the decision of the Supreme Court, an appeal was made by our opponents for a rehearing, and not until October 7th, when the Supreme Court refused to grant a rehearing, was the suffrage law really safe.

The only way to repeal the law now would be by securing a majority vote of both Houses of the Legislature at Springfield.

The law will never be repealed. It would be utterly impossible to find 77 men in the House and 26 men in the Senate who would vote for a repeal of the suffrage law, and by so doing deliberately court political annihilation and political oblivion forever.

Our total receipts for the past year have been \$20,283.63, and total expenditures including money paid out for defense of the bill, self denial fund, parade fund, etc. have been \$17,343.74, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$2,939.89. Of this amount \$2,011.93 being Defense Fund, which is, now that the bill is safe, an organization fund. The money was collected for Defense and Organization.

We have increased our organization this year over fifty per cent, and now have over one hundred and thirty-five affiliated associations, and expect to have the organization by Congressional districts, and perhaps by Senatorial districts established throughout the State this year.

Our work for the coming year will be to push organization work throughout the State.

GRACE WILBUR TROUT.

KENTUCKY

Equal Rights Association

In November, 1912 when—to quote Clara Barton—I had “the honor and the pain” to be elected president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association there were 1779 members, with organizations in eleven counties. In November, 1913, we were able to report 4655 members.

We are now able to report 10,577. For each of these we have a card bearing the original signature at State Headquarters. Of the 120 counties of Kentucky we have completely organized suffrage leagues in 64; partially organized leagues, (a chairman, and roll of members) in twenty-three; a roll of members but as yet no local organization in thirty-two counties; and but one county in the state, Casey County, in which we have no “signed and sealed” believer in woman suffrage. That does not mean that there are none in Casey County; the woods in Kentucky are full of convincing and instinctive suffragists. All that we have to do is to reach them and to offer them a tangible method of coming out and standing for the truth to have them do it.

Organizers Secure Nearly Five Thousand Members.

Our summer's work shows this. Since March we have had an organizer loaned us by Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. For parts of the summer, varying from three weeks to two months, we have had five other organizers: their principal work has been to address teachers' institutes and occasional citizens' meetings. In answer to the invitations extended at these meetings 4,720 persons have signed membership cards.

Ninety-four counties were covered by suffrage speeches made at the teachers' institutes and fifty citizens' meetings were addressed by our organizers. Forty-eight full organizations were effected by them, and fourteen semi-organizations. This work was done at an expense to the State Association of approximately \$400.00 for salaries and \$400.00 for expenses.

Work for School Elections.

In addition to our work for full suffrage, our local leagues have done much work to increase the interest of women in the schools. Between ten and twenty thousand leaflets on the school law were sent out last summer from State Headquarters to the local leagues for distribution in the country districts before the school trustee elections. Splendid work was done by the Louisville Woman Suffrage Association in re-electing the members of their non-partisan School Commission.

Legislative Work.

A bill drawn by Mr. R. A. McDowell of Louisville was presented in the last legislature: it did not pass. The two amendments to the State Constitution previously voted by the people and not properly advertised by the Secretary of State were repassed and only two can be passed by any one legislature. But these gains were made:—a special committee on woman suffrage was appointed in the House (a thing worked for but not yet obtained in the lower house of Congress), to which the bill was referred. Both this committee and the Senators'

committee reported the bill out and reported it favorably—a thing that I believe has never happened before in Kentucky. Of the thirteen members of these two committees but two members voted against a favorable report and one voted to report only without favorable expression. Hearings on suffrage were granted by the House of one and one half hours, by the Senate of one hour. The members of both houses were invited to attend each of these hearings and most of them did attend. The House was addressed by Miss Laura Clay and myself; the Senate by Dr. S. P. Breckinridge of Chicago.

At considerable expense headquarters were maintained at the Capitol Hotel throughout the legislative session, with one or more of our workers always in attendance. Much educational work was accomplished thereby. This report would not be complete without acknowledgment of the great services rendered us by the Hon. John G. Miller of Paducah who presented our suffrage bill in the Lower House and ably spoke for it, and by Senator J. H. Durham, of Franklin, who presented it in the Senate.

Primary Law.

Amendments to the new primary law were obtained that leave no doubt in the future of a woman's right to vote in the primary election for County Superintendent. This right was not only in doubt the year before, but was denied in many counties. A favorable opinion of the Court of Appeals was obtained, but the new primary law, if unamended, would have abrogated this right, or at best left it again doubtful.

Propaganda Through Literature.

Trial four months' subscriptions were sent to all candidates to the Legislature of 1914, through the generosity of Mrs. S. M. Hubbard.

They have also been sent to forty-three newspaper editors who have promised to clip from the Journal and publish, and to fifty-seven presidents or chairmen of local leagues, and five persons designated by them who were not subscribers. A little more than a dollar's worth of literature and sample copies of the Woman's Journal have been presented by the State Association to each one of our eighty-seven local leagues, in addition to much literature distributed by our organizers and sent out from headquarters by mail to individual requests.

Work for Campaign States.

Kentucky suffragists have not worked for themselves alone. \$587.65 was sent to the campaign states, either through the National Campaign States Committee or directly to Nevada and Ohio. These contributions represented 31 leagues or individuals. In addition melting-pot contributions were sent by a number of local leagues.

Universal Suffrage Day, May 2nd, was observed by twenty-odd local leagues, at least seven having out-door meetings and parades. On the next Sunday many ministers preached sermons on woman suffrage.

Congressional Work.

Mrs. Murray Hubbard, now of Newport, was appointed Congressional Chairman for Kentucky, on the request of the National Congressional Committee for such an appointment. Mrs. Hubbard reports that she has so far secured chairmen for four of our Congressional districts only, but much pure suffrage propoganda has been done in the state through Mrs. Hubbard's work.

Cotton Movement and Child Labor.

To aid the cotton movement, the Kentucky Equal Rights Association has bought a bale of cotton, as have other Southern states with the fund furnished by Dr. Shaw. In addition a resolution has been adopted urging everyone of the ten thousand members to buy a bolt of cotton in order to relieve the market and get the bales moving again. Each local league has also been asked to make a "cotton party" the means both of helping the cotton movement and raising funds for suffrage. And last but not least, they have called upon the cotton manufacturers to abolish the blot of child labor from the industry in the South, if they desire the mothers of Southern children to stand by the cotton industry.

Suffrage Work at Fairs.

By the courtesy of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs we were allowed to use their tent at the State Fair as headquarters of our suffrage work. One day was specially featured by our women as suffrage day. Headquarters were maintained at the Blue-Grass Fair, by the courtesy of the Lexington Herald, in its tent. Suffrage work was done at a number of other fairs and also at the Chautauquas.

At a half a dozen of the Chatauquas suffrage addresses from Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout of Chicago were provided by the management. In each place our suffrage workers made the most of organization for the distribution of literature and getting signatures to membership cards.

The President Pleads Guilty.

I must admit that my duties as member of the National Board have absorbed some of the time that would otherwise have been given to suffrage work in Kentucky. But on the other hand I believe material gains have accrued to Kentucky from this connection. Notably, the organizer provided for Kentucky for several months by the chairman of the National Congressional Committee.

A gift of \$500.00 was made by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont on the condition that it should be duplicated and it was duplicated by Mrs. S. M. Hubbard, of Hickman.

Though your president has in the year made some thirty-two suffrage addresses outside the state, including work in the campaign states, she can count only the following to her credit in Kentucky: address to the

teachers of the first district and for the suffrage league at Paducah, various efforts at Frankfort during the Legislature, addresses at Mt. Sterling, Harrodsburg, Winchester, Georgetown, Lexington, Covington, Owensboro, Henderson, Hopkinsville, Bowling Green, Glasgow and Nicholasville. Very much more time has been given in the office and in arranging for and directing the work of the organizers.

Votes for Kentucky Women in 1917.

We shall again present a bill in the legislature of 1916. We expect to win; we intend to win. We will go to a vote of the people in 1917. Kentucky will be a free state, and we shall be voting citizens in 1918. If every woman in Kentucky does her duty from now until the election of 1917 we can not fail. If any one of you fails to do your full duty, we may fail, for suffrage cannot be won in Kentucky by the work of one person or a dozen persons or a few hundred persons. It must be done by all of our thousands of believers working faithfully and conscientiously. We have big forces to overcome, and the interest of these is conservatism, or mental inertia, which some one has said is the strongest force in human affairs.

For the value to the state of their service and for the credit of the state, we desire to see Kentucky women free. For the credit of our men, we desire them to lead the states of the South in this final development of Democracy, as in the old days they led the Nation when first of the states of this Union, they granted manhood suffrage to white men.

MADELINE BRECKINRIDGE, President.

LOUISIANA

Equal Suffrage League

In March, 1913, being impelled with a desire to see a purely Suffrage organization created in Louisiana, to which I might belong, and give the proportion of my time and thoughts hitherto given to Civic and Philanthropic associations, I started out, by phoning to find out if enough "Suffragists" could be found in the city of Baton Rouge to form a league. About fifteen women responded and with little difficulty the movement flashed forth into activity at the State Capitol, The Louisiana Equal Suffrage League being the result, with a membership extending throughout the surrounding country, the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana.

With the raising of nearly four hundred dollars (\$400.00) by getting out a Special Suffrage Edition of a local paper, we attained a good start financially as well as in the way of popularizing "the cause." We have established elaborate headquarters in the Capital City, kept open always, greatly convenient to suffragists visiting the legislature or at any time and and as a rest room for country women visiting the city.

We celebrated last May The Second all day most extensively, easily securing the co-operation of all business houses in decorating the city as well as securing places on programs of all moving picture theatres, winding up with an open mass meeting on the Boulevard, permission having been given for the use of "Band Stand" by the city officials as well as police protection, meeting being presided over by the Mayor and addressed by Dr. W. O. Scroggs, of Louisiana State University, a leading Sociologist of this country. We sold "Journals" on the day appointed to raise funds to help the campaign states.

Our best work we consider to have been legislative, having the opportunity of establishing a stationary committee at the state capital who gave very keen and careful study to the situation and were in readiness for any suggestions received from the members of Louisiana Legislature who were so earnestly pressing the "Woman Suffrage Bill" or "House Bill No. 48 by Mr. Manion." Indeed we were met with a very fair and favorable general attitude in the legislature, the bill being favorably reported out of committee, and a majority vote secured in the "House" of sixty to forty, seventy-nine or two-thirds being required; which result taught us that a little more educational effort followed by united legislative effort is the only work before us.

Since the formation of our league there has been a wave of Suffrage activity, two State Organizations having sprung forth from the old membership of what was the New Orleans Era Club, known for its civic and welfare work in the state for years, and embracing suffrage in its activities, and represented by Miss Gordon in this department. We have been appealed to by both the new State organizations to affiliate with them, but have thought it necessary to remain independent.

We have always endorsed the Federal Amendment, having forwarded telegrams to Louisiana members of Congress from time to time and having received from Senator Ransdell assurance as early as June 1913 that he expected to support the "18th Amendment," in response to a telegram from us. Later when a New Orleans paper published that in response to a telegram from Mr. Ransdell enquiring as to the policy of the "State Association," one of the Misses Gordon of the Era Club had answered that the "State Association" was opposed to or not working for the Federal Amendment. The Louisiana Equal Suffrage League then hastened to send another telegram to Mr. Ransdell signed by themselves and a number of the leading citizens of the state, reiterating their policy of working for the Federal Amendment and earnestly urging his continued support of the Amendment. And we all know that Ransdell did vote "Aye" on the Amendment.

As soon as our membership reached two hundred we made application for affiliated membership in the National American Woman Suffrage Association and were admitted as an affiliated member with representation in the present Nineteen Fourteen Convention.

MATTIE BELL SINGLETARY, President.

LOUISIANA

Woman Suffrage Party

The Woman Suffrage Party of Louisiana records a growth of a hundred members during the past year making a total of 934; this party performed a preponderance of the work which brought the Suffrage bill before the state legislature in June of the current year, said bill being brought by Representative Manion of New Orleans, who is a member of our legislative Committee. The bill passed the house by a majority of 60 to 40, a splendid majority but it required a two-thirds vote to carry.

The Woman Suffrage Party inaugurated the open air meetings in the parks, in afternoons, and night, also the talks at the noon hour at the textile mills where it distributed the Woman's Journal.

This Party celebrated the sacrifice day August 15 in honor of Lucy Stone, and also held rally in New Orleans, La., and in Monroe, latter being held by Mrs. E. B. Ward, Parish chairman. About three thousand Journals were handled in the state during past year.

Total Meetings held were fifty; of these twelve were outdoor. The cause of suffrage was brought into the picture shows by this Party, where members talked between reels and suffrage slogans were thrown on the screens.

Three thousand dodgers were distributed.

The Lucy Stone Brigade formed "sacrifice day" to sell Woman's Journal on chief thoroughfare in shopping district of New Orleans one day in each week. This is the most valuable propaganda work as the cause is thereby brought to the individual, who would not be likely to go to a suffrage meeting, catching visitors from different parts of the state, who are in city for shopping or other business and cannot take time to go to meetings.

Ten copies of Journal are sold in Monroe each week by parish chairman.

The Party bought a bale of cotton for the National Association from the Anna Howard Shaw "Buy a Bale" Fund.

It is a non-dues paying organization, organized by political districts, seven of the eight districts of the state being organized.

Maintains headquarters, has friendship and support of all local papers and of all the papers throughout the state that carry suffrage news.

JEAN GORDON, President.

MARYLAND

Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore

The Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore was affiliated with the State Equal Franchise League of Baltimore until September last, when

FORTY-SIXTH CONVENTION

the officers of the State League disbanded, passing the following resolution:

"Inasmuch as the necessity for a separate State Organization, which was the reason for the formation of the Equal Franchise League, has been removed by the revision of the Constitution of the National Woman Suffrage Association, which now provides for the direct affiliation of any woman's suffrage league, numbering two hundred members or more, and that the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore desires such direct affiliation, the executive board of the State Equal Franchise League of Maryland unanimously decided to disband the organization. The board, before disbanding, desires to express to our National President, Anna Howard Shaw, its loving devotion and appreciation of her generalship, helpfulness and courtesy to this League during its existence.

"Signed on behalf of the Board,

"ANNE W. JANNEY, Sec. pro tem."

The Equal Suffrage League proceeded at once to ask for direct affiliation with the National Association, and this was granted in the prescribed time, so that representation to this convention was allowed.

In the absence of any report of the State Association, which probably has not been sent in, we would say that, together with other State Associations, we presented a bill at the last Legislature, asking for suffrage for women on the same basis as that for men. This bill received but scant recognition, being voted down by the House at once, and never reaching the Senate. The Chairman of the Committee which considered the Suffrage Bill, at the hearing given the representatives of the Suffrage League, asked if a bill with an educational qualification would be accepted. At this hearing representatives of other State Associations refused to compromise on any unqualified bill, but our Association, knowing the unlimited Bill was hopeless, agreed to endorse a bill with educational qualification, as proposed by this Chairman. This bill was introduced late in the session, and the motion to give it a hearing at a certain time was granted, but the time never came. So that on the whole, the year's work in the Legislature was no more encouraging than that of the two years previous.

Maryland, having not yet disfranchised the colored people, has a peculiarly difficult problem when it comes to asking for unqualified woman's suffrage.

I cannot close this brief report without some reference to the great loss our League has sustained in the death of its President, Mrs. Wm. M. Ellicott. She organized the League and put it on a good, solid foundation, when suffrage was an exceedingly unpopular cause, especially amongst the class of Baltimoreans with whom she mostly associated. Her standing in the community, through her excellent public work and her intelligent and sane public utterances gave a dignity and a respectful hearing to the cause which was of inestimable worth. Nor

was she forgetful of the work still to be done. By her will the League is provided with an income which will be of greatest assistance to our labors. She left in the hands of trustees the sum of \$25,000, the interest of which is to be used by the League until suffrage for Maryland has been obtained. Her approval of the policies of the National Association, and her strong desire to uphold it is well known to you all. It is the earnest desire of the officers of the League to continue the work as she would wish and to lose nothing of the value of her fine example of good citizenship.

M. LEM. ELLICOTT, President.

MICHIGAN

Equal Suffrage Association

State Motto: Neither Delay nor Rest.

This year we are in shape to carry on much more systematic work. We are only recovering from our defeats, and I need not tell *you* what an unorganized condition Michigan was in when we were thrust into campaign. When I undertook the office of President things were in a very chaotic state and everybody too tired to work. Now following the State Convention at Traverse City, the women seem inspired to great activity. Mrs. Jas. Macpherson of Saginaw is Finance Chairman. If you know her you know that my troubles on that score are ended. She will use the apportionment plan, getting ten cents from each tax paying woman as far as she can. There are 100,302 in the state. Dr. Blanche Haines of Three Rivers is Legislative Chairman, and again that work is in very reliable, capable hands with Mrs. Francis E. Burns on the committee. Mrs. Huntley Russell is First Vice-President and will be state organizer. The state paper, "The Michigan Suffragist," goes now into 66 of the 83 counties. We have set our stakes at 10,000 subscribers during this year.

The formation of civic study classes will, we believe do much to bring the women into the ranks of suffrage. We hope very soon to have all the cities of 2,500 organized through these classes.

NELLIE SAWYER CLARK, President.

MINNESOTA

Woman Suffrage Association

The Political Equality Club, the oldest suffrage club in the state, besides regular monthly meetings, this year as for several years past, holds legislative luncheons, open to the public, once in two weeks, at which matters pertaining to the laws of the state are presented by public officials and candidates for office.

The Woman's Welfare League of St. Paul, an organization working for suffrage and other civic interests, has opened very attractive club rooms. A luncheon every Tuesday, at which visiting celebrities as well as local workers speak, has become a popular and attractive feature of St. Paul life.

The Equal Suffrage Association of Minneapolis, an organization coming into existence a year ago, has opened headquarters and holds open meetings and teas every Monday afternoon.

Duluth, Redwood Falls and other towns have suffrage clubs that are co-operating with the State Association. The Scandinavian Club of Minneapolis has been successful in getting the interest and sympathy of the Scandinavian newspapers.

The suffrage organizations of St. Paul and Minneapolis united in a 2d of May celebration with mass meetings in both cities, a street meeting and parade in St. Paul at noon and a joint parade in Minneapolis containing two thousand men and women. With funds raised by the parade committee, \$100 each was sent to North Dakota, South Dakota, and the Congressional Union.

A successful automobile trip undertaken by sixteen St. Paul and Minneapolis women. Five towns were visited in four days. Twelve meetings including street meetings and conferences were held and a number of dinners and luncheons given for the party.

The clubs of the twin cities united in working at the State Fair and energetic work was done at several county fairs.

In Hennepin County a dozen meetings were held in legislative districts with a view to influencing voters in favor of desirable candidates for the legislature.

Effective work was done at the Nonorgian Centennial celebration, a great meeting, lasting several days at the State Fair grounds.

Many speakers have been heard in Minnesota during the year, among them Mrs. Pankhurst, Rabbi Wise, Harriet Vittern, Crystal Eastman Benedict, Florence Kelley, Mary Grey Peck and Fola La Follette.

A petition is now being circulated, several thousand signatures having already been sent in, to be presented to the legislature convening in January, asking that our Amendment be submitted.

CLARA UELAND, President.

NATIONAL COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

The Annual Council Meeting of the National College Equal Suffrage League was held at the Hotel Hermitage, November 11th to 17th inclusive, 1914, with a roll-call of delegates from the leagues of Boston, New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D. C., and the Bryn Mawr College Chapter.

The central organization of the National College League, as appeared from the reports of the officers, has been greatly curtailed in its

activities this year, as well as the preceding, by lack of funds; but the officers have kept the organization intact, and provided out of the funds of the Association for its representation in the Annual Convention of the N. A. W. S. A.

In the latter part of the year they received contributions and pledges from the Board of Directors of the N. C. E. S. L., and some Branches and individual members of Branches, which enabled them to open Headquarters at The Educational Building at 70 Fifth Avenue, and to employ an Executive Secretary. Since the opening of this office on October 1st, several leagues and chapters which had been reported disbanded, or transformed into Civic Leagues, have either been discovered in a flourishing condition, or have reorganized, and at least five new ones are in process of organization. The outlook seems promising for a large increase over our present recognized membership of 3512.

From the Bryn Mawr College Chapter is reported a definite forward step toward the training of suffrage speakers, to cooperate with other organizations, a measure recommended by the vote of the Council of 1913.

Washington reports an increase of membership in the year from 87 to 234; nine meetings; contributions to the National Congressional Committee; to the National College League, and to the expenses of the 1913 Convention; and submits a detailed report on the status of women as treated in the Graded and High School text books in history in the District of Columbia, with recommendations for changes. It was voted to send copies of this report to the Branches.

The Pennsylvania League reports active work in the Pennsylvania campaign, with large contributions in proportion to its quota.

M. CAREY THOMAS, President.

NORTH CAROLINA

Equal Suffrage League

The North Carolina Equal Suffrage League was organized one year ago by Miss Suzanne Bynum and Miss Liddell of Charlotte, Mrs. Valentine of Virginia assisting in the organization. Two hundred names were secured, and the League became auxiliary to the National Association. A number of these names, it appeared afterward, were names only. There were in existence at that time two small leagues, and a new one organized at the time of the State League organization.

The results of the year's work are apparently small. The active work has been done, as is often the case with pioneer work, by two or three people. But the cause is alive to-day in North Carolina. The State realizes that we are there, and it cannot truthfully say that no southern women want the vote.

The first State Convention was held in Charlotte on November 9th to 10th, and our leading State papers gave us practically two suffrage editions. We were received with cordiality, and the Convention was in every way a great success.

During the year as much press work as possible was done. A Suffrage float was prepared for the 20th of May celebration in Charlotte. A Suffrage Section, the first in the State, was edited. Fifteen *new* leagues were formed. Literature was distributed throughout the State and hundreds of personal letters sent out.

Without the assistance, official, personal, and financial, of the National Congressional Committee the work could hardly have been carried on. Mrs. McCormick's personal assistance was invaluable. I wish most gratefully to acknowledge our debt to her. The work of Miss Engle, the organizer sent by the National Congressional Committee, was most effective. In general I feel a great deal has been accomplished. Public sentiment is being aroused, and our men are with us.

Mrs. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, President.

OREGON

Everybody's Equal Suffrage League of Portland

Everybody's Equal Suffrage League held four meetings during the year 1914.

At the annual meeting on Oct. 7th, officers for the ensuing year were elected, and the enclosed resolution was adopted.

On Woman's Independence Day, May 2nd, a mass meeting was held at the Lincoln High School Auditorium. There were approximately a thousand persons present. Three candidates for the United States Senate and nine candidates for the United States House of Representatives made speeches and pledged themselves to the support of a national woman's suffrage amendment. A resolution urging the passage of the Shafroth amendment was adopted on that occasion.

Two other meetings were held at the public library during the month of October at which the state amendments voted upon at our recent election were discussed.

Respectfully submitted,

ESTHER POHL LOVEJOY, President.

RHODE ISLAND

Woman Suffrage Association

There has been a decided advance of the Suffrage cause in Rhode Island the past year, and the work has developed in many new and interesting phases. The president has been called upon to present the question before many influential bodies, religious and secular. The Mothers' Clubs

connected with the schools have offered especially effective opportunities for propaganda. The Association has given a course of monthly lectures on "The Modern Woman" of various countries, that has called out large audiences and increased interest in the international phase of the woman movement. A large and flourishing Woman Suffrage Party has been organized as an independent body, with which nearly all suffragists are allied and have participated in the various forms of propaganda that it vigorously prosecutes. The problem presents itself of the loss of some paying members to this non-dues paying organization, but the work throughout the state has been quickened and many adherents to the cause have been gained through its activity. At present a union of all the Suffrage organizations in the state is under consideration, which would greatly economize effort and increase efficiency. Legislative work has been faithfully conducted, but failed of the desired end. The response of our membership to the financial calls of the National has been generous and full cooperation has been given to the work of the Congressional Committee. We face the future with courage and perseverance.

ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES, President.

TENNESSEE

Equal Suffrage Association

Tennessee has never been very thoroughly organized, and some differences among the members of the organization have led to a division into two groups. That part of the original organization of which Mrs. Crozier-French is President obtained a charter October 13, 1914, and every effort will be made to organize the state thoroughly according to our ten Congressional districts. A bill for a constitutional amendment will be brought before our next Legislature which convenes in January, 1915.*

The meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Nashville this year has resulted in the sowing of seed which will bring forth a rich harvest. Forces are to be put in the field to gather up the fruits of the victorious entrance of the National Suffrage forces into our Capitol City. It is hoped by this time next year Tennessee will have an organized force to work for woman's freedom, of which we can be justly proud.

L. CROZIER-FRENCH, President.

*January 29th the bill passed both branches of the Legislature.

TEXAS

Woman Suffrage Association

We are very glad to be able to report the prospects for Woman Suffrage in Texas as very encouraging. When the new Board of Officers was elected at our State Convention in the Spring we decided to start to work to try to win suffrage in Texas in 1915. We realized that this was an enormous and a seemingly impossible task, as the State was so large, and very little organization work had been done outside of a few of the larger cities, but we also realized that the general sentiment of the State was reasonably friendly to suffrage, that the people were very open-minded, and that it was just a question of educating them. So we concluded that if we should put sufficient energy and money into the work we would have a chance of winning, and that at least we would go into the work with the idea of winning, and then if outside events, such as conspicuous endorsements or suffrage victories, should create suffrage sentiment in the country at large, we should be in a position to take advantage of it.

So, with this plan in mind, we at once started with a definite program for legislative and organization work. We wrote letters to all legislative candidates, and since the Primary elections in July we have followed up this work with correspondence, and have kept a card catalogue of members, showing their attitude to suffrage.

We expect to have a Suffrage Bill introduced in our next Legislature, and we have hopes of getting the question submitted to the voters. An evidence of the friendly attitude of our Legislature was the invitation extended this summer by the House of Representatives to our State President to address that body. This invitation came entirely unsolicited, and as a result of our letters addressed to the legislators. Of course, it will be a new Legislature that will meet in January, and it is too soon for us to speak with certainty of the prospects of getting a Suffrage Bill through both houses. One of our strongest supports is the State Federation of Labor, which has made equal suffrage a preferential measure, the legislative committee of the Federation being heartily in sympathy with us. The Governor-elect of the State has pledged himself to favor submission.

Besides our Legislative work, we have been working definitely to extend our organization to every part of the State. We employed an organizer during the summer months and had hoped to put one in the field this fall, but we have not yet been able to raise sufficient funds. We hope to be able to do so after the first of the year.

The Press of the State is very generally with us, and is ready at all times to give Suffrage a conspicuous place in its columns. We hope to organize our Press work very thoroughly so as to make the most of this very valuable asset.

Our work in the different Local Organizations has progressed very satisfactorily during the past year. We now have about 2500 members.

Aside from the need of a General State Organizer, our greatest lack has been Suffrage lectures by able advocates of the Cause. Although we made many efforts this past year to secure speakers, we were unable to do so. We feel that it would be greatly to the advantage of the Southern work if an occasional lecture tour were arranged through the Southern States.

ANNETTE FINNIGAN.

VIRGINIA

Equal Suffrage League

The chief work of the league for the first half of the year was focused upon the Legislature. A resolution proposing an amendment to the State Constitution which would give women the vote on equal terms with men was introduced for the second time, and for the second time went down to defeat, obtaining only thirteen votes in the House. The card index of the members showed more than twice that number as favorable to suffrage but afraid of their constituents at home—a very strong indication of the work cut out for the League in the next two years—namely, conversion of a sufficient number of constituents in each political district. To this end, we are organizing by *counties* as the political units, and steadily making headway in covering what is really a very big territory. Forty-five out of the one hundred counties have been reached.

May 2nd was celebrated in varying fashion in many parts of the State, the biggest demonstration being, of course, in Richmond, where the portico and steps of the Capitol were massed with suffragists, and two thousand people listened to suffrage addresses and songs. The suffrage edition of "The News-Leader" was sold in the crowd, and also on the streets all day, netting us \$600.00 for the Richmond League.

The State Treasurer reports the total receipts for the year as \$2,576.35, this amount being made up of contributions chiefly, and the sum realized from the Suffrage edition above mentioned.

The most important step taken in the last few months was the launching of "The Virginia Suffrage News," a monthly paper published at State Headquarters in Richmond, the financial obligations of which are at present assumed by our corresponding secretary, Mrs. Alice O. Taylor. Mrs. G. Harvey Clarke, Press Secretary for the State, is editor-in-chief. Contributing editors: Mary Johnston, Kate Langley Boshier, Cally Ryland, Carter Wormeley, L. R. Whipple, Sally Nelson Robins, Mrs. John H. Lewis, and Mrs. Emma Speed Sampson. These are meeting an imperative need in our State work.

The Self-Sacrifice Fund, though far smaller than we should have liked it to be, was sent to Ohio. Money is the crying need of the hour. We have splendid volunteer workers, but we feel that the growth of the work is hampered by the need of paid systematic workers. We have, however, increased our numbers from 4000 to upwards of 6000 in the past year. The State Fair yielded us 623 new members—many more were secured at county fairs, Summer Schools, Chautauquas, Summer Resorts, street meetings, the polling booths on November 3rd, and at parlor meetings, ward meetings, and mass meetings in public halls.

We are planning a systematic campaign with the 1916 Legislature as our goal, and we hope to change the unlucky number 13 to at least 51, the majority vote in the House when our next Legislature convenes.

LILA MEADE VALENTINE, President.

WISCONSIN

Woman's Suffrage Association

Achievements in Wisconsin during the past year include: The conception of a great idea. It was Miss Harriet Bain, president of the Kenosha County Suffrage League of Wisconsin, to whom first came the inspiration of a national Self-Denial Day. She spoke of it to Mrs. Breckinridge, who passed it on to the Executive Board of the National. It was promptly adopted and heralded throughout the land.

Our Suffrage School held at the state capital for a week in June. We had a distinguished faculty and special lecturers, including Honorable John M. Winslow, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin; Gerald R. McDowell, of Michigan; Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, of New York; Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, of Kentucky; Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, of Illinois; Rev. Olympia Brown and Miss Zona Gale, of Wisconsin. The school was practical, helpful, well-attended, much written about, cost between three and four hundred dollars and left \$100.00 in the treasury after all expenses were paid.

The publication of a pamphlet, "Wisconsin Legislators and Home," giving the vote of every member of the Legislature of 1912 on fifty measures affecting children, the home, public health, etc., of special interest to women. This pamphlet is valuable not only as history but as prophecy, demonstrating plainly that the women are on guard.

The experiment of concentrating headquarters, the president's office and the office of The Wisconsin Citizen, our state publication, practically under one roof. The plan saves time and strength and promotes efficiency. "The Citizen" is now pre-eminently an organ of communication for our own state work.

Several months' organizing, which was fairly effective. We still search for a magic which shall make organized groups stay organized,

and for a vital spark which shall inspire those who are comfortably certain that it is "coming anyway."

The sending out of 13,000 circular letters just before election to voters who were our friends in 1912, asking their favor for the constitutional amendment providing the initiative and referendum then pending. We did all the work of sending out the 13,000 letters in a week from our little office and plucked the money out of the air to pay for them—that is, it came with slight effort from voters who believe in the initiative. The amendment went down in the tidal wave of reaction which swept our state. But it won more votes than most other amendments, it was good propaganda, and it did not cost the treasury one cent. And—

The organization at Madison of a Business Woman's Suffrage League, with an initial membership of 101.

THEODORA W. YOUMANS, President.

DELEGATES PRESENT AT CONVENTION

Alabama E. S. A.

Pattie R. Jacobs, President
 Amelia Worthington
 Mrs. Oscar R. Hundley
 Mrs. M. Humes
 Alice B. Baldrige
 Myrtelle W. Snell
 Mary H. Losey
 Mrs. A. J. Bowron
 Mrs. Julian Parke
 Mrs. Angus M. Taylor
 Mrs. Julia Gillespie
 Mrs. Nixon Norris
 Frances G. Caldwell
 Mrs. Ida B. Jackson

California W. S. A.

Mrs. Rose M. French
 M. F. Wills
 Mrs. W. D. Woolwine
 Mrs. Thomas Lu Woolwine

Connecticut W. S. A.

Mrs. Grace Gallatin Seton
 Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers
 Dr. W. H. Allee
 Mr. A. S. G. Taylor
 Mrs. A. E. S. Taylor
 Mrs. Helena Weed

Delaware E. S. A.

Miss Mabel Vernon

District of Columbia**Washington W. S. C.**

Mrs. Glenner S. Tinnin, Pres.
 Virginia Watrous
 Ethel M. Smith
 Mrs. Antoinette Funk

District of Columbia**Washington E. S. A.**

Mrs. Carrie E. Kent

Florida E. S. A.

Rev. Mary A. Safford, Pres.
 Mrs. E. E. Saunders
 Mrs. John Schnaw
 Mrs. S. V. Thompson

Georgia E. S. P.

Eleonore Raoul, proxy for President
 Aurelia Roach

Georgia W. S. A.

Mrs. W. H. Felton, proxy for President
 Mrs. Younte De Journette
 Madelaine John S. Wyly
 Mrs. S. D. Halley
 Addie Stokes Mitchell
 Katherine Koch
 Mrs. Amelia R. Woodall

Illinois E. S. A.

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 Mrs. J. W. McGraw
 Margaret Dobyne
 Edna Forsyth
 Alice O'Neal
 Mrs. H. C. Newton
 Mrs. Jane R. Snell
 Mrs. Laura G. Fixen
 Mrs. Pearl Ecker Hubbell
 Mrs. Helen Stewart
 Mrs. Anna Pranglay
 Mrs. Julius Loeb
 Mrs. John R. Gray
 Mrs. W. F. Crummer
 Mrs. Mary R. Sedwick
 Mary T. Dohany
 Mrs. Elmer Roseberry
 Flo Sibbett
 Mrs. Henry L. Pitcher
 Mrs. George R. Wright

Mrs. C. F. Cook
 Mrs. Minnie A. White
 Mrs. Flora Estay
 Joanna E. Downes
 Dr. Lucy Waite
 Mrs. Sanford Houston
 Mrs. Charles Nagely
 Mrs. H. Wellington Waldorf
 Mrs. Robert Kohlhammer
 Mrs. Villa Cole Case
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 Mrs. E. B. Coolley
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 Mrs. E. L. Stillman
 Mrs. C. A. Bahrenburg
 Mrs. H. M. Brown
 Mrs. G. E. Wilkinson
 Mary C. Bourland
 Mrs. Willard M. McEwen
 Mrs. James W. Morrison
 Anna M. Wilmot
 Mrs. Stephen Hart
 Dr. Jeannette Gunn
 Dr. Emily M. Luff
 Mrs. Hugo Du Broc
 Mrs. J. M. Hamill

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Anna Dunn Noland, President
 Kate Wood Ray
 Sarah Weldon Towne

Indiana W. F. L.

Emogene Taft Lesh
 Helen C. Benbridge
 Mrs. M. L. Hagerman
 Mrs. J. G. Baun
 Mrs. Lucius Embree
 Mrs. F. T. McWhirter
 Mrs. G. M. Henderson
 Emma Pierce

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Mrs. Virginia Branner

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Miss Anne H. Snyder
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Nannie Lee
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M. Eleanor Brackenridge

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Miss Zona Gale
Mrs. E. S. Jordan
Mrs. E. M. Fuller
Mrs. Ben Hooper
Miss Alice Curtis

PLEDGE LIST.

Nashville—November, 1914.

Mrs. Wirt Dexter.....\$500.00	M. Eleanor Brackenridge\$100.00
Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw..... 500.00	Montana Equal Suffrage State
Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees.... 300.00	Central Committee 100.00
Connecticut Woman Suffrage	Anna Howard Shaw..... 100.00
Association 300.00	Washington Woman Suffrage
Mrs. George P. Miller..... 200.00	Council 100.00
Mrs. C. E. Ellicott..... 100.00	Elizabeth Williamson 100.00
Miss Madeline F. Wills..... 100.00	Marion Reilly 100.00
Mrs. J. L. Lowes, St. Louis	Mrs. E. M. Fuller 100.00
E. S. L., 100.00	Mrs. Mark Hanna 100.00
Missouri (Mrs. Walter Mc-	Louisiana State Association.. 100.00
Nab Miller) 100.00	Indiana Franchise 100.00
Frances Fort Brown..... 100.00	* * * * *
Chicago Equal Suffrage Asso-	New York State Woman Suf-
ciation (Mrs. J. Morrison). 100.00	frage Association 70.00
Mrs. James Morrison 100.00	Mrs. A. B. Singletary 60.00
Mrs. Henry L. Pitcher..... 100.00	Equal Suffrage League of Bal-
Mrs. Kohlhamer, Mrs. John	timore 50.00
Cowles (For Christian Sci-	Virginia Equal Suffrage As-
ence Women of Chicago). 100.00	sociation 50.00
District of Columbia Equal	Alabama Equal Suffrage Asso-
Suffrage League 100.00	ciation 50.00
Nebraska (Mrs. Draper Smith) 100.00	Equal Franchise Society of
Kentucky 100.00	Omaha, Nebraska 50.00
Mrs. James Bennett 100.00	Kate Gordon 50.00
Nevada Equal Franchise So-	Minnesota Woman Suffrage
ciety 100.00	Association 50.00
Massachusetts Woman Suf-	Anna H. Snyder 50.00
frage Association 100.00	Mrs. John Cannon 50.00
Tennessee Equal Suffrage As-	Rosalie Jones (Open Air
sociation 100.00	Meetings) 50.00
Mrs. Norman de R. White-	Maine Woman Suffrage As-
house 100.00	sociation 50.00
Mrs. Antoinette Funk 100.00	Massachusetts Political Equal-
Miss Mary Winsor 100.00	ity Union 50.00
Ohio Woman Suffrage Asso-	Florida Equal Suffrage Asso-
ciation 100.00	ciation 50.00
Mrs. Tod Helmuth 100.00	Equal Suffrage Party, Georgia
Miss Mary Lee 100.00	Agnes M. Jenks 50.00
Ladies of Modern Maccabees. 100.00	Ridgefield, Connecticut Equal
Miss Mary E. Garrett 100.00	Franchise League 50.00
Texas Woman Suffrage Asso-	Laura Clay, Southern States.. 50.00
ciation 100.00	

Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany \$50.00	Dan Darrow \$10.00
Mary Coddling Bourland 30.00	Mary Claire O'Brien 10.00
* * * * *	Tennessee Men's League 10.00
Mrs. Learned Hand 25.00	Mrs. Milton Humes 10.00
M. Carey Thomas 25.00	P. S. Townsend 10.00
Katharine Ruschenberger.... 25.00	Mrs. Burgess 10.00
Lucy E. Anthony 25.00	Katharine Boyles 10.00
Dr. Mary N. S. Kusell 25.00	Mrs. J. L. Lowes 10.00
Emma Klahr 25.00	Men's League San Antonio,
Mrs. C. W. Field 25.00	Texas 10.00
Mrs. Annie K. Dent 25.00	Mrs. Dexter (Tennessee Baby) 10.00
Mrs. Joseph Reid 25.00	Ruth White 10.00
Woman Suffrage Party, Louis-	Nevada Men's League 10.00
iana 25.00	Connecticut Men's League 10.00
Mrs. Homer Dunn 25.00	P. E. Plummer 10.00
Mrs. Archibald Henderson... 25.00	Mrs. H. P. Salter 10.00
Miss Suzanne Bynum 25.00	Mrs. G. A. Piersol 10.00
Stella H. Waters 25.00	Margaret Ervin, Jr. 10.00
Kate L. Boshier 25.00	Men's League Kentucky, Mr.
Mrs. Hugo Du Brock 25.00	McDowell 10.00
Louisiana Equal Suffrage	Mrs. G. M. Henderson 10.00
League 25.00	Mrs. A. E. S. Taylor 10.00
Ruth White 25.00	Men's League Omaha 10.00
James Richardson, Jr. 25.00	Mary S. Wagner 10.00
Jane Addams 25.00	Anna H. Shaw 10.00
Kate Freeman 25.00	M. Carey Thomas 10.00
Gratia Erickson 25.00	Woman's Franchise League,
Mary E. O'Neil 25.00	Indiana 10.00
Laura G. Fixen 25.00	Kate English 10.00
Dr. Kate Baldwin 25.00	Adele Johnson 10.00
Mrs. Wirt Dexter 25.00	Miss W. G. Raoul 10.00
Mrs. J. H. Gillespie 25.00	Mrs. Robert Moss 10.00
Mrs. George A. Dunning 25.00	Mrs. Desha Breckinridge 10.00
V. Branner for Iowa 25.00	Mrs. James Bennett 10.00
Mrs. Charles Wister..... 25.00	P. D. Madden 10.00
Martha Cranston 25.00	Ella Hawley Crossett 10.00
Mrs. Joseph Parsons 25.00	Friends Equal Rights Asso-
Courtland Feuguay 24.00	ciation 10.00
Anna Howard Shaw 20.00	Mrs. F. E. Kuhn 9.00
* * * * *	Mrs. Geo. R. Wright..... 6.00
M. Carey Thomas 15.00	Anna Dunn Noland 6.00
Mrs. Minnie White 15.00	* * * * *
Mrs. J. L. Lowes 11.00	Helen Benners 5.00
Mrs. John H. Lewis 12.00	Minnie Reid 5.00
Virginia Branner 10.00	Dr. Sophia Penfield 5.00
	Rupert Reid 5.00

Jean M. Snell	\$5.00	Caroline Kimbrough	\$5.00
Clara Savage	5.00	Marion Reilly	5.00
Mrs. Moore (honor of mother)	5.00	Mrs. Desha Breckinridge	5.00
Hamilton Daviess	5.00	Mrs. L. Crozier French	5.00
Frances Burns, Michigan	5.00	J. H. Burton	5.00
Mrs. John Taylor Cowles.....	5.00	Ben Lindauer	5.00
Mrs. G. W. Richardson	5.00	Mrs. C. A. Meissner	5.00
Misses E. and A. Graham, W. S. P., La.	5.00	Mary Winsor	5.00
Mrs. Nellie Somerville	5.00	* * * * *	
Jeannette Rankin (for mother)	5.00	Mrs. C. E. Townsend	4.00
Ruth Allen	5.00	Mrs. J. G. Baum	4.00
C. Ruutz-Rees (for mother) ..	5.00	Susan W. FitzGerald	4.00
Mrs. Ben Hooper	5.00	* * * * *	
Dr. W. H. Allee (Suffrage mother-in-law)	5.00	Mrs. J. H. Whitner	3.00
Alfredo S. E. Taylor	5.00	Agnes N. Jenks.....	3.00
Alice M. Cosu	5.00	Mrs. John Schnaw	3.00
Mrs. William Kearns	5.00	Mrs. Thomas Burgess	3.00
Mrs. Medill McCormick	5.00	Mrs. Teresa A. Crowley.....	3.00
Mary Stewart	5.00	Mrs. A. Henderson	3.00
Mrs. Virginia Clay Clapton ..	5.00	Mrs. R. E. Jackson	3.00
Grace G. Seton	5.00	Mrs. Geo. Dunning	2.00
Dr. Louise Southgate	5.00	Mrs. Geo. Rudy	2.00
Margaret Dobyn	5.00	Bertha Norris	2.00
Mrs. James Morrison	5.00	Eva Massey	2.00
Sara Chambers	5.00	Mrs. T. Y. Graham	2.00
Kate Wood Ray	5.00	* * * * *	
Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees...	5.00	Mary Stewart	1.00
William Taft Lesh	5.00	Mary Winsor	1.00
Alfredo S. E. Taylor (Men Delegates)	5.00	Mrs. H. H. Snell	1.00
Anne H. Martin (for mother) ..	5.00	Serena Kearns	1.00
Mrs. Hugo Du Brock	5.00	Mrs. M. B. Kelly	1.00
Elsie Clay McDowell	5.00	Frances Fort Brown Suffrage Cat	1.00
Hen for Prize (Marie Dav- iess	5.00	E. J. Kirby	1.00
Mrs. R. A. McDowell	5.00	Mrs. A. L. Kilvington	1.00
V. H. Francis	5.00	Geo. M. Dallas	1.00
Mary Weible	5.00	Douglas Wright	1.00
Dr. W. H. Allee	5.00	Collections taken during Con- vention	551.36

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

AS AMENDED BY THE CONVENTION AT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE,
NOVEMBER, 1914.

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

The name of this body shall be the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN
SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECT.

The object of this Association shall be to secure protection, in their
right to vote, to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate
National and State legislation.

ARTICLE III.

CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP, DUES AND OBLIGATIONS.

Section 1. There shall be four classes of members, viz.: Affiliated,
Associate, Co-operating and Life Members.

Sec. 2. Any suffrage organization of 200 or more certified members
may become an Affiliated member.

a. An Affiliated member shall, eight weeks prior to the National
Convention, certify to the Treasurer, in a writing signed by three
officers, the total membership recognized by it at that date.

b. An Affiliated member shall pay annual dues of ten cents for
every certified member up to and including 1,500 members, and may
pay dues at the same rate on additional members. Representation
at the Annual Convention will be on the basis of one delegate for
every 100 certified members, or major fraction thereof, up to and
including 5,000 members, for whom annual dues of ten cents per
member have been paid.

Sec. 3. Any organization which officially endorses woman suffrage
may become an Associate member upon approval by two-thirds of the
Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of \$50.00.

Sec. 4. Any individual may become a Co-operating member upon
payment of annual dues of \$10.00.

Sec. 5. Any individual may become a Life member upon payment
of \$100.00.

ARTICLE IV.

THE ANNUAL CONVENTION, PRIVILEGES AND REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The Annual Convention shall be composed of the Directors and ex-Presidents of the Association, Chairmen of Standing Committees, Presidents of Affiliated organizations and members thereof elected to the Executive Council, and all delegates regularly chosen by Affiliated and Associate organizations and duly accredited to the Convention, each of whom shall be entitled to vote thereat.

Sec. 2. An Affiliated member shall be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention by its president, its member of the Executive Council, if it have one, and one delegate for every one hundred certified members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including five thousand members, for whom annual dues of ten cents per member have been paid.

Sec. 3. An Associate member shall be entitled to representation at the Annual Convention by one delegate.

Sec. 4. A Co-operative member shall be entitled to receive reports published by the Association and to attend all of its public meetings, but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 5. A Life member shall be entitled to receive all reports published by the Association, to attend all of its public meetings and to participate in all of its discussions, but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 6. No representation shall be allowed to any member that has failed to pay annual dues according to Article III.

ARTICLE V.

DIRECTORS.

Section 1. The Board of Directors of the Association shall consist of the Officers thereof as elected at the Annual Convention, in the manner hereinafter provided.

Sec. 2. Vacancies in the Board of Directors shall be filled for the unexpired term by a majority vote of the remaining directors at any special meeting called for that purpose, at any regular meeting, or by correspondence.

Sec. 3. In case the entire Board of Directors shall die or resign, the Secretary of the Executive Council shall call a special meeting of the Executive Council by which body directors shall then be elected for the unexpired term in the manner provided for their election at annual meetings.

Sec. 4. A person chosen to fill a vacancy in the Board shall serve until the close of the next Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. The Board of Directors may adopt such rules and regulations for their meetings, the conduct thereof, and the management of the affairs of the Association as they may deem proper, not inconsistent with the laws of the District of Columbia, the Constitution of the United States or this Constitution. But in their management of the affairs of the Association, the Board of Directors shall incur no financial obligations for which the Annual Convention shall not have voted the necessary funds unless they shall make themselves responsible for securing the means to meet such obligations.

ARTICLE VI.

OFFICERS—DUTIES AND LIABILITIES.

Section 1. The Officers shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Third Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a First Auditor and a Second Auditor.

Each of such officers shall serve for the term of one year beginning immediately upon the close of the Annual Convention or until the close of the next Annual Convention.

Sec. 2. The President shall perform all the duties incident to her office.

Sec. 3. The First, the Second, or the Third Vice-President in said order shall, in the absence or incapacity of the President, perform the duties of the President.

Sec. 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of the Association, and a record of all its proceedings, and shall perform all the duties incident to her office.

Sec. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall not be eligible for appointment as the Executive Secretary of the organization.

Sec. 6. The Treasurer shall have the custody of all funds and securities of the Association, shall pay the bills of the Association, and sign all checks and orders for the disbursement of the Association's moneys, which shall be countersigned by another director, preferably the President, and shall collect all pledges and moneys payable to the Association.

The Treasurer shall keep an accurate account of receipts and disbursements and shall send a monthly summary to the directors.

The Treasurer shall be ex-officio chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

Sec. 7. The Auditors shall examine and verify the books of the Treasurer and shall give a report thereof at the first business meeting of the Convention.

ARTICLE VII.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—DUTIES AND POWERS.

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the Directors of the Association, the Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees, the Presidents of Affiliated suffrage organizations and one member from each Affiliated organization which pays dues on a membership of 1,500 or more. of whom fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The President of the Association shall act as President of the Council. A Secretary other than a Director shall be nominated and elected by acclamation at the post-convention meeting of the Council.

Sec. 2. Regular meetings of the Executive Council shall be held immediately preceding and immediately following the Annual Convention of the Association. Special meetings may be called at any time by a majority of the Directors, or by the President upon the written request of fifteen members of the Executive Council.

Notice of a special meeting shall be mailed to each member at least two weeks before the date of such meeting.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall deliberate concerning the plans and policies of the Association and the opportunities and means for their advancement in the several sections of the United States as well as in the nation as a whole, and shall make recommendations and suggestions to the Association in regard thereto at the business sessions of the Convention and to the Directors from time to time as occasion or prudence may urge.

Sec. 4. The members of the Executive Council may also act by correspondence, a majority vote determining, upon all matters referred to the Council by the Directors and, whenever requested or empowered by the Directors, they or any of them shall advise or co-operate with the Board or advise, act or co-operate with or upon any of its committees for the transaction of the Association's business.

Sec. 5. The Executive Council shall at its pre-convention session give special consideration to the budget for the following year and shall make written recommendations to the Convention in regard thereto.

Sec. 6. The Executive Council shall, at its regular post-convention session, elect from its own number a Committee on Membership, consisting of five members, which shall pass upon the qualifications of organizations applying for affiliated membership in the Association.

ARTICLE VIII.

AMENDMENT.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual convention, after one day's notice in the Convention, provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given to the Board

and said Board shall have made publication thereof in at least three of the leading suffrage periodicals, not less than six weeks before the opening of the Convention.

BY-LAW I.

ANNUAL CONVENTION.

Section 1. There shall be an Annual Convention of the Association for the election of Directors, the adoption of a budget and the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The Convention shall be held upon days and in a city to be designated by the Directors, and shall be in session for at least four business days.

Notice of the Convention shall be mailed to all Affiliated, Associate, Co-operating, and Life members and shall be published in three of the leading suffrage periodicals at least six weeks before the opening of the Convention.

The General Officers of this Association shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of the Annual Convention. Nominations shall be made to the Association at least twenty-four hours before the Election.

Sec. 2. The number of delegates' credentials issued to any member shall be determined six weeks in advance of the National Convention by the member's standing in the Association at that date and the Treasurer shall thereupon provide Affiliated and Associate members with blank credentials for delegates and alternates.

Sec. 3. Affiliated and Associate organizations shall have communicated the names and addresses of their respective delegates and alternates in writing to the Credentials Committee at least twenty-four hours before the opening of the Convention.

Sec. 4. No credentials shall be issued after the close of the first business day of the Convention.

Sec. 5. Delegates holding certificates signed by the President and the Recording Secretary of their respective organizations and presenting the same to the Credentials Committee before the close of the first business day of the Convention shall be deemed prima facie entitled to their seats and pending the final report of the Credentials Committee shall have the right to vote upon all questions except that of their right to their own seats.

Sec. 6. Accredited delegates to the Convention shall sit together delegations in the section of the Convention hall reserved for them; alternates shall be seated together elsewhere and shall not be admitted to seats in the delegates' section except when duly recognized as delegates.

Sec. 7. The Committee on Resolutions shall consist of representatives from the several States and the District of Columbia, one

to be elected from each State and one from the District of Columbia by the delegations therefrom, at a joint meeting during the Convention called by the President of the senior organization thereof. This Committee shall choose its own chairman.

Sec. 8. In case an Affiliated organization shall be unrepresented at the sessions of the Executive Council by its President or duly chosen member, the delegation from such organization shall have power to elect from its own number a representative to the Council.

Sec. 9. The morning session of the second business day, or as much thereof as may be necessary, shall be given to discussion of the tentative budget.

Sec. 10. Beginning with the morning session of the fourth business day, no further business shall be considered until a budget for the ensuing year shall have been adopted.

BY-LAW II.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Section 1. The Board, immediately after the Annual Convention, shall appoint an Executive Secretary, a Legal Adviser and Standing Committees as follows: Campaign, Congressional Work, Elections, Finance, Literature, Local Arrangements, Presidential Suffrage, Press Work and Program.

Sec. 2. The President of the Association shall be the Chairman of the Program Committee.

BY-LAW III.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Executive Council may elect as Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association distinguished adherents of the cause of Woman Suffrage who cannot do active work in the National Association.

BY-LAW IV.

PAYMENT OF DUES AND PLEDGES.

Section 1. Annual dues shall be paid within three months after the National Convention and in amount shall be determined upon the membership certified to the Treasurer as provided for in Article III, Sec. 2, except that an Affiliated body joining the Association more than ninety days after the Annual Convention shall pay its dues immediately upon joining, the amount thereof being determined upon its membership certified at the date of joining.

Sec. 2. Dues of other than Affiliated members shall be paid by such members immediately upon their joining the Association and thereafter annually within thirty days following the close of the National Convention.

Sec. 3. Pledges made at the Convention shall be payable not later than April 1st of the following year.

BY-LAW V.

TREASURER'S BOND AND REPORT—AUDIT OF BOOKS.

Section 1. The Treasurer shall give bond for the faithful performance of her duties in such sum as the Board may determine.

Sec. 2. The books of the Treasurer shall close four weeks before the Annual Convention and the report of the Treasurer shall be made at the first business session of the Annual Convention.

Sec. 3. The books of the Association shall be audited by a certified public accountant every six months.

BY-LAW VI.

AMENDMENT.

These By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual Convention, after one day's notice in the Convention.

FIRST HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT

Jane Addams.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

California—Dora K. Crittendon, Louise Merrill Pratt, Amanda Way, Harriet A. Hobe.

Colorado—E. M. Ashley, Hon. Alva Adams, Judge Ben Lindsey, Emily Meredith, J. Warner Mills, ex-Gov. John L. Routt, Hon. I. N. Stevens, Amy K. Cornwall, Mary L. Carr, Hon. E. M. Ammons, Sen. John F. Shafroth, Sen. Charles S. Thomas, Sen. Simon Guggenheim, Rep. A. M. Rucker, Rep. John A. Martin, Rep. Ed. F. Taylor, Hon. Wilbur Cannon, Hon. W. W. Booth, Omar A. Garwood, Helen L. Grenfell, Mary C. C. Bradford, Helen M. Wixson, Adrianna Hungerford, Antoinette A. Hawley.

Connecticut—Joseph Sheldon, Prof. C. Howard Young, Mrs. William R. Hopson, Dr. Adaline Thompson.

Delaware—Ex-Gov. John Hunn, Hon. Washington Hastings.

District of Columbia—Mrs. Rufus Saxton, Mrs. Stephen A. Richey, Belva A. Lockwood.

Georgia—Miss S. A. Gresham.

Illinois—Hon. James T. Cartwright, Julia Mills Dunn, Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mary E. Holmes, Elizabeth J. Loomis, Harriet Fox McFadden.

Indiana—Wm. Dudley Foulke, John L. Thomas, Sarah Edgerton, Alice Clark.

Iowa—S. J. Cole, Dr. Mark A. Dashiell.

Kansas—Jane Slocum, Anna C. Wait.

Kentucky—Mrs. Mary B. Clay.

Maine—Hannah J. Bailey, Mrs. George S. Hunt, Margaret T. W. Merrill.

Maryland—Susanna Moore Maddox, Hannah B. Stabler, Amanda Peterman.

Massachusetts—Hon. John D. Long, Adeline Howland.

Minnesota—Priscilla M. Miles, Julia B. Nelson, Mrs. A. T. Anderson.

Michigan—Dean M. Jenkins.

Missouri—Mrs. Beverly Allen, Mrs. John Orrick, Mrs. Louisa G. Werth, Mrs. F. J. Edwards.

Montana—Mrs. P. A. Dann.

New Hampshire—Henry W. Blair, Armenia S. White.

Nebraska—Mary Rogers Kimball, Caroline M. Nye, Vanessa M. Goff, Ellen D. Harn, Ada M. Bittenbender.

Nevada—Mrs. John Williamson, Mrs. Elda Orr, Mrs. William Webster, Mrs. D. B. Boyd.

New Jersey—Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Phebe C. Wright.

New York—Anna C. Field, Jean B. Greenleaf, Mary H. Hallowell, Emily Howland, Lewia C. Smith, Matilda F. Wendt, Sylvina Green, Martha J. H. Stebbins, Sarah L. Willis.

North Carolina—Mrs. E. J. Aston.

Oregon—Abigail Scott Duniway, Mrs. H. J. Hendershot, Mrs. H. A. Laughary, Dr. Mary Thompson, Col. C. A. Reed, A. C. Sanford.

Ohio—Frances M. Casement, Harriet B. Stanton.

Pennsylvania—Charlotte L. Pierce, Dr. Jane V. Myers, Dr. Harriet J. Sartain, Rudolph Blankenburg, Elizabeth B. Passmore, Pres. Joseph Swain.

South Carolina—Marion Morgan Buckner, Gen. Robert H. Hemphill, S. Oddie Serrine.

Utah—Jane S. Richards, Emmeline B. Wells, Bathsheba W. Smith.

Vermont—Mrs. A. D. Chandler.

Virginia—Ellen H. Smith.

Washington—Hon. Roger S. Greene, Elizabeth Palmer Spinning.

West Virginia—Anna C. Boyd, Mrs. M. J. Grove, Hon. A. J. Mitchell, Jennie Wilson, Mrs. M. L. Ott.

Wisconsin—Harriet P. Dingee.

Wyoming—Hon. Wm. Bright.

AFFILIATED MEMBERS

Art. III, Sec. 2. Any suffrage organization of 200 or more certified members may become an Affiliated member.

NOTE: Affiliated members paying dues on 1,500 or more members are entitled to a member on the Executive Council in addition to their President.

ALABAMA—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Pattie Jacobs, 1404 Beech St., Birmingham.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Amelia Worthington, 1818 Second Ave., Birmingham.

CALIFORNIA.

Pres.....Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith, 2207 Atherton St., Berkeley.

COLORADO—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, 3347 Moncrief Place, Denver.

CONNECTICUT—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Katherine Houghton Hepburn, 55 Pratt St., Hartford.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Grace G. Seton, 24 Ford St., Hartford.

DELAWARE—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Martha S. Cranston, Newport.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—State Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Carrie E. Kent, 107 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Maryland.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Woman Suffrage Council.

Pres.....Mrs. Gertrude C. Mosshart, 1819 Newton St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

FLORIDA—Equal Franchise League.

Pres.....Mrs. Roselle C. Cooley, 108 Heard National Bank Bldg., Jacksonville.

FLORIDA—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Rev. Mary Safford, Orlando.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

Pres.....Mrs. Ellen E. Price, 120 S. 34th St., Philadelphia.

GEORGIA—Equal Suffrage Party.

Pres.....Mrs. Emily C. McDougald, 87 E. 15th St., Atlanta.

GEORGIA—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Mary L. McLendon, 139 Washington St., Atlanta.

GEORGIA—Macon Woman Suffrage League.

Pres.....Mrs. Carl H. Fuller, 464 Beach Ave.

HAWAII.

Pres.....Mrs. J. M. Dowsett, Honolulu.

ILLINOIS—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Grace Wilber Trout, Room 604 Tower Bldg., 6 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. H. M. Brown, 2502 N. Main St., Peoria.

INDIANA—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Anna Dunn Noland, 424½ Broadway, Logansport.

INDIANA—Woman's Franchise League.

Pres.....Dr. Amelia R. Keller, 816 Odd Fellows Bldg., Indianapolis.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Grace J. Clarke, 115 Audubon Road, Indianapolis.

IOWA—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Miss Flora Dunlap, Roadside Settlement, Des Moines.

KANSAS—Good Citizenship League.

Pres.....Mrs. G. H. Chalkley, Lawrence.

KENTUCKY—Equal Rights Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, 726 McClelland Ave., Lexington.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, Frankfort.

LOUISIANA—Equal Suffrage League.

Pres.....Mrs. A. B. Singletary, 905 Convention St., Baton Rouge.

LOUISIANA—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Miss Jean Gordon, 1800 Prytania St., New Orleans.

LOUISIANA—Woman Suffrage Party.

Pres.....Mrs. E. M. Cahn, 1930 Napoleon Ave., New Orleans.

MAINE—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Miss Helen N. Bates, 65 Sherman St., Portland.

MARYLAND—Just Government League.

Pres.....Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Cedar Lawn, Baltimore.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Newman McKay, 817 N. Charles St., Baltimore.

MARYLAND—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, 1631 Eutaw St., Baltimore.

MARYLAND—Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore.

Pres.....Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, 714 St. Paul St., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS—Political Equality Union.

Pres.....Miss Mabel Gillespie, 1301 Washington St., Boston.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Anne Withington, 66 Carver St., Boston.

MASSACHUSETTS—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, 3 Monadnock St., Dorchester.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Gertrude Halladay Leonard, Hammond St., Chestnut Hill.

MICHIGAN—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. O. H. Clarke, Kalamazoo.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Frederick Holt, 116 Boston Blvd., Detroit, Mich.

MINNESOTA—Equal Franchise League.

Pres.....Miss Teresa B. Peyton, 581 Selby Ave., St. Paul.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Julia B. Nelson, Red Wing.

MINNESOTA—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Andreas Ueland, Colham Boulevard, Minneapolis.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. George Kenyon, 445 Summit Ave., St. Paul.

MISSISSIPPI—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Annie K. Dent, Yazoo City.

MISSOURI—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, 800 Broadway, Columbia.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Barbara O'Neil, Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis.

MONTANA—State Central Committee.

Pres.....Miss Jeannette Rankin, Hotel Thornton, Butte.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Harvey Coit, Big Timber.

NATIONAL COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

Pres.....Miss M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Ethel Puffer Howes, Room 1214, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

NATIONAL MEN'S LEAGUE.

Pres.....James Lees Laidlaw.

NEBRASKA.

Pres.....Mrs. Draper Smith, Brandeis Theatre Bldg., Omaha.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. W. E. Barkley, Lincoln.

NEVADA—Equal Franchise Society.

Pres.....Miss Anne H. Martin, 139 N. Virginia St., Reno.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Bird M. Wilson, Goldfield.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Miss Martha S. Kimball, Portsmouth.

NEW JERSEY—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Edward F. Feickert, Plainfield.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Helen Lippincott, Riverton.

NEW JERSEY—Women's Political Union.

Pres.....Mrs. Mina Van Winkle, 55 Lincoln Park, Newark.

Mem. Ex. Coun...

NEW YORK—State Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Raymond Brown, 30 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Marion May, 215 W. 101st St., New York City.

NEW YORK CITY—Equal Franchise Society.

Pres.....Mrs. Howard Mansfield, 535 Park Ave., New York City.

NEW YORK CITY—Woman Suffrage Party.

Pres.....Miss Mary Garret Hay, 48 East 34th St.

Mem. Ex. Coun...

NORTH CAROLINA—Equal Suffrage League.

Pres.....Mrs. A. Henderson, Chapel Hill.

NORTH DAKOTA—Votes for Women League.

Pres.....Mrs. Clara L. Darrow, Fargo.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Beulah Amidon, Fargo.

OHIO—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. O. F. Davisson, 307 Central Ave., Dayton.

OHIO—Equal Franchise League.

Pres.....Miss Flora E. Worthington, 623 Lincoln Ave., Cincinnati.

OKLAHOMA—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Cora B. Gotchy, Oklahoma City.

OREGON—Equal Suffrage League.

Pres.....Dr. Esther P. Lovejoy, 393 William Ave., Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Frank Roessing, 203 Arcade Bldg., Harrisburg.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Jane Campbell, Schoolhouse Lane, Germantown.

RHODE ISLAND—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, 199 Angell St., Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Equal Suffrage League.

Pres.....Dr. Jane Bruce Guignard, 830 Gregg St., Columbia.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Universal Franchise League.

Pres.....Mrs. John Pyle, Huron.

TENNESSEE—Headquarters, Chattanooga.

Pres.....Mrs. Jas. M. McCormack, 7 S. McLean Boulevard, Memphis.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Catherine J. Wester, 424 James Bldg., Chattanooga.

TENNESSEE—Headquarters, Nashville.

Pres.....Mrs. L. Crozier-French, Knoxville.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Nashville.

TEXAS—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Miss Annette Finnegan, 116 Travis St., Houston.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Marin B. Fenwick, 204 Pecan St., San Antonio.

VERMONT—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Frances Rastall Wyman—Manchester Center.

VIRGINIA—Equal Suffrage League.

Pres.....Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, 2338 Monument Ave., Richmond.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, 408 Duke St., Alexandria.

WASHINGTON—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. George A. Smith, Smith & Alki Ave., Seattle.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Mrs. William E. Humphrey, c-o Congressman W. E. Humphrey, Washington, D. C.

WEST VIRGINIA—Equal Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. J. Gale Ebert, Fifth and Juliana Sts., Parkersburg.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Margaret E. McKinney, Fairmont.

WISCONSIN—Woman Suffrage Association.

Pres.....Mrs. Henry Youmans, Waukesha.

Mem. Ex. Coun...Miss Ada L. James, Richland Centre.

LIFE MEMBERS

Art. III, Sec. 5. Any individual may become a Life Member upon payment of \$100.00.

Alabama

Hundley, Mrs. Oscar
Logan, Adella Hunt

Arabia

Hamilton, Susan V. V.

Arizona

Munds, Frances W.

California

Bidwell, Annie K.
Bodwell, Beda S. Sperry
Brown, Emily A.
Ballard, Adelaide
Braly, J. H.

*Braly, Mrs. J. H.

Cachot, Catherine
Corbert, Annie L.
Deering, Frank P.
Deering, Mabel Craft
Dwight, Florence E.
Elliott, Albert H.

*Faulkner, Anne R.
Goodridge, Mrs. Benjamin
Gould, Mary E. F.
Harrison, Ormedia C.
Hollingsworth, Alice L.
Howard, Emma Shafter

*Howard, Karl
Howard, Maud Shafter
Janvier, Louisa S.
Jewett, Fidelia
Jordan, David Starr
Kaufman, Viola

*Keith, William
Keith, Mary McHenry
Keen, Mary S.
Krebbs, Abbie E.
Martin, Miss L. J.
McHenry, Ellen J.
Moore, Mrs. A. A.

Rosebrook, Frances H.
Ringrose, Mrs. Rhoderic

*Sargent, Ellen Clark
Schlingheyde, Clara
Sperry, Dr. Mary A.
Sperry, Mary Simpson
Spencer, Philenda
Stambach, Helen W. K.
Stambach, Dr. Ida V.

Swift, Mary Wood
*Taylor, Lucretia Watson
Waters, Margaret E.
Way, Amanda
Whelan, Carrie A.
*Wright, Emily G.
Wills, Madeline Francis

Canada

Hughes, Laura C.

Colorado

Ashley, Susan Riley
Bradford, Mary C. C.
Cornwall, Amy K.
Laughlin, Gail
Meredith, Emily R.
Meredith, Ellis
*Patterson, Katherine A. G.

Connecticut

*Hooker, Isabella Beecher
*Lewis, H. J.

Delaware

Cranston, Martha S.

District of Columbia

*Barber, Julia L. Langdon
Blount, Lucia E.
Crocker, Charlotte
Ezekiel, Rachel Brice
Gillett, Emma M.

*Hemstreet, Elizabeth
Henderson, Mary Foote
Henry, Margaret J.
Jenkins, Alice J.
Kent, Carrie E.
McClary, Lizzie
Mills, Hannah Cassell
*McPherson, Mary A.
*McWhirter, Martha
Monroe, Emma F.
*Nason, Mary C.
Noyes, Ruth Astor
Owen, Robert L. (Senator)
*Parnell, Rosena M.
Richards, Janet E.
*Snow, Sophronia C.
Talbot, Mary L.
Terrell, Mary Church
*Thompson, Ellen Powell
Tindall, Helen Rand
Terry, Mary E.
Wright, Jessie Waite
White, Nettie Lovisa
White, Mrs. John Jay

Florida
Jewett, Mary B.

Georgia
*Thomas, Gertrude C.

Idaho
Boyce, Eleanor B.

Illinois
Addams, Jane
Bradford, Emily
*Butlin, Minerva
*Campbell, Margaret W.
Dennett, Climenia K.
Fifield, Ellen E. B.
Fifield, Elizabeth M.
Gross, Maud Emily
Harwood, Bertha
Kendall, Anna N.
McCormick, Katharine Louise
McCulloch, Catharine Waugh
McCulloch, Catharine Waugh, 2d

Noyes, Ida S.
Schnepp, Angie Rand
Smith, Dr. Julia Holmes
Shanklin, Gertrude A.
*Springer, Elmina E.
Ward, Mrs. Coonley

Indiana

Bybee, Mary Isabella
Pierce, Alice Wheeler
Sewall, May Wright

Iowa

Adams, Mary Emsley
Barnes, Josephine A.
*Bemis, George W.
*Bemis, Birdie May
Burghardt, Caroline V.
*Callahan, Martha C.
*Coggeshall, Mary J.
Gale, A. H.
Hinkle, Dr. George W.
*Logan, Nancy
McCarron, Sarah T.
*Romans, Metie Laub

Kansas

Diggs, Mabel La Porte
Gregg, Laura A.
Hoffman, C. A.
Johnston, Lucy B.
Morrow, Sarah E.
Stivers, Mrs. H.
Stubbs, Mrs. W. R.

Kentucky

Bennett, Sarah Clay
Clay, Laura
Clay, Mary B.
Davies, Sarah Coonley
Giltner, Mary E.
Robinson, Helen Avery
*Trimble, Mary R.
White, Laura R.

Louisiana

Coleman, Dudley H.
Gordon, Jean M.

Gordon, Kate M.
Gordon, Fannie R.
*Merrick, Caroline E.
O'Brien, Kate Mushet
Ordway, Evelyn Walch
Otis, Susannah N.
*Romain, Jessica Coleman
Stevens, Jess

Maine

Baker, Harriet U. Fuller
Bates, Helen N.
Day, Lucy Hobart
*Donnell, Lilla Floyd
Fernald, Fannie J.
Fuller, Dr. Jennie
*Fulton, Dr. Abby M.
*Hamilton, Sara Fairfield
Osgood, Etta H.
*Spofford, C. W.
*Spofford, Jane H.

Maryland

*Barton, Clara
*Bates, Octavia Williams
Garrett, E. Mary
Grove, Margaret J.
*Miller, Caroline Hallowell
Overton, Constance Mills
Rogers, Julia R.
Wright, Jessie Waite

Massachusetts

Allen, Mary Ware
*Anders, Carrie
Atkins, Martha N.
Blackwell, Alice Stone
*Blackwell, Henry B.
Bourne, Elizabeth
*Fowler, Anna G.
Garrison, Ellen Wright
Hill, Nellie S. Smith
*Howe, Julia Ward
*Ireson, Katherine Choate
Nichols, Mae
Ordway, Evelyn W.
Paul, Anne

Powers, Ellen F.
Shaw, Pauline A.
*Simpson, Eunice J.
Smith, Judith W.
Smith, Myrtle
Stolle, Antonie

Michigan

*Blodgett, Delos A.
Blodgett, Daisy Peck
Curtis, Katharine Shaw
*Hall, Olivia B.
*Hollister, Lillian N.
*Jenkins, Helen P.
Osborn, Clara
Perry, Belle N.

Minnesota

Anderson, Mrs. A. T.
Cash, Alice Scott
Farmer, Eugenia B.
McClary, Clyde
McClary, Lizzie
Koch, Dr. Margaret
Nelson, Julia B.
Russell, Elizabeth A.
Stockwell, Maud C.
Thompson, Sarah Vail
Wheeler, Mary Powell

Missouri

Turner, Sarah E.

Montana

Dann, Mrs. P. A.

Nebraska

Albertson, Anjennette
Carriker, Ollie K.
Daily, Annie
Dewey, Rev. Louis
Harn, Ellen D.
Hayward, Mary Smith
*Marble, Amanda J.
Norris, Fannie C.
Nelson, Nettie N.
Philbrick, Mrs. M. B.
Philbrick, Dr. Inez C.

Ward, Mary G.
Wells, Anna A.
Whitesell, Susan
Williams, Mary H.
*Young, Clara A.

New Hampshire

Ines, Susan A. Whiting
Ricker, Marilla M.
White, Armenia S.

New Jersey

Blackwell, Rev. Antoinette Brown
Hall, Florence Howe
Hartshorn, Joanna
Houlings, Laura Lloyd
*Hussey, Cornelia C.
Hussey, Dr. Mary D.
*Krom, Mrs. S. R.
Laddey, Mrs. Clara S.
Lippincott, Anna W. Houlings
*Lippincott, Susan W.
Mayhew, Calista S.
Paul, Alice
Sexton, Minola Graham
Spotteswoode, Dr. Sarah C.
*Squier, Ellen Hoxie
Vail, Elizabeth M.

New York

*Avery, Susan Look
Anderson, Sarah E.
*Anthony, Susan B.
*Anthony, Mary S.
Alleman, Zobedia
Bahl, Carrie
Blake, Katherine Duer
Babcock, Maude R.
Brannan, Mrs. John Winters
Belmont, Mrs. Oliver H. P.
Babcock, Elnora N.
*Bradley, Victoria
*Brayton, Alice L.
Brooks, Laura Sprague
Baker, Jennie V.
Benedict, Crystal Eastman
Cuienet, Dr. L. Adele

Cameron, Amelia
*Carey, Cornelia H.
*Catt, George W.
Catt, Carrie Chapman
*Chapman, Marianna W.
Craigie, Mary E.
Carpenter, Mrs. Herbert S.
Cooley, Winifred Harper
Crossett, Ella Hawley
*Davis, Amelia Stowell
*Dewey, Emogene L.
*Dormitzer, Anna
Eastman, Max
Ely, Sophia Fuller
Emery, Dr. Mary W.
Flanders, Gertrude A.
Fraser, Nicolas Shaw
French, Blanche Culbertson
Fraser, Rachel Shaw
Friedlander, Rebecca
Gaffney, Fannie Humphreys
*Gage, Matilda Joslyn
Gannett, Mary T. L.
Gannett, Charlotte Katherine
Greenleaf, Jean Brooks
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins
Gleason, Dr. Kate
*Hackstaff, Priscilla Dudley
*Hallock, Sarah V.
*Hallowell, Mary H.
Harper, Ida Husted
Hay, Mary G.
Howland, Emily
Howland, Isabel
*Howland, Hannah L.
Hull, Dorcas
Ivins, Emma G.
Ivins, Wm. H.
*Jacobi, Dr. Mary Putnam
Kenyon, Rhody J.
Lauterbach, Amanda F.
*Leslie, Mrs. Frank
Lewis, Edna B.
Lewis, Katherine Bell
Lewis, Agnes B.
Lewis, Caroline

Lewis, Katherine, 2d
Loines, Mary Hilliard
Loines, Hilda
Loines, Sylvia
Lapham, Mary Elizabeth
*Lapham, Samantha Vail
Laidlaw, James Lees
Laidlaw, Harriet Burton
May, Marion
*Miller, Anne Fitzhugh
*Miller, Elizabeth Smith
Mills, Harriet A.
Mills, Harriet May
Mortimer, Mignonette S.
Murtaugh, Sarah A. C.
Otis, Elizabeth G.
Ostranda, Sarah E.
Parsons, Sarah Ely
Peck, Mary Gray
Prather, A. S.
Prather, Martha Fuller
Purton, Euphemia C.
Raynesford, Georgia F.
Reilly, Caroline I.
Ricker, Dr. Marcena Sherman
Ripley, Julia T.
Sanford, Mary Thayer
*Sargent, James F.
*Sargent, Angelina M.
Smith, Eleanor Shaw
Smith, Nicolas Shaw
Smith, Eudora Shaw
Smith, Virginia Shaw
*Stanton, Elizabeth Cady
Sweet, Emma B.
Sisson, Mrs. Roby S.
*Stocum, Fanny T.
Taber, Susan J., M.D.
*Townsend, Marcia Allen
Villard, Fanny Garrison
Watson, Gertrude
Weeks, Anna Ross
*Willard, Elizabeth A.
Williams, Juliet Willets
*Wilbour, Charlotte B.
*Willis, Sarah L.

Oklahoma

Biggers, Kate H.
*Griffiths, Rachel Rees
Stephens, Adelia C.
Rees, Rachael A.

Ohio

Andrews, Mary S.
Bacon, Anna Anthony
Bissell, Sarah A.
*Casement, John S.
Casement, Frances M.
Doty, Audrey I.
*Elwell, Martha H.
*Evergard, Caroline McCullough
Hall, Anne S.
Hauser, Mary B.
Hauser, Elizabeth J.
*McCall, Sallie J.
*Mott, Anna C.
Peters, Alice E.
*Segur, Rosa L.
*Southworth, Louisa
Siewers, Dr. Sarah W.
Sturgis, Susan M.
*Taylor, Ezra B.
Tucker, Anna Ruth
Upton, Harriet Taylor

Oregon

Buchman, Jane Y.
Coe, Viola M.
Colby, Clara Bewick
Duniway, Abigail Scott
Duniway, Dorothy Edith
Mallory, Lucy A.
Therkelson, Mary
Thompson, Dr. Mary A.

Pennsylvania

Anthony, Lucy E.
Avery, Rachel Foster
*Bartol, Emma J.
Blankenburg, Lucretia L.
Brasier, Ellen K.
Brasier, Emma J.

Boyer, Ida Porter
 Campbell, Katherine J.
 Costelloe, Rachel
 Dewald, Kate W.
 *Foster, Julia T.
 *Garrett, Mary E.
 Garrett, Elizabeth N.
 Goudis, Alberta Morehouse
 Green, Grace G.
 Green, Lola M. B.
 Hadley, Alice P.
 Hoffman, Caroline C.
 Hovenden, Martha M.
 James, Alvin T.
 *James, Helen N.
 *James, Edith C.
 Jenkins, Mary S. A.
 *Kemp, Dr. Agnes
 Koethen, Lidie W.
 Lippincott, Caroline
 Lippincott, Emily L.
 Lippincott, Mary W.
 *Longshore, Hannah E.
 Medley, Dr. Jennie E.
 Osgood, Etta H.
 Pierce, Charlotte L.
 Price, Ellen H. E.
 Rees, Jacob
 Rendell, Elinor
 Robinson, Caroline Hadley
 Sellers, Sarah Pennock
 Shaw, Anna Howard
 Stecker, M. J.
 *Thompson, M. Adeline
 Thomas, M. Carey

Rhode Island

Dewing, Ardelia Cook
 Eddy, Sarah J.
 Wilbour, Sarah S.

South Carolina

*Neblett, A. Violet
 Schofield, Martha

South Dakota

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Tennessee

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 Stephens, Dr. Madge P.

Texas

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 Finnegan, Annette

Utah

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 Wells, Emmeline

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 Johnston, Eloise
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 Hutton, May Arkwright
 Richardson, Ora Brown
 Smith, Mrs. George A.

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Cummins, Elizabeth
 Cummins, Anna M.
 Elliott, Albert H.
 Kendall, Virginia H.
 Kendall, Elizabeth U.
 Parsons, Mrs. N. C.

Wisconsin

Brown, Rev. Olympia
 Holden, Belle S.
 James, Laura

SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS AND GREETINGS PRESENTED AT
 THE CONVENTION

RESOLVED, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Convention assembled do hereby express the Association's heartfelt thanks and deep appreciation to our National President, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, for her devoted and unremitting work for woman suffrage and for this Association during the past year and for her splendid services in the Campaign States which did so much to lead us to victory in two states and for her willingness to stand for re-election in order that she may again lead us to future victories in the coming year.

Nashville, Tenn., November 12, 1914.

To DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW:

When service of the highest type has been faithfully and loyally rendered, it is the pleasure of those most benefited by that service to express, though inadequately, their deep appreciation. We, the representatives of the Campaign States, feel that to you we owe much for the splendid way in which you and your Executive Board stood by us in our efforts, but even more do we appreciate your personal labor, your untiring splendid spirit. Always ready to meet whatever situation arose, regardless of fatigue, you encouraged the believers, braced up the uncertain and converted the unbelieving.

Your service, in our estimation, is invaluable and cannot be dispensed with.

We, the undersigned, do desire to express in this way our loyalty and gratitude.

Jeanette Rankin, State Chairman, Montana.
 Mary Stewart, County Chairman Suffrage Party, Missoula Co., Montana.
 Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, President Butte Political Equality League.
 Clara L. Darrow, Pres. Votes for Women League, N. D.
 Mary D. Weible, Sec. Votes for Women League, N. D.
 Helen Guthrie Miller, Pres. Mo. Equal Suffrage Assn.
 Mary C. Lowse, Pres. St. Louis E. S. L.
 Flora E. Worthington, Pres. Ohio Equal Franchise Assn.
 Ruth White, Missouri.
 Edna M. Bankley, Lincoln, Nebraska.
 Mrs. Draper Smith, Omaha, Neb.
 Katherine Sumney (Mrs. H. C.), Omaha, Neb.
 Grace Richardson (Mrs. James), Omaha, Neb.
 Mrs. Helen L. Million, Rec. Sec., Mo. E. S. Assn.
 Emily Neward Blair (Mrs. H. W.), Press Chairman Mo. E. S. Assn.
 Nathalie Caulkins Ortt, Joplin, Missouri.
 Anne H. Martin, Reno, Nevada.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Art. III, Sec. 3. Any organization which officially endorses woman suffrage may become an Associate Member upon approval by two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon payment of annual dues of \$50.00.

CO-OPERATING MEMBERS

Art. III, Sec. 4. Any individual may become a Co-operating member upon payment of annual dues of \$10.00.

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Adams, Mrs. Charles H. (Ella)	Dickson, Mrs. J. B.
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Baldwin, Mrs. M. T. (Edith R.)	
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Bartow, Mrs. Henry B. (Alice)	Folin, Mrs. Otto (Laura Grant)
Blake, Miss Katharine D.	
Blankenburg, Lucretia L.	Gillette, Miss
Blunt, Miss Katharine	Glackens, Mrs. W. J. (Edith)
Bond, Mrs. Charles H. (Isabella B.)	Goethe, Mary Glide (Mrs. C. M.)
Botsford, Elizabeth	Graves, Marion W. (Mrs. Henry S.)
Botsford, Miss S. H.	Greenleaf, Mrs. Jean B.
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Bourland, Maria	
Bourland, Langford Todd	Hall, Esther Wadsworth
Boutell, Alice May	Hand, Mrs. L. (Frances A.)
Bowles, Rev. Ada C.	Hazard, Mrs. F. R.
Bubecker, Mrs. Clara	Henderson, Helen H. L.
Burnham, Miss Margaret	Hill, Miss Clara
Burnham, Mrs. George Jr. (Anna L.)	Hills, Mrs. James (Helen H.)
Brown, Mrs. Raymond (Gertrude F.)	Howland, Isabel
Brown, Miss Ella	Howland, Bertha M.
	Huey, Katharine (Miss)
Carpenter, Mrs. H. (Cora)	Hull, Blanche W.
Chapin, Maria Bowen	Hull, Isabella H.
Chapin, Katherine G.	
Cleveland, Agnes M.	Ingalls, Mrs. C. H.
Constable, Miss Anna	Inman, Florence E.
Culbertson, Emma B.	
	James, Mrs. Henry Fairchild
Davis, Miss Alice	Jeffrey, Mrs. Jennette A. S.

Jennison, Mrs.
Jewett, Fidelia
Jones, Miss Rosalie Gardiner

Keim, Jeannette
Kerns, Serena
Kimball, Martha S.

Laidlaw, Louise Judson
Lathrop, Miss Julia C.
Leach, Prof. Abby
Lewis, Mrs. Lawrence Jr.
Lewisohn, Alice
Lewisohn, Irene
Long, Miss Margaret
Lowland, Josephine N.
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Luscomb, Florence H.

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McGraw, Mrs. Thomas
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Manson, Mrs. S. L.
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Morgan, Mrs. William Fellows
Mott, Marion

Olcott, Miss Mary
Ordway, Evelyn M.

Parker, Helen S.
Paul, Anne M.

Phipps, Annie C.
Piersol, Mrs.
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Pope, Mrs. Charles

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Reeder, Miss Anna
Reiffert, Edith A.
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Robins, E.
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Ruble, Mrs. Juliet B.

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Skeffington, Florence
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Taylor, Mrs. Frank H.
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Wadsworth, Miss Sara
Wagner, Mrs. Annie G.
Warren, Cornelia
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White, Frances M.
White, Martha R.
Whitney, Charlotte Anita
Woods, Mrs. William W.

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