

# Votes and Victory: Women's Participation in Government and World War I

## Primary Source Packet

1. Frances Willard, *Home Protection Manual: Containing an Argument for the Temperance Ballot for Women*. New York, 1879.
2. Nannie Burroughs, "Black Women and Reform," *Crisis* (August 1915). (Digitized version found at the [Archives of Women's Political Communication at Iowa State University](#).)
3. Inez Haynes Irwin, *The Story of the Woman's Party*. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1921. (Found at [Project Gutenberg](#).)
4. Leonora O'Reilly, "Peace," a speech given to the Convention of the National Women's Trade Union at the Hague, 1915. (Found at the [Archives of Women's Political Communication at Iowa State University](#).)
5. Alice Dunbar Nelson, "Negro Women and War Work," in Emmet J. Scott, *The American Negro in the World War*. Chicago: Homewood Press, 1919. (Digitized chapter found at [Brigham Young University Library Site](#).)

# HOME PROTECTION MANUAL:

CONTAINING AN ARGUMENT

FOR THE

TEMPERANCE BALLOT FOR WOMAN,

AND HOW TO OBTAIN IT, AS A MEANS OF

HOME PROTECTION;

ALSO

CONSTITUTION AND PLAN OF WORK FOR STATE AND LOCAL W. C. T. UNIONS.

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By FRANCES E. WILLARD,

PRESIDENT OF ILLINOIS W. C. T. U.

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1879

DEDICATED

TO THE

Temperance Women of Illinois,

BELOVED, BRAVE, AND STEADFAST,

WHOSE BATTLE-CRY HAS EVER BEEN:

"The Sword of the Lord and of Gideon."

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## EXPLANATORY.

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"WHAT is your W. C. T. U. doing?" is my most natural question to the dear women who welcome me on almost each new day to some new locality.

"Well, we—are—*waiting*" is the very frequent answer, quickly followed by the earnest inquiry: "What can be done?"

We only know what we have lived; and in the last five years I have witnessed a cheering march of public opinion along a road always open to our feet, but not mapped upon our usual plans of the campaign as clearly as I am convinced it ought to be.

The Right of Petition, its purpose and its power, will be treated of, in the pages that follow, with emphatic but not exclusive reference to the temperance ballot for woman.

We want that ballot because the liquor traffic is entrenched in law, and law grows out of the will of majorities, and majorities of women are against the liquor traffic. But as steam can be applied to locomotion only through an engine, and as electricity can be utilized only through a battery, so, in a Republic, we can condense the opinion of this majority of women into law only through the magical little paper which falls

"As snowflakes fall upon the sod;  
But executes a freeman's will  
As lightnings do the will of God."

Some of our sisters have feared lest attention to this branch of work might interfere with our holding Gospel meetings, circulating temperance literature, and training the children to right habits. But we invite comparison between states active in the petition battle for the temperance vote and those which have excluded this method of work, and claim that activity along this line would be an incalculable blessing to communities where, though the legalized dram-shop never closes its doors and politicians work steadily to advance its interests, our W. C. T. Unions are "waiting."

F. E. W.

CHICAGO, September, 1879.

# HOME PROTECTION.

## WHAT, WHY, AND WHERE IT IS.

"HOME PROTECTION" is the general name given to a movement already endorsed by the W. C. T. Unions of eight states, the object of which is to secure for all women above the age of twenty-one years the ballot as one means for the protection of their homes from the devastation caused by the legalized traffic in strong drink.

In Illinois and Massachusetts the ballot on the single question of license is all that has been asked; but Indiana, Iowa, and Minnesota ask for the ballot in general; while Ohio desires it "on all temperance questions." Maine and Rhode Island have both endorsed the Illinois phase of the movement, though the women of Maine (where prohibitory law is in full force) did this rather as a token of sympathy than with a view to active work. Several other states have signified their purpose to take up the new method ere long. It will be seen that, while the reason for seeking this added weapon in women's hands is in each case *that it may be used against the rum power, in defense of Home*, there is much latitude in the methods by which it is sought, as also in the extent to which the idea is carried out and in the progress which different states have made. None has as yet achieved its purpose; but Massachusetts secured a majority of one in the Senate last winter and Illinois lacked one of a majority in the House (two-thirds being essential to success). Both are making active preparations for the second campaign; and, with the same end in view, Ohio and other states are also doing preparatory work.

## ABOUT PETITIONS.

Persons of small thoughtfulness are wont to say, when our petitions are not granted: "How much time and money have been lost." But they forget the reflex influence of such work; the entire change in public sentiment which a thorough canvass has often wrought in a locality and the indirect results achieved. If we mean that crowds shall gather, there must be something for them to rally around, and a petition to which their signatures are sought affords this nucleus. Our Home Protection campaign in Illinois has crystallized the thoughts of the people around the idea of *a law against the liquor traffic*. Sermons and speeches by the score have reached and convinced them by the thousand, and the louder voice of the press, coming with cogent and oft-repeated arguments, has changed the views of tens of thousands. The quiet house-to-house canvass of an army of women who could not speak in public has brought home to the fireside and the wife and mother, with little time to read, reasons enforced by practical illustrations taken from every-day life; and thus hosts of friends for woman's temperance

ballot have been raised up where all were passive and inert before. Of the 832 towns that voted on the question of license while our campaign was in progress, 645 declared for no license—a much larger number than ever before; and experienced men say it was largely due to the Home Protection Petition work of the W. C. T. Unions. It has also reacted most favorably on all departments of our work, greatly extending the knowledge of our methods, multiplying our organizations, and bringing out an army of helpers of whom we had not known before.

Similar results would attend the circulation of a petition to the county or municipal authorities on any phase of our manifold cause. Let us remember that, in giving prominence to this branch of work, we are but *transferring the crusade from the saloon to the sources whence the saloon derives its guaranties and safeguards*. Surely, this does not change our work from sacred to secular! Surely, that is a short-sighted view which says: "It was womanly to plead with saloon-keepers not to sell; but it is unwomanly to plead with law-makers not to legalize the sale and to give us power to prevent it." No wonder the Ohio Crusaders, who have spent hours in the stifling atmosphere of the saloons, do not deem it indelicate to enter airy council-rooms and stately legislative halls; and they, like the W. C. T. U. of Illinois, have enlisted for a seven years' campaign, or one of fourteen years, if need be, not expecting immediate success, but going forth in the crusade spirit of dependence upon God and consecration to his service. "The letter killeth; but the spirit giveth life." Methods constantly change, but *motives* must have their spring in everlasting truth and righteousness.

## DAYS OF PRAYER.

The "Home Protection Crusade" for woman's temperance ballot is the natural successor of the Temperance Crusade of 1873-4, and simply changes its objective point. If rightly understood and faithfully pursued, the new movement will do much toward fulfilling the sacred prophecies of its divine forerunner. Then let all our work be begun, continued, and ended in prayer. Let every document prepared or sent out, every address delivered, every name asked for the petition be accompanied by breathings of the soul to God for a right spirit in ourselves and a heavenly blessing on our endeavor. Let not the noon-hour of united prayer for our W. C. T. Unions and their work be overlooked, and let stated days of prayer be appointed by the officers of the State Union, at the opening of the campaign, and on the day when the committee present the petition to the Legislature. Evermore, as our growing hosts move forward, may our watchword be:

"Prayer is the Christian's vital breath  
The Christian's native air."

## "HOME PROTECTION."

[FOURTH OF JULY ADDRESS AT "THE INDEPENDENT'S" CELEBRATION.]

### KING MAJORITY.

ONCE more will the time-honored declaration be made to-day, by a thousand Fourth of July orators, that "the Americans are a free people." But I insist that we are governed by the most powerful king whose iron rule ever determined the policy, molded the institutions, or controlled the destinies of a great nation.

So pervasive is his influence that it penetrates to the most obscure and distant hamlet with the same readiness, and there wields the same potency as in his empire's capital; nay (with reverence be it said), he is like Deity in that his actual presence is co-extensive with his vast domain. Our legislatures are his playthings, our congressmen his puppets, and our honored President the latest child of his adoption. We do not often call him by his name, this potentate of million hands and myriad voices; but, to my thinking, nothing is to day so vital to America as that we become better acquainted with our ruler. Let me then present to your thought his Majestic Highness KING MAJORITY, Sovereign Ruler of these United States.

### KING ALCOHOL.

Permit me now to introduce a different character, who comes to the court of King Majority as chief ambassador from the empire of his Satanic Majesty. Behold! I show you the skeleton at our patriotic banquet. It has a skull with straightened forehead and sickening smile; but bedecked with wreaths of vine, clusters of grape, and heads of golden grain—King Alcohol, present at court in radiant disguise. With a foaming beer-mug at his lips, he drinks the health of King Majority; and, placing at his feet a chest of gold labeled "Internal Revenue," he desireth conditions of peace.

### THE QUESTION.

Behold in these two figures the bewildering danger and the ineffable hope of the Republic! How can we rouse the stolid giant, King Majority? How light in those sleepy eyes the fires of a holy and relentless purpose? How nerve once more, with the resistless force that smote African slavery to death, the mighty sinews of the Republic's sleeping king?

### AN ANSWER.

How? Only by "sweet reasonableness"; only by ceaseless persuasion; only by noble examples; only by honest hard work based upon fervent and effectual prayer.

Human heads and hearts are much alike. I remember that the great Temperance Crusade of 1874 found me with a beer keg in my cellar, a fatal haziness in my opinions, and a blighting indifference to the temperance reform upon my will. But how did its intense pathos melt my heart; how did its mighty logic tune the lax cords of opinion to concert pitch; how did its

miracle of prayer bring thousands to their knees, crying: "Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do?" For myself, I could never be the same after that. As a woman, a patriot, a Christian, my heart is fixed in deathless enmity to all that can intoxicate. The same influences which so transformed one brain and heart are steadily at work to-day in a thousand quiet ways.

The sober second thought of the Woman's Temperance Crusade was organization. The voice of God called to them from the lips of his prophet: "Make a chain, for the land is full of bloody crimes and the city is full of violence." And so in every town and village we are forming these chains of light and of loving helpfulness, which we call "Women's Christian Temperance Unions." We have already twenty-three states organized, with thousands of local auxiliaries. Every day brings fresh accessions of women, translated out of the passive and into the active voice on this great question of the protection of their homes. Of the fifty-four thousand papers published in this country eight thousand have temperance facts and figures regularly provided by members of our societies. Temperance literature is being circulated; *Our Union*, the official organ of the Women's National Temperance Society, has a large subscription list; Sabbath-schools are adopting our plans of temperance instruction; and hundreds of juvenile societies are inscribing on their banners: "Tremble, King Alcohol! We shall grow up." Friendly inns and temperance reading-rooms are multiplying; Gospel meetings conducted by women are reaching the drinking class in hundreds of communities; the Red and Blue Ribbon Movements have attained magnificent proportions; and all this many-sided work is fast concentrating its influence to place the ballot in the hand of woman, and thus capture for the greatest of reforms old King Majority. Magnificent is the spectacle of these new forces now rallying to the fray. Side by side with the 500,000 men whose united energies are expended in making and selling strong drink, we are working day by day. While they brew beer we are brewing public sentiment; while they distill whisky we are distilling facts; while they rectify brandy we are rectifying political constituencies; and ere long their fuming tide of intoxicating liquor shall be met and driven back by the overwhelming flood of enlightened sentiment and divinely aroused energy.

### OBJECTION.—"PROHIBITION A FAILURE."

"To be sure, King Majority gave prohibition to Maine; but prohibition doesn't prohibit," interrupts Sir Sapient, whose remark furnishes a striking illustration of the power of the human mind to resist knowledge. Just take the spyglass of observation, and behold from Kittery to Calais the gleaming refutation of your error.

Less than thirty years ago they had four hundred open hotel bars and ten miles of saloons. To-day Dr. Hamlin, of Constantinople, tells us that, coming home, after forty years' absence, he finds his

native state thoroughly renovated from the liquor traffic. Gen. Neal Dow testifies that the law has absolutely driven the sale of strong drink out of all rural districts; and in the larger towns, instead of the free, open sale of former years, it is crowded into secret places, kept by the lowest class of foreigners. Ex-Govs. Dingley and Perham and Senator Blaine and Representative Frye declare that it is as well enforced as the law against stealing; and even sensational journalists have not told us that thieves flourish in the Pine Tree State. Mr. Reuter, of Boston, president of the National Brewers' Convention, held in St. Louis four weeks ago, says: "Formerly Maine produced nearly ten thousand barrels of beer annually; but this has fallen to *seven barrels*, in consequence of the local enforcement of prohibitory law." Surely, this gentleman should be considered as good authority on this subject as a convict is of the strength of his prison-bars!

#### MAINE AN EXCEPTION.

But you say "Maine is different from any other state." Why so? Are not its citizens of like passions with other men? Turn your glass upon a panorama of Maine as it was in former days. See yonder stalwart workers in the harvest-field paying vigorous addresses to the little brown jug; observe its ubiquitous presence at the logging bee, the "raising," the wedding, and the funeral; see it pass from lip to lip around the fireside circle; observe the Gospel minister refreshing himself from the demijohn of his parishioner and host; and be assured that within the memory of men now living these were every-day events. I have this testimony from the most honored residents of Maine, whose recitals involved the words "all of which I saw and part of which I was." But, as gallant Neal Dow hath it, "Maine was sown knee-deep with temperance literature before we reaped the harvest of prohibition." Let us note the evolution of this seed-planting. Land-owners found that two-thirds of their taxes resulted from the liquor traffic (largely in cost of prosecuting criminals and taking care of lunatics and paupers); so they concluded that legalizing saloons for the sake of the revenue was penny wisdom and pound foolishness. Business men discovered that the liquor traffic is a pirate on the high seas of trade, that the more the grog-shop is patronized the fewer customers there are for flour and fuel, boots, shoes, and clothes; and so, in self-defense, they declared for prohibition. Church people found that fifteen times as much money went to the dram-shop as to the church, and that the teachings of the one more than offset those of the other with the young men of the state; so they perceived they could not conscientiously ally themselves with the liquor traffic by their votes. Those interested in education learned that enough money was swallowed in drinks that deteriorate the brain, to furnish a schoolhouse for every fifty boys and girls, and to set over them teachers of the highest culture; and they saw it was unreasonable

to defend the liquor traffic. In short, the majority came to believe that, between the upper and nether mill-stones of starving out saloons, on the one hand, and voting them out, on the other, they could be pounded to death; and they have so pounded them. The question of selling as a beverage the drinks which we know by centuries of demonstration will so craze men that they will commit every crime and show the subtlest cruelty to those they love the best, is not to-day in Maine an open question with either party, any more than trial by jury or imprisonment for theft. True, the people had a thirty years' war before the declaration of this blessed peace; but what are thirty years when crowned at last by the surrender of King Alcohol to King Majority?

#### KEY TO THE POSITION.

"Ah! but," pursues our doubting friend, "Maine is a peculiar state, in this: it has few foreigners, with their traditions of whisky and of beer."

I grant you, there we are at disadvantage. But go with me to the Cunard wharves of Boston and to Castle Garden of New York, and, as the long procession of emigrants steps across the gangway, you will find *three times as many men as women*. How can we offset their vote for free liquor, on Sundays and all days? Surely, the answer to this question is not far to seek. Strengthen the sinews of old King Majority, by counting in the home vote to offset that of Hamburg and of Cork, and let American customs survive by utilizing (at the point where by the correlation of governmental forces "opinion" passes into "law") the opinion of those gentle "natives" who are the necessary and tender guardians of the home, of tempted manhood and untaught little children.

Hands which have just put aside the beer-mug, the decanter, and the greasy pack of cards are casting ballots which undermine our Sabbaths, license social crimes that shall be nameless, and open 250,000 dram-shops in the shadow of the church and public school. I solemnly call upon my countrymen to release those other hands, familiar with the pages of the Book of God, busied with sacred duties of the home and gracious deeds of charity, that they may drop in those whiter ballots, which, as God lives, alone can save the state!

#### THE WOMEN OF ILLINOIS.

Kind friends, I am not theorizing. I speak that I do know and testify what I have seen. Out on the Illinois prairies we have resolved to expend on voters the work at first bestowed upon saloon-keepers. We have transferred the scene of our crusade from the dram-shop to the council-room of the municipal authorities, whence the dram-shop derives its guaranties and safeguards. Nay, more. The bitter argument of defeat led us to trace the tawny, seething, foaming tide of beer and whisky to its source; and there we found it surging forth from the stately capitol of Illinois, with its proud dome and flag of stripes and stars. So we have made that capitol the center of



our operations; and last winter, as one among the many branches of our work, we gathered up 175,000 names of Illinois's best men and women (80,000 being the names of voters), who asked the legislature for a law giving women the ballot on the temperance question. In prosecuting our canvass for these names, we sent copies of our "Home Protection Petition" to every minister, editor, and postmaster in the state; also to all leading temperance men and women, and to every society and corporation from which we had anything to hope.

In this way our great state was permeated, and in most of its towns the petition was brought before the people. The religious press was a unit in our favor. The reform clubs of the state, with ribbons blue and red, helped us with their usual heartiness and efficiency. And what shall be thought of the advance in public sentiment, when (as was often done) all the churches join on Sabbath night in a "Union Home Protection Meeting," and ministers of all denominations (Presbyterians included) conduct the opening exercises, after which a woman presents the religious duty of women to seek and men to supply the temperance ballot; and, to crown all, conservative young ladies go up and down the aisles earnestly asking for signatures, and the audience unite in singing

"Stand up, stand up for Jesus,  
Ye soldiers of the Cross;  
Lift high His royal banner,  
It must not suffer loss."

Friends, it means something for women of the churches to take this radical position. America has developed no movement more significant for good since the first dawning of the day we celebrate.

The State of Indiana stands with us; only there the temperance women have worked out the problem of deliverance further than we, and asked the ballot on all questions whatsoever. They do the same in Minnesota and in Iowa; while at the East the W. C. T. U. of grand old Maine endorses the temperance vote, and Rhode Island sends to Illinois resolutions of approval, while Massachusetts, under Mary A. Livermore, has declared for Home Protection and is preparing for the fall campaign; and within a few days Ohio, the Crusade State, which is the mother of us all, has fallen into line. The most conservative states are Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York; but in each of these there are many brave women, who but bide their time for this same declaration, and the whole twenty-three states already joined in the Woman's National Christian Temperance Union will ere long clasp hands in the only work which can ever fulfill the glorious prophecy of the Crusade. History tells us that on the morning of December 23d, 1873, when in Hillsboro', Ohio, the pentecostal power fell on the "praying band" which first went forth, the leading men of that rum-cursed town went out from the church where their wives and mothers had assembled, saying: "We can only leave this business with the

women and the Lord." History has repeated itself this winter in our Illinois crusade. Men have placed money in our hands to carry on the Home Protection work, saying: "The women of America must solve this problem. Our business relations, our financial interests, our political affiliations and ambitions have tied our hands; but we will set yours free, that you may rid us of this awful curse."

#### WOULD WOMEN VOTE RIGHT?

Yet a few men and women, densely ignorant about this movement, have been heard to say: "Who knows that women would vote right?" I confess that nothing has more deeply grieved me than this question from the lips of Christian people. Have distillers, brewers, and saloon-keepers, then, more confidence in woman's sense and goodness than she has herself? They have a very practical method of exhibiting their faith. They declare war to the knife and the knife to the hilt against the Home Protection Movement. By secret circulars, by lobbyists and attorneys, by the ridicule of their newspaper organs, and threats of personal violence to such women of their families as sign our petition, they display their confidence in womankind.

The only town in Illinois which sent up a delegation; citizens openly to oppose our petition was Belleville, with its heavy liquor interest and ten thousand German to three thousand American inhabitants; and among our 204 legislators there were no other dozen men whose annoyance of the Home Protection Committee was so persistent and so petty as that of the senator who openly declared he was there to defend the vested interests of his Peoria constituents, who in 1878 produced eight million dollars' worth (?) of ardent spirits. Nay, verily, woman's vote is the way out of our misery and shame, "our enemies themselves being judges"; and none see this so clearly as the liquor dealers, whose alligator eye is their pocket-book, and the politicians, whose Achilles heel is their ambition. The women of the Crusade must come once more to judgment—not, as aforetime, with trembling lip and tearful eye; but reaching devout hands to grasp the weapon of power and crying with reverent voice: "*The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!*"

#### HOW WOMEN DO VOTE.

But, after all, "seeing" is a large part of "believing" with this square-headed Yankee nation; so let us seek the testimony of experience.

In Kansas the law provides that the signatures of women shall be requisite to a petition asking for a dram-shop before that boon shall be conferred upon any given community. This arrangement wrought such mischief with the liquor dealers that they secured an amendment exempting large towns from such bondage. But in small towns and villages it has greatly interfered with the traffic, and has so educated public sentiment that prohibition can—with impunity!—form the theme of a governor's in-

augural, and Kansas is on the war-path for a law hardly less stringent than that of Maine.

In Des Moines, Iowa, a few weeks since, as a test of popular opinion, the women voted on the license question; twelve declaring in favor of saloons and eight hundred against them. In Newton, Iowa, at an election ordered by the council, 172 men voted for license to 319 against—not two to one against it; while the women's vote stood one in favor to 394 against licensing saloons. In Kirksville, Mo., ten women favored the liquor traffic, twenty declined to declare themselves, and five hundred wanted "no license." In our Illinois campaign, which resulted in 95,000 names of women who expressed their wish to vote against saloons, not one woman in ten declined to affix her name to our petition.

#### THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, GERMANS, ETC.

The attitude of the Catholic Church was friendly to our petition, many priests urging their people to sign. Irish women, as a rule, gave us their names, and saloon-keepers' wives often secretly did so. Scandinavians were generally enthusiastic for the petition. Germans opposed us; but the reply of one of them indicates the chivalric nature which will come to our aid when our invincible argument against beer shall be brought in contact with German brain and German conscience. He said: "If it is not the pledge, I will sign it. I cannot give up my beer; *but I want to help the ladies.*" To be sure, German saloon-keepers were universally and bitterly antagonistic, and had much to say about "women keeping inside their proper sphere."

#### ARGUMENT FROM THE NATURE OF THE CASE.

But the convictions which supply me with unalterable courage and unflagging enthusiasm in the Home Protection work are not based upon any proof I have yet given. No argument is impregnable unless founded on the nature of things.

The deepest instincts and the dearest interests of those who have the power to enact a law must be enlisted for its enforcement before it will achieve success. For instance, the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is going to be enforced by the ballots of colored men who once were slaves, just so long as those men retain their reason and their color. By parity of reasoning, if you can enlist in favor of a local option or prohibition law the dearest interests of a class in the community which in all the ages of wine and beer and brandy drinking has not developed (as a class) the appetite for them nor formed the habit of their use, you will have something trustworthy on which to base your law. We temperance people have looked over at the rum power very much as the soldiers of Israel did at Goliath of Gath. We have said: "He has upon his side two of the most deeply-rooted instincts of human nature—in the dealer the appetite for gain, and in the drinker the appetite for stimulants—and we have nothing adequate to match against this frightful pair."

But, looking deeper, we perceive that, as God has provided in Nature an antidote for every poison, and in the kingdom of his grace a compensation for every loss, so in human society he has ordained against King Alcohol, that worst foe of the social state, an enemy beneath whose blows he is to bite the dust. Take the instinct of self-protection (and there is none more deeply seated): What will be its action in woman when the question comes up of licensing the sale of a stimulant which nerves with dangerous strength the arm already so much stronger than her own, and which at the same time so crazes the brain God meant to guide that manly arm that it strikes down the wife a man loves and the little children for whom when sober he would die? Dependent for the support of herself and little ones and for the maintenance of her home, upon the strength which alcohol masters and the skill it renders futile, will the wife and mother cast her vote to open or to close the rum-shop door over against that home?

Then there is a second instinct, so much higher and more sacred that I would not speak of it too near the first. It is as deep, but how high it reaches up toward Heaven—the instinct of a mother's love, a wife's devotion, a sister's faithfulness, a daughter's loyalty! Friends, this love of women's hearts was given for purposes of wider blessing to poor humanity than some of us have dreamed. Before this century shall end the rays of love which shine out from woman's heart shall no longer be, as now, divergent so far as the liquor traffic is concerned; but through that magic lens, that powerful sunglass which we term the ballot, they shall all converge their power, and burn and blaze on the saloon, till it shrivels up and in lurid vapors curls away like mist under the hot gaze of sunshine. Ere long our brothers, hedged about by temptations, even as we are by safeguards, shall thus match force with force; shall set over against the dealer's avarice our timid instinct of self-protection, and match the drinker's love of liquor by our love of him. When this is done you will have doomed the rum power in America, even as you doomed the slave power when you gave the ballot to the slave.

#### OBJECTIONS.—WOMAN'S INFLUENCE.

"But women should content themselves with educating public sentiment," says one. Nay, we can shorten the process; for we have the sentiment all educated and stored away, ready for use in brain and heart. Only give us the opportunity to turn it to account where in the least time it can achieve the most! Let the great guns of influence, now pointing into vacancy, be swung to the level of benignant use and pointed on election day straight into the faces of the foe! "No; but she should train her son to vote aright," suggests another. But if she could go along with him, and thus make one vote two, should we then have a superfluous majority in a struggle intense as this one is to be? And then how unequal is her com-

bat for the right to train her boy! Enter yonder saloon. See them gathered around their fiery or their foamy cups, according to the predominance in their veins of Celtic or of Teuton blood. What are they talking of, those sovereign citizens? The times have changed. It is no longer tariff or no tariff, resumption of specie payments, or even the behavior of our Southern brethren that occupies their thought. No. Home questions have come elbowing their way to the front. The child in the midst is also in the market-place, and they are bidding for him there, the politicians of the saloon. So skillfully will they make out the slate, so vigorously turn the crank of the machine, that, in spite of churches and temperance societies combined, the measures dear to them will triumph and measures dear to the fond mother heart will fail. Give her, at least, a fair chance to offset by her ballot the machinations which imperil her son.

#### WOMEN CANNOT FIGHT.

"But women cannot fight," you say, "and for every ballot cast we must tally with a bayonet." Pray tell us when the law was promulgated that we must analyze the vote at an election, and throw out the ballots of all men aged and decrepit, halt and blind? Do not let the colossal example of Judge David Davis so fill our field of vision that we cannot perceive brain, and not bulk, to be the rational basis of citizenship. Avoirdupois counts greatly among the Zulus; but is a consideration far less weighty with the Americans than it was before the Geneva Arbitration. I venture the prediction that this Republic will prove herself the greatest fighter of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; but her bullets will be molded into printers' type, her Gatling guns will be the pulpit and the platform, her war will be a war of words, and underneath the white storm of men's and women's ballots her enemies—state rights, the saloon, and the commune—shall find their only shroud.

#### "WOMAN'S RIGHT."

Of the right of woman to the ballot I shall say nothing. All persons of intelligence, whose prejudices have not become indurated beyond the power of logic's sledge-hammer to break them, have been convinced already. For the rest there is no cure save one—the death cure—which comes or soon or late and will open more eyes than it closes. Of the Republic's right to woman's ballot I might say much. Well did two leaders of public thought set forth that right when Joseph Cook declared that "woman's vote would be to the vices in our great cities what the lightning is to the oak"; and when Richard S. Storrs said: "If women want the suffrage they will be sure to have it, and I don't know but when it comes it will turn out to be the precious amethyst that drives drunkenness out of politics?"

#### WOMEN DO NOT WISH TO VOTE.

"But women do not care to vote." This is the "last ditch" of the conservatives. The evolution of temperance sentiment among

women hitherto conservative refutes this argument; yet I confess there are many who do not yet perceive their duty. But Jack's beaustalk furnishes only a tame illustration of the growth of women in this direction in the years since the Crusade. Of this swift growth I have already given abundant proof. It is, in my judgment, the most solid basis of gratitude on this national anniversary.

During past years the brave women who pioneered the equal suffrage movement, and whose perceptions of justice were keen as a Damascus blade, took for their rallying cry: "Taxation without representation is tyranny." But the average woman, who has nothing to be taxed, declines to go forth to battle on that issue. Since the Crusade, plain, practical temperance people have begun appealing to this same average woman, saying, "With your vote we can close the saloons that tempt your boys to ruin"; and behold! they have transfixed with the arrow of conviction that mother's heart, and she is ready for the fray. Not rights, but duties; not her need alone, but that of her children and her country; not the "woman," but the "human" question is stirring women's hearts and breaking down their prejudice to-day. For they begin to perceive the divine fact that civilization, in proportion as it becomes Christianized, will make increasing demands upon creation's gentler half; that the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount are voted up or voted down upon election day; and that a military exigency requires the army of the Prince of Peace to call out its reserves.

The experience which opened the eyes of one cultured conservative in Illinois is here in point.

Mrs. Pellucid was my companion at the Capitol, where, with other ladies, we spent several weeks in the endeavor to secure legislative support for our Home Protection measures. One of the members, when earnestly appealed to, replied, with a rueful grimace: "Ladies, when I tell you the leading towns in the district I represent, you will see that I cannot do as you wish," and he rattled off such names as "Frankfort, Hamburg, and Bremen," wished us "the success that our earnestness merited," and bowed himself out.

"Why—what—does—he—mean?" inquired my lovely Conservative, in astonishment.

A committee clerk stood by, who answered, briskly: "Why, ladies, Mr. Teutonium represents a district in which German voters are in the majority; therefore, he cannot support your bill."

"Why, I thought a lawmaker was to represent his own judgment and conscience," murmured the sweet-voiced lady.

"His judgment, yes; for that tells him on which side the majority of votes in his district is located. His conscience, no; for that would often cost him his chances for a political future," answers the well-instructed youth.

"O-o-oh!" softly ejaculated Mrs. Pellucid, in the key of E flat, minor scale.

By this time Mr. Politicus entered; in response to our invitation, of course—he never would have come on his own motion. After a brief conversation, he pledged himself to vote for our bill and to make a speech in our favor. Nevertheless, if you should glance over the list we are carefully preserving and industriously circulating in Illinois, of men who voted against us, you would find his name. But he is an honest fellow in his way, and we owe it to a motion made by him that women were, for the first time in history, allowed to speak before the legislature of Illinois. He explained his desertion of the temperance cause on this wise: "I tell you, ladies, I've got to go back on you. I'm leader of my party in the House, and they've cracked the party whip mightily over my ears. The long and short of it is, I've got to represent the men that voted me in."

Poor Mrs. Pellucid! How appealing was her voice, as she replied: "But I am sure your better nature tells you to represent us." Mr. Politicus brought his great fist down on the table with a stalwart thump, and said: "Course it does, Madam; but, Lord bless you women, you can't stand by a fellow that stands by you, for you *hain't* got any votes." Just here a young lady of the group piped up: "Oh! but we would persuade our friends to vote for you." "Beg pardon, Miss; but you couldn't do nothin' of the kind," said he. "Don't you suppose I know the lay o' the land in my district?" The young lady now grasped the other horn of the dilemma, saying, desperately: "But we will get the temperance men in your district to vote against you if you desert us in this manner." His rejoinder was a deplorable revelation to our simple-minded company: "Never a bit on't, Miss. The temperance men are an easy-going set, and will vote the party ticket anyhow. Old dog Tray's ever faithful! We've ignored them for years; but they come up milin' and vote the Republican ticket all the same. You'll see!" "But won't you stand by us for God and home and native and!" pleaded Mrs. Pellucid, with a sweetness that would have captured any man not already caught in the snares of a gainsaying constituency. The worthy politician humped the table again, and closed the interview by saying: "You women are altogether too good to live in this world. If you could only vote, you'd have this legislature solid. But, since you can't, I'm bound to stand by such a conscience as I've got, and it tells me to stick to the fellows that voted me in. Good-morning!" And he got peedily out of the range of those clear, sad eyes. Mr. Readyright (an ex-senator) came in. With all the vehemence of his Irish nature he anathematized the "weak-kneed temperance men." "Sure as you're living, Politicus told you the truth," said he. "The temperance men are the foot-ball of parties. There's none so poor to do 'em reverence. Where are the plucky young fellows that were here when we gave Illinois her present local option law?" (By the way, that law

bears the name of this valiant senator, who is, by the same token a Democrat.) "Where are they? Out in the cold, to be sure. Did the temperance folks remember their services and send 'em back? Not a bit of it. But the wiskey men didn't forget the grudge they owed 'em, and they're on the shelf to-day—every last man of 'em." "I tell you," and the wise old gentleman gesticulated wildly in his wrath, "until you women have the power to say who shall make the laws and who enforce 'em, and to reward by re-election them that are faithful to your cause and punish by defeat them that go back upon it, you may hang your bonnets on a very high nail, for you'll not need 'em to attend the funeral of the liquor traffic!" "Why," exclaimed one of the ladies, confusedly, "you don't mean to say that the temperance ballot is not enough, and that we must follow in the footsteps of Susan B. —?" The sturdy old gentleman walked to the door, and fired this Parthian arrow back at us: "Susan could teach any one of ye your a-b-abs. This winter's defeat'll be a paying investment to ye all, if ye learn that a politician is now and ever will be the drawn image, pocket edition, safety-valve, and speakin'-trumpet of the folks that voted him in."

The ladies drew a long breath. "I begin to see men as trees walking," slowly murmured sweet Sister Pellucid.

"But we must bide the Lord's time," warningly uttered an old lady, who had just arrived. To her the brisk committee clerk ventured this answer: "But Senator Readyright says you'll find the Lord's time will come just about twenty-four hours after the women get their eyes open!"

A temperance member of the House is the last caller whom I will report. He spake in this wise: "Ladies, I pretend to no superior saintship. I am like other men, only I come from a district that would behead me if I did not stand by you. I have a pocket full of letters, received to-day from party leaders at home, assuring me I run no risk." At the close of three weeks of such a school as this, one of our radicals asked Mrs. Pellucid, chief of conservatives, this pointed question: "Are you still for the Home Protection vote alone, or for the ballot on all questions?" She replied, in thrilling tones and most explicit words: "Any woman who could have shared our bitter experience here without desiring to vote on every officer, from constable to President, would be either a knave or a fool."

#### MAKE SELF-INTEREST OUR ALLY.

This lady reasoned that, since we are solemnly bound to be wise as serpents, we must harness self-interest to our moving chariot. The great majority of men who are in office desire to be re-elected. By fair means, if they can; but to be re-elected anyhow. Only in one way can they bring this to pass by securing on their side old King Majority. If we furnish them with a constituency committed to the proposition "The saloon must go," then go it will, and on the double quick. Let the city council know that wo-

men have the ballot, and will not vote for them if they license saloons, and they will soon come out for prohibition. Let the sheriff, marshal, and constable know that their tenure of office depends on their success in executing the law thus secured, and their faithfulness will leave nothing to be desired. Let the shuffling justice and the truckling judge know that a severe interpretation of the law will brighten their chances of promotion, and you will behold rigors of penalty which Neal Dow himself would wince to see.

There is also great force in the consideration that, if women, *not themselves eligible to office*, had the power to elect or to defeat *men* (who will alone be eligible for a long while yet), the precise check might by this arrangement be supplied which would keep politics from forming with the worst elements of society that unholy alliance which is today the grief of Christians and the despair of patriots. Belonging to no party ourselves, we might be able to lift the Sabbath, the temperance movement, and kindred moral questions out of the mire of merely partisan politics into which they have fallen. It is, at least, worth trying. Into the seething caldron, where the witch's broth is bubbling, let us cast this one ingredient more. In speaking thus I am aware that I transcend the present purpose of my constituency, and represent myself rather than "the folks that voted me in!"

#### PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

Our temperance women in the West are learning that, while the primary meetings are the most easily influenced, they are the most influential political bodies in America. Ere long the W. C. T. U. will attend these, beginning in the smaller and more reputable communities. We are confident that nothing would be so effective in securing the attendance of the respectable voter as the presence at the primaries of "his sisters and his cousins and his aunts." To be "in at the birth" of measures vital to the well-being of society seems to us, in the light of last winter's experience, a more useful investment of our influence than to be "in at the death." At Springfield we found the enemy entrenched, while in the primaries his soldiers are not yet even recruited. We intend also to open in each locality books of record; and, by thorough canvass, to secure an informal registration of all men and women—the former as to how they will and the latter as to how they would (mournful potential mood!) vote on the question of permitting saloons. Every such effort helps to obliterate party lines; or, more correctly, to mass the moral elements by which alone society coheres, against the disintegrating forces, which of themselves would drive us into chaos and old night.

*New England must lead.* Let not the West outstrip you in this glorious race. I appeal to the women of the East. Already New Hampshire and Massachusetts have placed in your hands the educational vote, which has a direct bearing on the temperance question, since by its use the mothers of

this land can place on the school committees those who will make the scientific reasons for total abstinence a regular study of the children. I beg you, by its use, to testify your fitness and desire for the more powerful weapon it foretells. It comes to you as the gift of a few earnest, persistent women, who steadily asked your legislators to bestow it, even as they will the larger gift, if you as diligently seek it. Your undertaking will not be so gigantic as ours in Illinois, for with us 34 in the senate and 102 in the house must first agree to a constitutional amendment, and then the concurrence of two-thirds of our voters must be secured. Another contrast further illustrates the favorable conditions here. Negro suffrage at the South was forced upon wide areas occupied by a voting population bitterly hostile to the innovation. Here woman's vote must first be granted by free consent of a majority of the representatives chosen directly by those who are already citizens; and by operating over the small area of a single state at a time it would arouse no violent upheaval of the opposition. Besides, the large excess of women here makes this the fitting battleground of a foregone victory. Women of New England! among all the divisions of our great White Ribbon Army you occupy the strategic position. Truly, your valiant daughter, Illinois, earlier flung down the gauge of the new battle; but your blood is in our veins, your courage nerves our hearts, your practical foresight determines our methods of work. I come from the prairies, where we are marshaling forces for a fresh attack, and solemnly adjure you to lead us in this fight for God and home and native land. Still let dear old New England take her natural place in the forefront of the battle; and from an enemy more hateful than King George let the descendants of our foremothers deliver Concord and Lexington, and wield once more in Boston, with its eight miles of grog-shops, the sword of Bunker Hill! To chronicle the deeds by which your devotion shall add fresh luster to names renowned and hallowed, the Muse of History prepares her tablet and poises her impartial pen.

Friends, there is always a way out for humanity. Evermore in earth's affairs God works by means. To-day he hurls back upon us our complaining cry: "How long? O Lord! how long?" Even as he answered faint-hearted Israel, so he replies to us: *What can I do for this people that I have not done?* "Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward."

"There's a light about to beam,  
There's a fount about to stream,  
There's a warmth about to glow,  
There's a flower about to blow,  
There's a midnight blackness  
Changing into gray;  
Men of thoughts, of votes, of action,  
Clear the way!"

Aid that dawning tongue and pen;  
Aid it, hopes of honest men;  
Aid it, for the hour is ripe,  
And our earnest must not slacken into play.  
Men of thoughts, of votes, of action,  
Clear the way!"

## PLANS FOR PETITION WORK.

## HOME PROTECTION PETITION TO THE NATIONAL OR STATE LEGISLATURE.

This will include the following methods:

1. A committee to be appointed by the State W. C. T. U. and called the "Home Protection Committee." (As a rule, the president should be its chairman.) The petitions to be drafted by this committee, acting under legal advice, and every detail relating to its circulation and presentation controlled by them.

2. A special committee, to be chosen also by the State Union, whose duty it is to secure a separate Home Protection Fund (by private subscription) to pay for documents, printing, postage, and amanuenses bills, also a clerk, who will send out all documents and receive and classify all letters and signatures. This committee will report through the press all funds received and to the treasurer of the State Union—with satisfactory vouchers—all disbursements and receipts. [N.B.—We found it easier to raise money for this work than for any other ever undertaken by our Unions.]

3. Petitions and documents (this Manual furnishes a sufficient variety) containing facts and arguments for Local Option and Home Protection to be sent out from the central office to every editor in the state, with a printed letter, carefully prepared by the committee, urging him to publish the petition and extracts from the documents and to give the movement his personal endorsement. As the campaign progresses, notes, incidents, news, etc. to be sent, on printed slips, to every editor and leading newspaper correspondent. [Send 30 cents to Geo. P. Rowell, New York, for list of all the editors in any state.] The leading journalists to be personally visited by influential delegations of men and women and their support requested. This "press work" must be carefully assigned to capable women in all leading towns of the state.

4. The petition and documents to be sent to each minister of every church, to the president of every temperance organization and of every society in the state, and to each postmaster, separate forms of printed letters being prepared for each leading class. The endorsement by published resolutions of all religious and philanthropic bodies is to be sought; and to this end the best men and women are to be specifically delegated to address ministers' meetings and societies in every locality, also conferences, synods, and conventions of county, district, and state. The names of all these persons can be readily obtained in large cities from directories or at the publishing houses of their respective organs, and for the smaller towns by calling at the city headquarters of the various organizations, as indicated in the directories. Tens of thousands of petitions will be required. [For forms of all sorts, see following pages.] The back of each copy may be utilized to print the most pithy arguments and best endorsements.

5. Conventions in every congressional

district, and, if possible, in every county; as many first-class speakers in the field as the people will support; special sermons (for which in the "Letter to Ministers" earnest and respectful request has been made); Union meetings on Sabbath evenings; parlor meetings for the more conservative in towns and cities.

6. Delegations to visit Catholic bishops and priests, urging their co-operation. Translations of best arguments into German, and addresses to German audiences, based on the text: "Come, let us reason together." No harsh words ever to be spoken of any class. It is easy to tear down; more than easy to scold; but we are building up and using the "sweet reasonableness" demanded by Christ's Gospel.

7. Each town and village to be *districted*, and women to go from house to house, store to store, and office to office. This enlists most brains, hearts and hands, and, hence, this is the right arm of the service. Nothing will compensate for neglect here. All other agencies are means to the success of this end. Let the women go with prayer, as they went to the Crusade; and their visits, multiplied by tens of thousands, will work a mighty revolution. The "Home Protection" documents, copies of "*Our Union*," "Miss Colman's Leaflets," and "The Juvenile Temperance Banner," and other temperance literature, must be furnished, to be distributed according to their discretion.

8. Vice-presidents of congressional districts are the ablest helpers in this work, when their abilities, health, and home care permit them to work. They must be chosen carefully, with all these considerations **"TO** view. District conventions are to be held by them, documents of all sorts sent out to local unions through their hands, and canvasses superintended by them.

9. There must be but one "Headquarters," <sup>the</sup> <sup>ing</sup> one person to whose address all orders for petitions and documents and all the signatures obtained are sent. State precise date when all petitions must be returned, with signatures, to headquarters, and ~~do not change that date~~. These signatures must be at once and gratefully acknowledged by printed postal. Addresses of all persons who gather up signatures or specially interest themselves in the work must be kept in the Home Protection Directory at headquarters, and will be invaluable for present reference and in future work. The autograph signatures to the petition may be pasted and ironed smooth on white cloth, half a yard wide, bound on one side with blue and on the other with red braid, wound on a roller, and tied with white ribbon. If practicable, classify by towns, and keep a tabulated book account of them.

10. *At the Capital.*—*Before the legislature assembles* a committee of gentlemen and ladies, residents of the capital, will be required to prepare for the coming of Home Protection Committee. They will provide for their entertainment, notify the press, stating their mission, and arrange a meeting for them in

the Hall of the House of Representatives; another in a large church; and a third, especially for ladies, in the afternoon; and, if possible, one for children. It will be well to improve the occasion by a district convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions (see Plan), in which case the committee will remain three days, instead of two. The petition and the bill it calls for should be presented on the first day of the session, a special effort being made to have it the very first bill presented. *This cannot be too strongly emphasized.* Let the same bill be presented simultaneously in the Senate and House, and let the great petition be presented by the ladies, within a week or two after the opening of the session. To this end the petition campaign ought to begin in the autumn and last about eight weeks. The processes of legislation are so slow that every day's delay after the session opens drives a nail in the coffin which is being industriously prepared for our measures by the liquor interest.

The resident senator and a resident member of the House will introduce resolutions asking for your committee the use of the respective halls of the capitol for your public meeting. Wednesday is the best evening, since members are more likely to be absent the first and last of the week. Front seats should be reserved for members of the legislature and ushers (chosen by chief janitor of capitol from his assistants to whom the faces of the members are familiar) should be stationed at the doors, to conduct them to their seats.

The meeting in Representatives' Hall which may be festooned with the petition and be carefully prepared for by the local committee, printed invitations being sent to every member of the Senate and House; also to the State Executive and Judiciary and to the press. Music, religious and patriotic, should be furnished by orchestra and chorus; the Bible read (Psalm cxlvi, "the Crusade Psalm," and parts of Joel ii are excellent selections, also Ps. x); prayer offered; and, after brief addresses (timed by the chairman) and an expression of the opinion of the audience on the temperance ballot, taken by a rising vote, the audience dismissed with the benediction.

Among songs suited to the occasion, or to any Home Protection meeting, may be mentioned: "America," "Lift up thy voice with Singing" (Gospel Songs No. 2), "The World is Moving On," "Song of the Ribbons," "Save that Tempted Boy," "The Home that Used to Be," "Home Protection Hymn," "Carry Me Back to My Mother's Home," "Hear the Call, O Gird your Armor On," etc.

"Home, Sweet Home," sung by chorus or played by band while the audience disperses, is marvelously effective and leaves an impression most helpful to the cause.

No attempt should be made to gain a hearing which would not be accorded to men; but the ladies will, of course, be present when the senator and representative they have chosen present their petition in the two houses, and, if invited, will be

ready to give to the people's representatives reasons for the work they have wrought.

If practicable, have your meetings at the capitol stenographically reported, published in some well-known state paper, and copies sent out as a "campaign document." Make special efforts to enlist the mothers, wives, and daughters of the legislators in your movement. The majority of them have enough good sense, liberality, and earnestness of spirit to sympathize with you, and can enforce your arguments in the most influential quarters, by the persuasive influence of life's tenderest affections.

Through leading members of Senate and House secure the appointment of a "Committee on Temperance," to whom your petitions may be referred, rather than to the Judiciary Committee, which is usually the burial-place of progressive temperance measures.

Having presented your petition, with due ceremonies, to Senate and House (separately), follow it to each committee to which it is consigned, making to each your argument and plea. But let the appropriate senator and member receive a duplicate of each petition from any locality, with a certified copy of the autograph signatures which have been sent to your committee, and let these be handed in from day to day in the legislature, that the subject may be kept in mind.

The bill which your petition calls for must be presented by a committee or a member; must be placed on file; may be referred to various committees; and must be read three times before it can be passed. All this takes several weeks, at best; and, if not rapidly advanced from point to point by the persistence of its friends, the bill never reaches third reading, and members avoid what they most dread and we most desire—"going on record." This "record" should be a matter of the utmost publicity, being printed in all the papers and sent to each local temperance society, for reference. By working up public sentiment and attending primary meetings, women must do their utmost to defeat those men who defeat our Home Protection measures.

Among the hundreds of bills before the legislature, yours is likely to be forgotten by the good and delayed or killed by the bad; so it is important that you appoint a wise and cautious sub-committee to remain, and by careful canvass of members ascertain your strength and by thoughtful counsel learn to seize the moments of opportunity to advance the bill. The members of your sub-committee, on "advancing the bill" at the capitol, should never appear as hangers-on in corridor or gallery; but should have a room, easy of access, in the building itself, and should by visiting card request the presence of "servants of the people," who will always respond with the courtesy to which American mothers have educated their sons. But great tact and considerateness should be used in asking only brief interviews with those who have so many to meet. Three to five ladies is the best number to be in attendance at a time.

## FORMS OF DOCUMENTS FOR A HOME PROTECTION CAMPAIGN.

[To be sent out as Printed Circulars].

### LETTER TO MINISTERS.

Rev. \_\_\_\_\_ :

Dear Sir :—To you, as a minister of Christ, we venture, as members of the Church, to make a special appeal. You have noticed the noble stand of the religious press for "Home Protection." This encourages us to hope that you will make an address in its favor, and present the enclosed petition to your largest Sabbath audience, in the manner described in the circular, and send all names so obtained to be pasted on the roll.

We want at least 100,000 names, and, with the co-operation of good and influential people, we can get them. Also please have the petition published in your local paper, with the request prefixed to it: "Please cut out and circulate this in audiences (according to the plan described), and privately also, and send all autographs, stating where they were obtained and when, to \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, by \_\_\_\_\_ date." Through your influence may not other ministers be induced also to present the petition to their audiences?

We also count on the W. C. T. U., on the Reform Club and all temperance societies to aid us, that, by all working together, ours may be the pioneer state to secure the temperance ballot in woman's hand as a means of Home Protection. Your influence with members of the legislature is, in conclusion, earnestly asked. May God bless this endeavor made in his name.

Sincerely yours,

Pres't State W. C. T. U.

TO BE SENT TO PRESIDENTS OF R. R. AND TELEGRAPH COMPANIES, AND ALL CORPORATE BODIES NOT HOSTILE TO THE CAUSE.

To \_\_\_\_\_ :

Dear Sir :—Will you not secure for us signatures to the enclosed Petition of all eligible names in your establishment, and return to me before the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_?

It will greatly help our cause.

You will be glad to know that the Petition is meeting with a high degree of favor from pulpit, press, and people. We will forward more Petitions, if desired.

Sincerely yours,

President State W. C. T. U.

TO BE SENT TO EVERY OFFICER CONNECTED WITH PRISONS, JAILS, AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN THE STATE.

To \_\_\_\_\_ :

Dear Sir :—In view of the well-known fact that the misery which your efforts help to mitigate is largely caused by strong drink, I appeal to you to give the enclosed Petition a careful circulation in your establishment, returning it to me not later than the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, headed by names of the managers and officers of the institution.

Sincerely yours,

Pres't State W. C. T. U.

We will gladly send more Petitions, if desired.

### TO POSTMASTERS.

Dear Sir :—Will you not see that the enclosed Petitions are placed in the hands of some lady or gentleman who will at once secure a house-to-house visitation canvass for names?

The press, pulpit, and people are warmly en-

dorsing it, as indicating the shortest road to a better protection of homes and tempted loved ones.

I appeal to you as a patriot and enlightened citizen to give us this aid. I will gladly send more Petitions, if desired.

Sincerely yours,

TO BE SENT OUT, AFTER PETITION AND BILL HAVE COME BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE, TO ALL SOCIETIES AND CORPORATIONS FAVORABLE TO TEMPERANCE.

Please secure the passage by your society of the following form of Resolution, and return at once to \_\_\_\_\_, at \_\_\_\_\_. Prompt attention to this request may save the day for our Petition.

Resolved, That the \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ [name of State], most respectfully pray the Honorable Legislature to pass promptly and speedily the bill now pending in the House known as the \_\_\_\_\_ Bill, in conjunction with the Home Protection Petition, and providing for the right of all residents, men and women, to petition [or to vote, as the case may be] for or against the granting of license to keep dram-shops.

Resolved, Also, that we likewise, in conjunction with the Home Protection Petition, pray for the submission to a vote of the people of a resolution to so change the constitution as to grant to women the right to vote on temperance questions.

Please return immediately to

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_,  
at \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_.

Signed by President and Secretary \_\_\_\_\_ (name of the Temperance or other society adopting the Resolution).

Give number of membership of society.

## PLAN FOR LOCAL CAMPAIGN "TO CARRY NO-LICENSE."

### I.—HOW NOT TO DO IT.

1. Complain all the preceding year of the utter failure of no-license and do nothing whatever to secure its enforcement, though you voted (or worked) for it at the last election.

2. Tell (in private) what astonishing "dead letter" tokens you see every time you go down-town; but never give your evidence, influence, or money to help convict the law-breakers.

3. Never speak in pulpit or prayer-meeting about the law. Treat it as a Gentile, that has no place in the courts of the Lord.

4. Let it be generally understood that the best people in town are utterly discouraged and disgusted with Prohibition and ready to return to license. "since it helps to keep up the sidewalks, at least."

5. Aroused by the straightforward arguments of an earnest temperance worker, imported by somebody three days before election, come out brighter than ever—perhaps because of this temporary eclipse—and declare that it's a shame to let the town go by default. Induce the temperance sojourner to remain. Whisper softly whenever convenient that there are to be meetings held; but don't mention the fact out loud. Light up the church dimly; gather in a couple of hundred excellent people who need no re-



pentance; furnish no music, save as Deacon Fugue "raises" "Old Hundred" higher than the church-gable; and expect the dead community to be galvanized into ghastly and imbecile motion at the eleventh hour.

Forget that the rum party held secret caucuses while you were asleep; selected their candidates while you were scolding at the law; and canvassed for votes while you were busy getting reconverted! In brief, though you are harmless as a dove, don't on any account allow yourself to be wise as a serpent.

II.—HOW IT HAS BEEN DONE.

1. The W. C. T. U. co-operated with other temperance societies and with the churches in raising a fund by private subscription and public pledges.

2. This was placed in the hands of an Executive Committee or "Home Protection Alliance," and by them invested in securing speakers and circulating prohibition documents. [See List, with prices.]

These were given out at all public meetings, left in all stores and offices, hung up on lamp-posts, in street-cars, and everywhere, and carried to all homes by judicious sub-committees. Tracts in their own language are sure to gain the attention of Germans and Scandinavians. A column of carefully-selected facts and arguments was supplied every week in the year for the weekly press by women specially appointed, who used their scissors to excellent purpose on the teeming columns of the temperance papers furnished them by the Executive Committee. [See List.]

When, as has been computed, a million words of temperance logic can be had for the price of a drink, and the cost of a yoke of oxen invested in such words will so revolutionize public sentiment that local option is carried in a whole county, where is the sense or grace in temperance people who complain that "they don't know what to do" and are "only waiting" for work?

3. Temperance meetings were regularly held throughout the year, "to work up public sentiment." The first six months they were held every fortnight; the next three, every week; the last two, several times a week; and the last month, every night. These meetings were handsomely placarded through the town and thoroughly advertised in press and pulpit. The managers of a theatrical company could hardly have taken more pains to invite people to come than did this temperance committee. During the last month a band of music played every night in front of the hall where the best interests of the community were to be discussed by earnest, practical men and women, devoted to the cause. Often speakers were met at the depot by the White-ribbon Brigade and the Reform Club. All speakers were instructed to use no bitter epithets nor harsh personal allusions. Facts, logic, persuasion, embellished by narratives, brightened by wit—these were their sufficient stock in trade. Ministers of the Gospel bore a prominent

part in this work, speaking from their pulpits on Sunday and steadily lending their influence to the work. Children from the public schools recited selections, witty and sad; young men declaimed; young women read and sang. There was a place for everybody, and grandly were those places filled.

4. Two or three weeks beforehand, at a large public meeting, the People's Ticket was announced, having been agreed upon by the Executive Committee, appointed at the beginning of the campaign and consisting of a member from each church and two from each temperance society. The men chosen as municipal officers were remarkable for something besides their devotion to the temperance cause. They stood well in the community; had thoroughly practical and liberal views concerning town affairs; were thorough financiers; and hard-headed men of business could pick no flaw in their integrity. They were not the sort of nominees whom you can pick up the evening before to "fill a gap," which will be wider the day after election than at any previous date. They were solid citizens, who would never have come forward thus save on the call of of a committee which had shown skill equal to its earnestness, and common sense no whit behind the clear grit it had exhibited.

The candidates made brief addresses, and, from mayor to constable, pledged themselves to a faithful execution of the laws. Now came the seething of the caldron, which had been heated long. The town, already districted by the committees on circulating documents, was thoroughly canvassed once more—this time with a petition similar to that which follows:

"We, the undersigned, voters and women of legal age within the corporate limits of the town of \_\_\_\_\_, do respectfully and earnestly petition all persons who will support the following

PEOPLE'S TICKET

.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

to affix their signatures to this paper: women's names being a promise to use their influence in favor of the ticket, and men's names being a promise to vote the said ticket on election day."

MEN.

WOMEN.

Thus every signature was not only a personal agreement, but had also the force of a request to all other residents of the community. This canvass was conducted chiefly by women carefully chosen for their discretion and their gentleness. The results of it were published in the local papers, figures being given, but not names.

5. Election day arrived. The ladies had secured permission to decorate the engine-house with wreaths, flowers, and patriotic mottoes. They furnished a toothsome free lunch next door, to which everybody was

invited, and where the temperance pledge was offered and the People's Ticket and a buttonhole bouquet furnished to all who would accept them. Hundreds of voters were fed and won, and scores of homes were brightened by new resolves that day; and toward night the church-bells rang out the tidings of a victory that had been earned, a success that had been *organized*, as all true successes are.

6. But the Executive Committee did not stop here. The headquarters were still kept open, and a secretary employed who kept a bright lookout for opportunities to strengthen the hands of the authorities in that enforcement of law which alone makes it respected and enduring.

To the W. C. T. Us. which are "waiting for work" this plan is recommended for study. Its most important suggestions may be universally applied and its campaign lasts all the year round.

## OTHER METHODS OF INFLUENCING LOCAL LEGISLATION.

### ONE WOMAN'S WORK.

In a quiet Eastern town there is a noble lady who is shut out from our general work by deafness. But her earnestness and success are a reproach to most of us who hear so much we do not heed. Determined to do her best, this lady induced her brother, an influential business man, to invite two or three gentlemen to his home on Saturday night, to devise means of carrying no-license at the next election. They talked the matter over, and, as must always be the case, became more deeply interested as they did so. The next Saturday night each brought another friend to the discussion, and so it went on, until all the best men had agreed upon a plan and a ticket, which was triumphantly elected.

What one woman accomplished by indirection another may and many surely will by wise concerted action.

### WOMEN'S LOCAL PETITION FOR THE TEMPERANCE BALLOT.

In many towns the municipal authorities could, if they would, adopt a special ordinance, by which women might vote on the question of license. A petition asking for this should be thoroughly circulated, every person of legal age being given the opportunity to sign, and should be presented to the council by a strong delegation, after having first been read and expounded at a great public meeting of the people. The following may serve as a form of petition:

*To the Mayor and Council of ———:*

We, the undersigned, men and women of ———, believe that women should be granted a voice in deciding whether we are to have dram-shops among the institutions of our village; and we earnestly desire that provision shall be made, by special ordinance, for a vote on the question of legalizing the liquor traffic, and that in such vote women be invited to share.

| NAMES OF MEN OVER | NAMES OF WOMEN OVER |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 21.               | 21.                 |

[With slight changes, this will apply to counties and states under local-option laws.]

If they will not grant this, do not say, in dolorous accents, "It was of no use, and we'll not try again"; but faithfully use your two best weapons, the printed and the spoken word, seasoned with prayer. Through the primaries where city fathers are again chosen; work up the sentiment; toil on the election day; and place men in their stead who will grant what your petition asked. Or, if not successful the first year, try again the second. With the motto "*The W. C. T. U. never surrenders*," success is sure.

A modification of this form of work is explained in the following, adopted by several district conventions in Illinois:

"*Resolved*, That we recommend to local unions in towns where the question of license is pending a thorough canvass, with the following petition: 'We, the undersigned, voters and women of legal age within the corporate limits of the town of ———, do respectfully and earnestly petition our municipal authorities to order a popular vote, to be participated in by all men and women over 21 years of age, within the corporate limits, on the question of license or no license; and we voters whose names are here affixed pledge ourselves to cast our ballots at the next regular election of municipal officers for such men only as will pledge themselves faithfully to execute the will of the people, manifested by the aforesaid local-option vote by men and women, when said vote decides in favor of no license.'"

NAMES OF MEN.

NAMES OF WOMEN.

This petition might serve as an educator in localities where the vote could not or would not be rendered of *legal*, rather than of merely moral significance.

### PETITION AGAINST GAMES, SCREENS, ETC. IN SALOONS.

Good work can be done with the following, especially in cities:

*To the Honorable Mayor and Board of Aldermen:*

We, the undersigned, respectfully and earnestly request the adoption of an ordinance requiring saloon-keepers to take the paint off their window-panes and the screens from before their doors; also that the front door shall be their only means of entrance or of exit, and that no chairs or tables shall be allowed within their walls; and, further, that this ordinance shall be faithfully executed.

To the foregoing might be added the banning of all games and billiard-tables from the saloons, also the prohibiting of the sale of liquor to minors and closing on the Sabbath. If thought best, some one specification might be made the subject of petition.

### PETITION TO LOCAL OFFICERS FOR ENFORCEMENT OF LAW.

Norwich, Conn., a city of 17,000 inhabitants, is a valuable object-lesson for local-option states. Through the heroic work of Rev. Hugh Montgomery and the statesman-like utterances of Rev. Dr. L. T. Chamberlain, the people have been aroused as never before, and have voted no-license. Take the following figures:

Last autumn, when this vote was taken, they had two hundred open dram-shops. They have now (August, 1879) had ten months of prohibition. Under license their jail average was twenty-nine; under no-license it is ten. The board of these prisoners costs the taxpayers \$2.25 per week. Hence, they have saved \$45 per week; or, as compared with the same time last year, \$2,340. Each prosecution of a prisoner to jail costs \$15, and when appealed to a superior court, \$50; making the average at least \$20.

Thus at least \$6,000 have been saved on prosecutions. The selectmen say that \$400 have been saved in cost of "outside poor"; or a total of \$5,000. The city court has received from illicit dealers, in fines, costs, and forfeited bonds, \$1,500, instead of a loss of \$4,000, as in former years; and the clerk of the superior court states that the costs of prosecutions have been fully covered by forfeited bonds, etc.

But the mayor and other municipal officers, police force, etc. of Norwich are all friends of license. How, then, could enforcement be secured? Here is the invaluable lesson of Norwich. "They won their first battle at the polls; but their second and even more significant victory was wrung from the executive officers, who had taken their oath as servants of the people to enforce the people's will. They were made to feel the lash of public opinion, and had they not heeded its lessons they would have been openly prosecuted. Temperance people take notice! No longer feel yourselves called upon to do amateur work in securing convictions. The city officials enforce other laws; require them to enforce the laws against license. But for the sheriff, the constable, the city attorney, and the mayor, your smallest rights and daily safety would be ceaselessly imperiled. Make the constituted authorities do their duty in the temperance law for the protection of your homes, as in all others."

But *how* did they do this? They had the city charter read and expounded in public meetings and showed the people—what they actually did not know—the positive and solemn obligation of the authorities to enforce the law. They sent deputations of leading citizens to the mayor, and only refrained from petitioning because they found it unnecessary; but, had not their will been heeded, they would have considered petitioning the next step, and prosecution the next, not of law-breaking saloon-keepers only, but also of officers shamefully guilty of malfeasance.

#### PETITION.

*To the Hon. Mayor and Board of Aldermen :*

We, the undersigned, men and women of —, respectfully and earnestly remind you of your oath of office (here quote the oath), and call upon you to invoke the following (here quote the ordinance).

Have this presented and circulated in a large public meeting, then carried from house to house, and presented by a deputation of leading men and women. *Always*

*have women sign.* Never ignore your own sex. It shows a feeble sense of your personal dignity and a most inadequate comprehension of woman's power and place in civilized communities.

#### PETITIONS FOR USE IN CONSERVATIVE COMMUNITIES.

The following petition will serve to educate public sentiment in the most conservative localities:

We, the undersigned, men and women of —, do hereby petition for the protection of the homes of our city, by the enactment of a municipal ordinance that no place for the sale of intoxicating drinks shall be licensed in any ward in our city, without the consent of a majority of the voters and of the women over eighteen years of age in that ward; such consent to be expressed by their signatures to a petition for such license. [Or this form may be used: "Without the consent expressed by ballot of a majority of men and women over twenty-one years of age in each ward, or in each town, as the case may be."]

The following petition has been used with excellent results at Stafford Springs, Ct.:

*To the Voters of — :*

We, your sisters, wives, and mothers, defenseless, except as you shall protect us, respectfully appeal to you, our husbands, brothers, and legal defenders, to deliver our homes from the ravages of rum, by voting *no license*.

#### ATTENDANCE AT PRIMARIES.

"One vote in the caucus is worth ten at the polls," says Henry H. Faxon, of Massachusetts, and to his statement all observant men agree. When temperance questions are involved—and this is especially the case when municipal officers are to be nominated, or delegates sent to conventions where legislative officers are to be chosen—women who care for temperance ought to be out in force, because their presence will secure a much larger attendance of reputable voters, and because in this way and by their influence they can do much to determine the selection of candidates. When it seems best, a petition should be circulated pledging those who sign (both men and women) to attend the primary meeting, and involving a request to others to go and do likewise.

#### REGISTRATION.

Books should be opened at the headquarters of the W. C. T. U. for a registration of voters as to how they will, and of women as to how they would, if they could, vote on the question of license, and also for what candidates. These intentions to be learned by house-to-house canvass, conducted by the W. C. T. U.

#### PLAN TO SECURE VOTES OF WOMEN ON SCHOOL QUESTIONS.

Five states have granted the ballot to women on the school question. This can be utilized for temperance purposes, and our unions in those states should do their utmost to call out the full strength of this vote, for many reasons, of which these are chief:

1. If, from lack of information, women fail to use the privilege already conferred, men who are friends of temperance will say, with conviction and regret, what its foes will joyfully re-echo, "Evidently, women do not want the ballot"; and thus our work for the temperance vote will be greatly impeded.

2. If women will use their new power, they can help good men to elect such school officers as will put Miss Julia Colman's "Temperance Manual," Dr. Richardson's "Temperance Lesson Book," and Dr. Story on "Alcohol," into the different grades of our schools; and thus the scientific basis of total abstinence will be as thoroughly taught to the little men and women as reading and arithmetic. This steady and widespread influence would be as superior to our present spasmodic and incomplete methods of educating public sentiment as the falling of dew is more effectual for the growth of our gardens than the spray of a hose-fountain. We must first set these facts forth in the local press; visit the ministers' meetings, and get them to bring the subject before their congregations; hold public meetings, carefully prepared for and adequately addressed; and, last and always most important, institute a house-to-house canvass of the town, having it districted and streets duly assigned to women who will circulate a

#### PETITION AND PLEDGE.

We, women of ———, believing that those who are dear to us should be forewarned and forearmed by regular scientific teaching against the habit of using intoxicating liquors, do hereby pledge ourselves to register our names as voters and to cast our ballots only for such school officers as are favorable to making instruction in the principles of total abstinence a branch of study in our schools; and we call upon all good and true men to aid us in this endeavor.

NAMES.

RESIDENCES.

Let this petition be presented by a committee appointed for the purpose to the town meeting or primary at which the officers are chosen, and let women be there to speak on its behalf and to influence the selection of officers in the interest of temperance. A similar petition might with great propriety be circulated for the signatures of men. In either case it can be readily adapted to the different circumstances of the various states.

#### PETITION TO COUNTY SUPERVISORS.

In several states these officers have jurisdiction over the liquor traffic outside of corporate limits, and much might be gained by a petition like the following:

*To the County Supervisors or Commissioners of County:*

Gentlemen:—We, the undersigned, men and women of ——— County, respectfully and earnestly request you to grant no licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors except on petition\* of a majority of men and women of legal age.

\* Or "on vote." Wherever this is at all practicable let it be substituted, as of much greater force.

#### PETITIONS CONCERNING DRUNKEN LEGISLATORS.

The legislature of Michigan passed the following at its last session, and but for a dilatoriness in signing which should ruin the future prospects of the governor it would now be a law:

"SEC. 1, ETC. If any state, county, township, school-district, or village officer shall become drunk or intoxicated, upon conviction thereof, before any court of competent jurisdiction, the said officer so convicted shall no longer be competent to discharge the duties of said office; and said office shall thereby become vacant, the same as if such officer had resigned or died.

"SEC. 2. Any office becoming vacant under Section 1 of this act shall be filled in the same manner as is provided by law in case such vacancy had occurred by the death or resignation of the person holding such office.

"SEC. 3. That all acts and parts of acts which in any sense contravene the provisions of this act be and the same are hereby repealed."

Let us petition for the passage of this law, which can be enacted by town or county authorities, to govern themselves, as well as by state or national.

#### PETITION FOR A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

The following is the form furnished by the National Publishing Society, and can be modified for use in a state or in a city:

#### NATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY PETITION.

*To the United States Senate and House of Representatives:*

Your petitioners, citizens of the United States, respectfully ask that you will provide, by appropriate legislation, for the appointment, by the President of the United States, of a Commission of Inquiry concerning the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic—its Relations to Public Revenue and Taxation, to Crime, Pauperism, the Public Health, Morals, Education, and the General Welfare of the People; and also the Results of License, Restrictive and Prohibitory Legislation in the several states, and in the District of Columbia and the territories.

NAMES.

NAMES.

#### GENERAL DIRECTIONS FOR CIRCULATING PETITIONS.

Explicit directions should be prefixed to each copy of all petitions. They should be printed in smaller type than the petition itself, in brackets, at the top of the sheet. Never send out blank paper; but print the most telling facts and arguments on the back of each copy. If the support of leading journals has been secured, mention them; if speakers or writers whose adhesion carries special weight with the people have declared their sentiments, quote them; if Catholic priests or influential Germans have promised their assistance, state the fact. The Home Protection Petition of Illinois illustrates these points. (See p. 27.)

#### PETITIONS TO TEMPERANCE PEOPLE.

These include petitions to those well-meaning but thoughtless people who patronize hotels, restaurants, groceries, drug stores,

and physicians that freely and without compunction deal in alcoholic liquors, and whose easy-going course is the despair of temperance doctors, landlords, and store-keepers. But because these careless people are total abstainers and friends of the cause a petition to them ought to be, but is not, one of the most hopeful, as it is one of the most important branches of work.

#### THE IRON-CLAD PLEDGE.

Our pledge of total abstinence is, after all, the greatest of petitions, one which we *must not fail* to present to our audiences and to circulate in Sunday-schools and churches, everywhere, indeed, that it can be appropriately introduced. To include the specifications "wine, beer, and cider" is of the first importance. We build slowly, it is true; but we mean to rear the edifice of total abstinence and prohibition on sure foundations. We ought to be loyal to our own pledge, prepared, after careful comparison of different forms, by the Women's National Christian Temperance Union. It is as follows:

"I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt liquors, including wine and cider, and to use all proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same."

In our meetings the most effective method of presenting this pledge is to place copies in the hands of a committee of young ladies, who, while a suitable selection is sung by the choir, will present it to the audience, which remains seated. Ours are meetings of sober second thought, rather than of enthusiasm; and vastly better results will be reached by a more quiet method of approaching the audience. A special plea for the pledge should always immediately precede its presentation.

#### PETITIONS TO CORPORATIONS.

Women have done inestimable good by circulating petitions to railroad and steamboat corporations not to permit bars nor sale of liquor on palace cars, and to make total abstinence a condition of employment. This last is now becoming general among railroad corporations at the West. Our unions should urge it in all manufacturing towns, all commercial establishments, and in corporations generally where large numbers of men or women are employed.

#### DISTRICT OR COUNTY CONVENTIONS.

In all branches of our work the watchfires of the temperance convention must brightly burn. Below are given plans, addressed to our vice-presidents, which if faithfully carried out will insure a profitable meeting:

#### PLAN FOR A DISTRICT OR COUNTY CONVENTION.

*To the Vice-Presidents of the Congressional Districts of — State W. C. T. U.:*

*Dear Sisters:*—By your official position, you are chiefly responsible for the increase and efficiency of our local auxiliaries. No

union should content itself with merely maintaining its organization. We must have definite aims and practicable methods. How shall these methods be brought to the knowledge of the many? There is no better way than by inducing them to send representatives to some large meeting, where experienced workers are in attendance, where all phases of the work can be discussed, and where the torch of faith and enthusiasm can be lighted at the fireside of sympathy and the altar of prayer. We call such a meeting a district convention, and are anxious to hold as many as possible during the year.

But the question will be asked: "How shall we cause such a convention to come to pass?" Permit the following suggestions:

1. Let the vice-president of each district, aided by a local committee of arrangements, send out a call and prepare a programme.

2. To facilitate this work, get from any city bookseller a district map of your state. Send to your local editor for names of all editors in your district; and to each minister in town for a list of all ministers of his denomination in the same territory; and to each society, of whatever sort, in your town—temperance and every other—for names of officers of similar societies in all towns of the district. When you have obtained this list, send your call and programme to each of these, asking their help in getting the proposed convention before the people and enlisting women to attend. Also write personally and induce your friends to write and urge attendance.

You will then and not till then know that you have thoroughly advertised your convention.

3. Secure entertainment for an average of two from each post-office to which you write, though it is feared you will not have so many. Have a special committee to go to trains and assign places.

4. Select a pleasant place of meeting, centrally located. Have it decorated with a cross of evergreens, flags, plants, festoons, etc. Make abundant accommodations for the secretary, and have a table at the front for reporters, who should be especially invited to attend. Arrange with editors for full reports and with city papers for special telegrams giving news of convention.

5. Have a table with copies of "*Our Union*," "Hints and Helps," "Home Protection Manual," "National Leaflets," Miss Kimball's "S.-S. Helps," juvenile temperance papers, Dr. Richardson's "Temperance Text-book," Miss Colman's "Manual," catalogues of National Temperance Publishing House, etc., which can be had by sending to J. N. Stearns, 58 Reade Street, New York. Place all these in care of a lady, who shall make sales and secure subscribers to "*Our Union*."

6. Secure good, rousing Gospel singing, without preludes or interludes, not many verses at a time, except when signing pledge or home-protection petition. Have slips of paper ready for that and plenty of pencils, and ladies to distribute them.

Young ladies should be enlisted to help in all this work.

7. At all evening meetings invite the pastors and leading women of the convention to occupy the platform.

8. Let as many leading temperance workers among the women of the state be present as you feel able to invite.

This programme requires many brains and hands and hearts to carry it out; but, with the blessing of God, it will, if our prayers are as earnest as our work must be unceasing, result in great good to the cause.

CALL FOR A TEMPERANCE CONVENTION OF WOMEN IN THE ——— DISTRICT.

To all Women's Temperance Societies, of whatever Name; also to Pastors of Churches and Christian Women of the ——— Congressional District:

Dear Friends:—The ——— Woman's Christian Temperance Union is among the best fruits of the temperance crusade of 1874. It has auxiliaries all over the state, and is carrying forward active work by increasing and strengthening its societies, holding Gospel temperance meetings, circulating the pledge, enlisting young women, introducing temperance education into Sunday-schools, and, so far as possible, all other schools, securing a temperance column in local papers, circulating temperance literature, and developing a public sentiment which shall place the temperance ballot in the hands of women.

The central idea of all its work is the enthronement of Christ as Redeemer and Lord in the individual heart and of his spirit in the home and in the state. Its motto is: "For God and Home and Native Land." We believe these objects are dear to all of you whom we address. With solemn earnestness, we call upon you to help us by your prayers, your influence, your work.

That we may lay our plans and methods before the women of the district (including counties), we hereby call a district convention, to be held in ———, on the ——— day of ———, and we invite each woman's temperance society to send two delegates, and any woman who has the temperance cause at heart to come and learn what women are doing in this land, and to take home with her such information, documents, etc. as shall enable her to organize a W. C. T. U. in her own locality, if there is not one already; and, if there is, to give point and method to its operations.

We also respectfully request each pastor in the district to appoint a lady from his church who shall come as delegate.

Mesdames ——— and ——— will be present through the convention. A programme of exercises accompanies this call. Entertainment will be furnished to all women who come. Please send names at once to Mrs. ———, of ———, naming time of arrival.

Yours for God and Home and Native Land,  
MRS. ———, Vice-Pres. of ——— District.  
Mrs. ———, Com. of Arrangements.

N. B.—Please wear the woman's temperance badge, a small white ribbon in the button-hole.

PROGRAMME.—*Forenoon.*

1. The Convention will be called to order at 10 A. M. on the ——— day of ———, by Mrs. ———, Vice-President of the ——— District.
2. Devotional exercises conducted by Mrs. ———, of ———.
3. Appointment of enrollment committee. Report of said committee.
4. Appointment of committees on business, on organization, nominations, on plan of work, and resolutions.
5. Brief addresses by the president on objects of convention, advantages of auxiliaryship, etc.
6. Report of committee on business.
7. Reports of all local temperance societies represented; also from fraternal delegates.
8. Prayer.

*Afternoon.*

Convention opens at 2 o'clock.

1. Devotional exercises, conducted by Mrs. ———, of ———.
2. Brief address of welcome, by Mrs. ———, of ———, and response.
3. Address by ———, on "What we are trying to do in this state."
4. Reports of committees.
5. Brief addresses on petition work, juvenile work, circulation of temperance literature, "Our Union," etc., etc.

There will be a question-box. Friends, write out your queries and have them ready.

Doxology.

*Evening.*

8 o'clock. Mass meeting, addressed by ———. Subject: "Home Protection."

The Home Protection Petition (or the Pledge) will be circulated.

Music.

Benediction.

(If practicable, extend this meeting another day, and have special sessions for young women and for the children.)

TEMPERANCE TABERNACLES.

A local habitation, a name, and an earnest, practical woman who could give her entire time to the work would quadruple the results attained by our W. C. T. U. Compare the work done by those equipped in this way with that of the general run of our societies, and learn once more that God has chosen in this world to work by means. In many Western towns a great, rough, one-story hall is the rallying place of our forces, and demonstrates to the enemy that which he hates to think—namely, that we have come to stay. The Temperance Tabernacle of Atlanta, Illinois is a fine illustration. First an enthusiasm was aroused by a series of meetings conducted by a reformed man. Before that had time to subside, several clear-headed men of business invited the people to take stock in shares of \$10 each in a building which should be the temperance headquarters for meetings, concerts, etc., and which could be rented as a hall to any who would pay a fair price. This ten dollars was understood to be a gift, the "certificates of shares"—like many others supposed to be

more valuable—being mere souvenirs of the transaction. A piece of ground was purchased for a nominal sum; lumber and hardware merchants furnished the material at cost rates; masons and carpenters, painters and glaziers gave their services at half price; women made handsome mottoes and decorations; and the place speedily became the favorite audience-room of all the country round. Add to this a reading-room and an office for the secretary of the W. C. T. U., and we should have a base of operations worthy the magnitude of our endeavor. Here our Sunday Gospel-meetings would be held, the poor feeling themselves especially welcome and at home; here would be the great mass meetings of the no-license campaign, the depository for temperance literature and subscription books of "*Our Union*"; here, by frequent sociables and entertainments, we could help replenish our treasury; and here, perhaps, some day, as the rallying point of beneficent influence for all, might be located the ballot-box, which is the coffin or the throne of the saloon. Mr. Frank Hoblit, Atlanta, Ill., has issued a circular, which he will send to those wishing further information concerning temperance tabernacles, on receipt of 3-cent stamp.

**HOW TO MAKE LOCAL W. C. T. U. MEETINGS INTERESTING.**

The State W. C. T. Unions of Massachusetts and Iowa have sent out circulars with topics to be discussed at meetings of their auxiliaries. Ladies are appointed to open the subjects by essays or brief addresses, and the tracts mentioned are previously distributed and read, so that members bring some knowledge to the meeting and take still more home with them.

The following is the Massachusetts List:

**1ST TOPIC. JANUARY 6TH TO 20TH.**

"Shall we use Beer and Cider?"

*Reference.*

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| 5. New Cider a Dangerous Beverage....           | 1c.   |
| Cider in the Pledge.....                        | 1c.   |
| 102. The Evils of Beer Legislation.....         | 1c.   |
| 138. Malt Liquors: their Nature and Effect..... | 2c.   |
| 75. That Glass of Ale.....                      | 1c.   |
| 140. Shall We Use Wine and Beer?.....           | 1c.   |
| 96. Our Duty to the Temperance Cause.....       | 3c.   |
|   | <hr/> |
|   | 10c.  |

**2ND TOPIC. JANUARY 20TH TO FEBRUARY 3RD.**

"Alcohol: its Effects upon the Human System."

*Reference.*

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| 93. The Effects of Alcohol upon the Human System..... | 3c.   |
| 113. The Voice of Science against Alcohol.....        | 1c.   |
| 81. Alcoholic Liquors.....                            | 3c.   |
| 35. Is Alcohol Medicine?.....                         | 1c.   |
| 154. Alcoholics in Medicine.....                      | 1c.   |
| 137. Alcohol in the Kitchen.....                      | 1c.   |
| Medical Use of Alcohol.....                           | 3c.   |
|   | <hr/> |
|   | 13c.  |
| Is Alcohol Food? <i>Good</i> .....                    | 5c.   |
| Medical Use of Alcohol. <i>Good</i> .....             | 25c.  |

**3RD TOPIC. FEBRUARY 3RD TO 17TH.**

"Duty of the Church in the Temperance Cause."

*Reference.*

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| 45. The Working Temperance Church....     | 1c.   |
| 73. The Church and Temperance.....        | 1c.   |
| 146. The Duty of the Christian Church.... | 1c.   |
| 150. The Duty of Christians.....          | 1c.   |
| Let the Church Awake.....                 | 1c.   |
| 32. Drunkenness and Christian Love....    | 1c.   |
|   | <hr/> |
|   | 6c.   |

**4TH TOPIC. FEBRUARY 17TH TO MARCH 3RD.**

"Should Children be taught Temperance, and How?"

*Reference.*

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| 99. Do not Sin Against the Child.....   | 2c.   |
| 123. Parental Responsibility.....       | 1c.   |
| 48. Temperance and the Children.....    | 1c.   |
| 160. Sabbath-schools and Temperance.... | 1c.   |
|   | <hr/> |
|   | 5c.   |

**LEAFLETS.**

|                                |       |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Juvenile Instruction.....      | } 2c. |
| To the Teacher.....            |       |
| Letter to Mothers.....         |       |
| Responsibility of Parents..... |       |

All the tracts mentioned above may be had in large quantities, should you think it advisable to scatter at your public meetings any one tract treating upon the subject for discussion. The price in large quantities is about ten pages for one cent. For sale at 58 Reade Street, New York.

**BEST TEMPERANCE PAPERS.**

"When the strongest array of facts, the most urgent reasoning possible, persuasion that melts into pathos, or ringing sentences that leap electric from point to point in the argument can all be compassed in a form, and struck off by the hundred thousand, and transmitted in a day to the people of a whole state, what voice, even though of syren or saint, can hope to compete with its influence?"—*From Speech of Hon. B. GRATZ BROWN.*

[The following list should be in every reading-room, and will furnish just the brief, practical selections best adapted to a temperance column in the local press]:

*Our Union*, Y. M. C. A. Building, Brooklyn, N. Y. 60 cents per year.

*The National Temperance Advocate*, 58 Reade Street, New York. \$1 per year.

*National Prohibitionist* (Fortnightly), Frank M. Bemis, 1504 Pine St., St. Louis. \$1.00.

*The Morning* (Monthly), 23 Park Row, New York. 60 cents per year.

*The Temperance Record*, 337 Strand, London, Eng. 6s. 6d.

*The League Journal* (Weekly), one penny per number, 108 Hope Street, Glasgow, Scotland.

*The Temperance Banner* (for Children), 58 Reade Street, New York. 35 cents.

|                              |                    |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Kind Words</i> (Monthly), | 30 cents per year. |
| <i>Your Paper</i> " "        | 30 " "             |
| <i>Good Things</i> " "       | 20 " "             |
| <i>Band of Hope</i> " "      | 20 " "             |

The last four are published by H. W. Adams, 23 Park Row, New York.

## REFERENCES.

For all kinds of books and tracts on Prohibition, for Miss Colman's Manual, Dr. Richardson's books, and all scientific works on temperance, also for Pledges, Placards, Song Books, etc., send to J. N. Stearns, 58 Reade St., New York.

For the series of Leaflets (prepared by Miss Colman for W. N. C. T. U., and suitable for distribution in homes or audiences) send to 58 Reade Street, New York. Price, 130 pages for 10 cts.

For small temperance handbills (labeled "Take One"), to fasten up in public places (*very cheap*), send to Mrs. Emma Bourne, 204 Market Street, Newark, N. J.

For Sunday-school Library Books (temperance), 58 Reade Street, New York.

For 25-cent packages of prohibition documents, to circulate in audiences or privately, *also for documents in the German language*, 58 Reade Street, New York.

For Miss Willard's "Temperance Bible Reading," "God's Idea of Sin and Way of Pardon" (10 cts.), James H. Earle, 20 Hawley Street, Boston.

For Miss Willard's book for girls entitled "Nineteen Beautiful Years" (\$1.00), Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, New York.

For copies of the "Maine Law" (very important to temperance people, as a guide to better legislation), Smith & Mayo, Skowhegan, Maine.

For Rev. T. H. Johnson's Unfermented Wine for Sacramental Purposes (awarded the Centennial Medal of Honor) send to J. N. Stearns, 58 Reade Street, New York.

In the West, send all orders for literature to W. C. T. U., Room 4, No. 148 Madison Street, Chicago.

The following is Tract No. 166 of the National Publishing House, 58 Reade St., New York, and should be ordered in large quantities for the campaign:

## LOCAL OPTION.

BY REV. S. M. VERNON, D. D.

[*The Local Option Convention for the State of Pennsylvania, held in Pittsburgh, May 15th, 1877, appointed Dr. Vernon to write an Address to the People of the State on the subject. Address is here given.*]

*Local Option* rests upon the principle of Prohibition. It invokes the aid of law in the suppression of intemperance; but the law must be the creature of the popular voice in the communities to be affected by it. It seeks to arouse moral convictions and to develop public sentiment, till they are strong enough to enact and enforce a prohibitory law. It throws the responsibility for the continuance or the suppression of the deadly traffic in strong drink upon the people, by submitting the question of "license" or "no license" to a vote in each county and district.

The friends of this measure see great wisdom in it as a method for suppressing the evils of intemperance. *It would be possible to secure the passage of such a law by the Legislature, when it would not be possible to secure the passage of a direct prohibitory law.* We all know the difficulty with which legislative bodies are brought to take action favorable to the temperance

cause. It is one of the most sensitive subjects that can be considered, connected as it is with large financial interests and prevailing social customs. Legislators, who depend upon the people for their positions, avoid an expression on the subject as far as possible. The Local Option Law does not require the Legislature to pronounce upon the main question, nor to assume the responsibilities of Prohibition. It is simply permissive in its character, allowing the people to determine the question for themselves. This measure is so democratic, so reasonable in itself, and involves so little responsibility, it would be hard to find a pretext for refusing it. The Legislature that would by no means prohibit the sale of strong drink might feel compelled, by the reasonableness of the demand, to allow the people to prohibit it by vote.

*Under the Local Option law, Prohibition will be more effectively enforced in the localities determining upon it than it would be under a general prohibitory law.* A law that is not sustained by public sentiment cannot be enforced. The sentiment is, therefore, quite as important as the law. They are interdependent, so related that "united they stand, divided they fall." The Local Option law enacts Prohibition by the demand of prevailing public sentiment, which insures its enforcement. A popular vote stimulates discussion. The people must know the occasion for it and the grounds on which the disputants base their claims to support. Discussion develops and renders more positive the needed public sentiment. When this sentiment is strong enough to create a law by the vote of the people, and is sustained by the presence of the men on the ground who developed and fought for it, it will be found strong enough for the triumphant enforcement of a prohibitory law.

*This measure would most effectually prevent what the friends of temperance have most to fear, public apathy and indifference.* Among good people there is a strange indifference to this cause, and great unwillingness to assume the labor and expense of agitation and reform. An alarming stupor has settled upon the conscience of the Christian public on this subject. The Local Option law which for three years has been before the people of Pennsylvania affords an opportunity for arousing the conscience of the people and securing for the cause that attention which its merits demand, by calling for a vote in every county of the state, once in three years, on the subject of Prohibition, thus forcing a discussion of the whole subject at least once in every three years, and calling upon every man to inform and express himself in regard to it. If we can have a fair opportunity, such as this law would afford, for laying upon the conscience of the intelligent voters of the country our startling array of facts concerning the financial loss, the increase of crime, and the vast amount of suffering and sorrow entailed by the curse of strong drink, we will soon secure a popular verdict expelling it from the land. The temperance cause has a stupendous and overwhelming array of arguments, to which the enlightened judgment of the American people would yield assent if fully and fairly presented. There are two difficulties in getting it fully before the people. The first is that temperance advocates soon become weary and discouraged. The burdens and embarrassments under which they labor are very great, and only the few endure "faithful to the end," unless aided from without. The Local Option law forces upon the friends of temperance once in three years the unwelcome discussion, and, if they would, does not permit them to be silent. Intemperance has nothing to



fear so much as such a kindling of our watch-fires as this. It cannot stand before the awakened conscience and intelligence of the country. It dreads the light, and must fall before the array of facts which brand it as the sum of all iniquities. We may say that good people ought to be self-sustained in so good a work, with a tireless zeal; but experience teaches that the best men are greatly stimulated and helped by a special occasion, a pressing issue, and a definite aim, such as this law would place before the people every three years. The other difficulty is with the people. They often regard temperance workers as "busy-bodies in other men's matters," with no sufficient occasion to justify their methods, and, therefore, close their hearts against them. The Local Option law would place the whole population in the forum once in three years, and make it a duty to hear, as well as to speak and act upon the issue. The law of the land would thus make an occasion, and demand a hearing for the cause; and thus would deliver us from our greatest danger, apathy and indifference, by strengthening the position of the advocates of temperance and by placing the general public in a much better attitude for hearing and considering the subject.

So far as tried, the Local Option law has been eminently successful. The Legislature gave such a law to the people of Pennsylvania in 1872. The vote of the people, taken in the same year, resulted in establishing Prohibition in forty-one of the sixty-six counties of the state. The result was a reduction of nearly one-half in the sales of wholesale and retail liquor dealers for the first year. A vigorous effort was made at the next session of the Legislature to have the law repealed, on the ground that it had well-nigh ruined and, if not repealed, must utterly destroy the liquor business in the state. This plain matter of history is in itself the best demonstration of the practical efficiency of the law. Ledgers will not lie, and their testimony is that a Local Option law in Pennsylvania destroys the liquor business. Our best witnesses for this law are the men who clamored for its repeal at Harrisburg and the men who fought with true but unavailing heroism in its defense. It was clearly foreseen, by friend and foe, that, if the law remained, it must soon result in Prohibition for the entire state, for every Prohibition county was a standing illustration of its excellence and a great educator of public sentiment, thus augmenting the force that had already wrested two-thirds of the counties of the state from the accursed traffic and making certain its final complete triumph in the state. The influence would then have spread to other states, till at last the nation would have been delivered from this its greatest curse. It was the clear foreshadowing of these events, so terrible to the one side and so glorious to the other, that brought so much money and political influence on the one side and so much heroic effort by our most gifted sons on the other to the final and successful struggle for repeal at Harrisburg.

The right of Prohibition by such a method cannot be questioned. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania decided the Local Option law of that state constitutional, which forever settles the question, often raised, as to the constitutionality of such a measure. The right to prohibit any business that is injurious to the welfare of the community is everywhere conceded. It is an old maxim in common law, "*Salus populi suprema est lex*"—the welfare of the people is the supreme law. Blackstone says: "Common law requires that a man should not use his property to the injury of another. The

consent of the party injured is no mitigation of the offense." In accordance with this is the long-established law maxim, "*Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas*"—enjoy your own property in such a manner as not to injure that of another.

Upon these principles, so obviously just, all our laws limiting and regulating the business of the country are founded. Our laws prohibit the publication and sale of obscene literature, the sale of lottery tickets, and gambling. They determine in many places the height and location of our buildings and the material of which they are to be constructed; they take for highways private lands made sacred to us by the homes and graves of our fathers; they prevent the storing of explosive materials in cities, the damming up of water on one's own premises when the health of the community is injured by it; in short, "the welfare of the people is the supreme law," to which all statutes are expected to conform. If it is found that the liquor traffic endangers the peace of society; that it dethrones reason and fires the passions of large numbers, turning them loose like wild beasts, to burn, kill, and destroy at the caprice of their disordered minds; that it is the chief source of the crime, pauperism, and destruction by riot which burden society with oppressive taxes; that it wages constant war upon the purity and peace of the home, corrupting the sexes in their relation to each other, trampling upon the rights of women and children, defiling and sundering the most sacred relations of life; that it is the greatest cause of personal sorrow, domestic unhappiness, public vice, and waste of life and substance—then society has not only the right, but, if true to itself, is bound to anathematize and exterminate it. My neighbor has no right to engage in a business which puts the men of the town into such a frenzy of ungovernable passion as renders my life and property insecure. Society owes me protection from such a traffic, by suppressing it. This traffic turns madmen into the street, with random pistol-shot or dagger-stroke, to imperil the life of every man in it; to apply the torch and kindle conflagration; to embroil the street, embolden discontent, and foment riot. If society fails, by law, to chain such a monster, it merits the evils which it endures for having betrayed its most solemn trust. The Local Option law proposes to secure the suppression of the traffic by the most democratic method—calling upon the people to determine for themselves by vote what security they will throw around person and property, what safeguards shall be established for public morals, and under what educating influences they will have their children brought up. When, in any county, a majority of the people believe the liquor business to be injurious to their interests, they have a natural right and a right under the Constitution of the United States to abolish it. To deny this right by act of legislature or by the refusal of an act—that is, to compel the majority to submit to the minority—is oppression; that which from a foreign shore drove us into a separate national existence, but on our own shores imperils all that liberty has achieved.

The measure here proposed is in perfect harmony with moral suasion. Complete victory will never be achieved for the temperance cause by any one form of effort; and they but hinder the cause who oppose any that are fighting the great enemy. All forms of effort are needed and should work in harmony. Moral suasion, prohibition, local option, the women's crusade are all needed and should not be at war among themselves. When any one shows itself strong

enough to sweep the field, the others will doubtless retire; but until then let them work as brothers. When the King of Persia could not overcome Greece, he employed all his arts to maintain war between its principal cities—Athens and Sparta—that, when mutually exhausted, the country might fall an easy prey to him. The friends of temperance may well apprehend a similar device on the part of their great enemy. God himself does not attempt to govern the world by one form of effort alone. He makes his appeal to the conscience; he also expresses it in the form of law, with penalties annexed. He has instituted the Church and civil government—both divine institutions—for the government of the world. In the Jewish Church and state crimes were visited, by God's appointment, with death and other severe penalties. God's method then and now for the suppression of vice is moral suasion first, and then, quickly following, civil law, with its penalties. St. Paul's doctrine in Rom. xiv is that the officer of the law, bearing the sword of execution, is the "*minister of God*"; a minister of God as truly as was Paul himself, since he was appointed by God, was doing God's work in the way he had appointed that it should be done. Those who insist upon moral suasion alone dare not apply their arguments to other questions. Abolish all laws against theft, murder, and other crimes; dismiss the city police; close the courts; discharge the officers of justice; pull down the jails and penitentiaries; and turn over the morals of the community to the preachers and editors—to moral suasion—and society would be swept from existence in an explosion of vice that would shake Heaven and earth. Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light in this plea for moral suasion only; and again, with the words of the Lord upon his lips, tempts the sons of God. It is overlooked by many that law itself is a large factor in all true moral suasion. For law, human as well as divine, has always been looked to for an interpretation of true morality. There must be some standard of right and wrong by which moral questions are to be decided. Law has in human history been that standard. Therefore, law is a great educator of public conscience and a most important element in moral suasion. Legislative halls, constitutional conventions, courts of justice, and battle-fields, where great principles have been announced in the cannon's roar, are among the greatest teachers of the world's conscience. The fact that the law of the land condemns or permits a certain act will have great influence in giving it its place in the individual conscience and in determining the force of moral suasion in regard to it. The fact that the law of the land is against an act powerfully re-enforces every moral conviction against it. There is special force in all this, as applied to the Local Option law, since by this the people are called upon to ascertain definitely what their conscientious convictions are, to express them in a law of their own creation, and to apply them to the enforcement of the law by all those measures to which conscience naturally impels us.

We ask for this law as a wise measure in suppressing the evils of intemperance, by removing temptation. The temperance reform naturally divides itself into two branches, with two corresponding lines of effort. In the first place, it is concerned with the individual victim of intemperance, and seeks to deliver him from the power of inward temptation, and to make of him a new man; in the second place, it is concerned with society at large, and seeks, by the removal of temptation from without, to suppress the evil. The first is chiefly the work of

moral suasion, the second of law. It is said: "If men are determined to drink, they will get it in spite of all laws." But the fact is, few drinking men are "*determined*" to drink. They have a thousand times "*determined*" not to drink; but appetite within and temptation without have been too strong for them. They loathe and curse the cup, while they clutch and drain it. Reeling and staggering down and down, they wildly shriek for some one to deliver them from the monster who has enslaved them by capturing their wills, which now no longer obey the dictates of conscience and reason. If these men reform, they cannot go upon the street without encountering the red lights, the old deadly fumes, and the long-familiar loitering-places. With enfeebled moral nature, diseased body, and shattered nerves, is it strange that these men, with such temptations from without, fall again? We ask that these poor, unfortunate men shall have a fair chance in this, their last effort to regain manhood, by removing temptation out of their way.

Our hope for the entire suppression of the evils of intemperance is in the direction of prevention, rather than of cure. We may not hope to reform all the drinkers of the present; but, if we can prevent others from forming the habit, we shall soon free the country from its greatest curse and shame. If we remove these places of temptation from the streets, and take away the garb of respectability which a government license gives to the deadly traffic, the oncoming generation will be comparatively free from the evils which so oppress us. A great army of boys—innocent, bright, buoyant, and full of hope; just from their mothers' warm kiss and benediction—is now moving into the field, taking their first experience in contact with the world; and, unless these places of temptation are suppressed, great numbers of them will soon be swallowed up by this great vortex of ruin, which already has had too much of our best blood and brain. We ask that the people shall have the chance to say by vote whether the business of making drunkards, whose wives and children are to be covered with shame and crushed with poverty; whether the business which renders life and property insecure, piles up taxes, and corrupts public morals, shall be carried on in their midst; and we affirm that to deny the people this right is oppression.

To secure this, let us—

1. Scatter temperance literature. The overwhelming facts and statistics of the temperance cause, which cannot be detailed in this paper, ought to be forced upon the attention of the public. Temperance tracts, papers, and books must be freely distributed, that the people may be informed and aroused. Men of means must give money, men of intelligence must write, men of executive ability must organize and project, and Christian men must pray for the cause. We dare not overlook the established methods of success, if we mean not ignominiously to fail. Knowledge is the basis of action, and, if we wish to control the action of the people, we must furnish them the knowledge at our disposal.

2. Organize. Our movements are uncertain, unless conducted by organized bodies. Every county should have its Local Option organization, and be in regular correspondence with the general or state organization; that all our movements may be in harmony and that one may help the other. *Unorganized sentiment is powerless, as an unorganized army, and will accomplish nothing.* The evil we oppose has a vast, compact, wealthy organization, that can throw its whole force in the state upon any given point on a week's notice. We may not

hope to equal our foe in wealth and organization; but let not our David go forth to meet this Goliath unless he has his carefully-selected stones and well-prepared sling. Then, if he trusts in the God of battles, he shall succeed.

3. We must use political influence. It is useless to pray and speak, if we are not willing to vote for the cause of temperance. There is temperance sentiment enough in the country to control the nominations, if it will go to the primaries; and enough to control the elections, if it will vote at the polls. Let every voter watch the primaries, question the candidates of his party, and vote only for those who, in the legislature, will vote for the highest interests of the people. The temperance sentiment of the country *can control this matter, if it will*, and is, therefore, *particeps criminis* if it does not.

#### HOW TO INTEREST A STATE OR LOCAL W. C. T. U. IN HOME PROTECTION.

Write to women most interested in the subject, asking them where you can get documents setting forth plans and arguments, and also requesting them to reply by letter, which may be read to the society. Circulate these documents in your W. C. T. U. and appoint a day when the subject will be discussed. If the discussion develops a strong feeling against it, do not urge the matter; but keep it before the thoughts of the members and ask them to consider it with prayer. It will not be long before they will adopt the measure by an overwhelming majority. When this is done, do not content yourselves with a simple declaration of opinion; but *incorporate the measure into your plans of work and instruct your delegates to stand by it in local, state, and national conventions.*

#### OBJECTIONS TO HOME PROTECTION.

1. It is thought by some that the Home Protection movement can be adopted only by those states which work on the Local Option line. But this is a mistake. The campaign can be twofold, and of this Ohio is likely to furnish an example. Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, of Ravenna, O., president of its W. C. T. U., will gladly give information on this point to any who desire it.

2. It is said that Local Option is an inconsistency, for no community would ever place a bill against stealing before the people for their option, and the liquor traffic is a crime as bad as stealing. But no law was ever enacted against stealing, except as the result of an option (a free choice) in the legislatures of state and nation. It was voted upon, and men voted as they chose. The immense public sentiment in favor of such a law caused the vote to be unanimous, and this will some day be the case with prohibitory law. Meanwhile, in states where the sentiment would not yet give us a prohibitory law (which we could only get by a local option in the locality known as the "Halls of Legislation"), let us not say

to less conspicuous places—municipalities, for instance—that because the whole state *will* not they *may* not vote the legalized dram-shop out of their boundaries. Since in a representative government we can pass no law except by leaving it open to the chances of a "local option," and since this same option is the only possible method by which we can delegate to localities under a government "of the people, by the people," power to enact in the territory nearest them and in which they are most interested a prohibitory law, therefore, local option is a necessity *per se* and the surest forerunner of that more general form of Local Option popularly known as Prohibition. (See further on p. 23, "Local Option.")

4. It is said that men would sooner give us prohibition than the temperance ballot. The experience of Illinois refutes this argument. (See p. 8.) There is an element of justice in our request for power to overthrow the rum-shop to which men respond as to no other plea we have ever made along this line.

5. It is said that by taking up this work our W. C. T. U. unions ally themselves with the woman suffrage movement, largely conducted in the past by those who did not believe in Orthodox Christianity. But, if the movement for the temperance ballot is *right*, then whoever cares for the right ought to help ally it with Christ's Church; and when an army of temperance women in nine states have done this it becomes a movement of the Church.

6. "But, if the National W. C. T. U. does not endorse a plan of work, neither should the state unions do so," is the last objection. Let it be remembered, however, that the "National" has twice endorsed the movement for woman's temperance ballot, and that, since its representation takes color from the locality in which its annual meeting is held, its utterances are necessarily sometimes inconsistent with each other, while no *state* which has once endorsed the movement has ever retreated from its advance position. It seems fair that in so extended an organization each state should be free to magnify certain methods and to add new plans, as its local circumstances render these helpful. *But that no state should have any method of work urged upon it by the National Union until it has, as a State, endorsed that method, seems equally fair.* Hence, while the states which believe in Home Protection have sought each year to have a resolution in its favor, and have each year gained some advance (by resolution at Cincinnati and Chicago, by petition at Newark, and by opening the columns of *Our Union* to the subject at Baltimore), they have never asked that it be made a part of the *National Plan of Work*, and will not until a majority of the states have adopted the measure.

[Editors Please Publish and Temperance People Circulate.]

# For God and Home and Native Land.

## HOME PROTECTION PETITION.

ILLINOIS W. C. T. U.

[Among the many prominent religious newspapers which have editorially endorsed this Petition are the following: *Christian Union, Independent, and Witness*, New York; *Northwestern Christian Advocate, Advance, Interior, Standard, and Alliance*, Chicago; *The Golden Rule and Zion's Herald*, Boston.]

To be Returned to ———, at ———, by the ——— Day of ———, Without Fail.

[N. B.—This Petition will be presented at the State Capital at the earliest possible date in the session of the Legislature, which convenes on the ——— day of ———, 187—, by the following Committee: ———. Any number of copies will be sent to any address, if desired; but it is also earnestly requested that persons interested in utilizing the influence of woman against the legalized traffic in strong drink will have printed or written copies of the Petition made and circulated from house to house. Let them also be sent to editors, ministers, Sunday-school and public school teachers, and to all Reform Clubs and other temperance societies. All ministers and temperance speakers are requested to present the Petition to their audiences, after a sermon, address, or exhortation on the subject of which it treats. The following method of securing signatures in audiences is recommended: Previous to opening the meeting, place in each pew a narrow strip of paper, with the words "Names of Men over 21" written across the top, and "Names of Women over 21" half way down the strip. After reading the Petition, at the close of the meeting, call attention to these papers and constitute the gentleman or lady sitting in the end of each pew or seat nearest the aisle a *committee of one* to see that all in that seat have the opportunity to sign the slip of paper. Let one person be in attendance in each aisle with pencils to lend, and let this person gather up the slips as soon as signed. These autographs are to be sent to headquarters, to be pasted upon the Petition. While the signing proceeds, such hymns as "America" or Miss Lathbury's "Home Protection Hymn" (see p. 32) may be sung by the choir. When the largest number of signatures *possible* has been obtained, send the list of autograph signatures, stating *plainly* where they were obtained and paying postage in full, to ———, at Headquarters State W. C. T. U., in ———. Write on one side only, giving name of town and county on each list of names. Paste more paper on the Petition as required. Names may be signed in pencil, and autographs only are desired.]

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS:

*Whereas*, In these years of temperance work the argument of defeat in our contest with the saloons has taught us that our efforts are merely palliative of a disease in the body politic, which can never be cured until law and moral suasion go hand in hand in our beloved state; and

*Whereas*, The instincts of self-protection and of apprehension for the safety of her children, her tempted loved ones, and her home render woman the natural enemy of the saloons; *Therefore*, your petitioners, men and women of the State of Illinois, having at heart the protection of our homes from their worst enemy, the legalized traffic in strong drink, do hereby most earnestly pray your honorable body that, by suitable legislation, it may be provided that in the State of Illinois the question of licensing at any time, in any locality, the sale of any and all intoxicating drinks shall be submitted to and determined by ballot, in which women of lawful age shall be privileged to take part, in the same manner as men, when voting on the question of license.

## BACK OF THE PETITION.

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[Please have this Printed in Local Papers.]

AMONG the many prominent religious newspapers which have editorially endorsed this Petition are the following: *Christian Union, Independent, and Witness*, New York; *Northwestern Christian Advocate, Advance, Interior, Standard, and Alliance*, Chicago; *The Golden Rule*, and *Zion's Herald*, Boston.

In a recent "Monday Lecture," REV. JOSEPH COOK, of Boston, spoke thus:

"There stands a noble statehouse in the cornfields near Springfield, Illinois, and Lincoln's grave lies under its shadow. Above his grave a legislature will be petitioned this winter by ladies of Illinois to give women of legal age the right to vote in cases of local option under temperance laws. . . . In New Hampshire the line has already been broken as to the exclusion of women from participation in the settlement of questions closely touching the home. Let it be noticed that New Hampshire, a conservative New England state, has just given to women the right to vote on all questions concerning the school laws. I am not a woman suffragist. Do not applaud this platform under the mistaken idea that I am a defender of extreme positions as to woman's rights. I am meditating on that theme. But this I dare say, that one of the fragments of self-protection for women—namely, a right to vote, concerning temperance laws, when the question of local option is up—I am willing to defend, and intend to defend, to the end of the chapter. Great natural justice is on the side of such a demand. Woman's interests are among the chief ones concerned; and as to family divisions, why, they come largely from temperance laxness. Woman surely has political intelligence enough to understand the difference between license and no license, especially when she has suffered under a lax execution of the temperance laws. The difference is so plain between local freedom and no local freedom to sell liquor that woman without any great participation in the turmoil of politics might be expected to have an intelligent vote on this subject. I know that many cultivated and refined women say they do not want women to vote, because they do not want to increase the amount of ignorant suffrage. Well, I respect the intelligence and the refinement of the ladies who make such remarks; but I believe that on most moral questions woman is likely to be more intelligent and certainly more disinterested than man. I am told by many of the best authorities that women who are opposed to female suffrage at large are usually in favor of this modified measure. I am assured that a majority of the thoughtful, cultivated women of the United States, or certainly of the Northern states, can be expected to favor this demand for a vote to be given to women in questions of local option, concerning temperance laws. If a majority of women want such a vote, Heaven grant their desire! Women would be united on this topic. Woman's vote would be to cify vices depending on intemperance what the lightning is to, the oak. God send us that lightning!" [Applause.]

## FORM OF HOME PROTECTION BILLS.

In Illinois the Legislature was asked to adopt a resolution providing for an amendment to the constitution authorizing women to vote on temperance questions, as this was deemed by many the only method practicable under the laws of that state. Meanwhile, for more immediate use the Hinds Bill was offered, providing for the signatures of women, instead of their votes. It reads as follows :

31ST ASSEMBLY.

HOUSE—No. 469.

MAY, 1879.

1. Introduced by Mr. Hinds, February 12th, 1879, title read and referred to Committee on License.
2. Reported back with amendments, passage recommended as amended, and ordered to first reading, March 21st.
3. First reading March 26th, and ordered to second reading.
4. Second reading May 9th, amended and ordered engrossed for a third reading.
5. Printed as amended.

## A BILL.

For an act to amend sections three and four of an act entitled "An act to provide for the licensing of and against the evils arising from the sale of intoxicating liquors," approved March 30th, 1874.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly,*  
 2 That sections three and four of an act entitled "An act to provide for the licensing of and  
 3 against the evils arising from the sale of intoxicating liquors," approved March 30th, 1874, be  
 4 amended so as to read as follows :

§ 3. The county boards of each county may grant licenses to keep dram-shops in their  
 2 county, except within two miles of any incorporated city, town, or village, in which the cor-  
 3 porate authorities have power to license, regulate, restrain, or prohibit the sale of liquors;  
 4 and except in any place where the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited by law. *Provided,*  
 5 *however,* that no such license shall be granted by the county board, except upon the applica-  
 6 tion by petition of a majority of the registered residents, males and females, of the town,  
 7 who are 21 years of age, where the county is under township organization; and, if not under  
 8 township organization, then of a majority of the registered residents, males and females, of the  
 9 election precinct or district where the same is proposed to be located; and except upon the pay-  
 10 ment into the county treasury of such sum as the board may require, not less than \$50 nor more  
 11 than \$500 for each license. *Provided, also,* that the corporate authorities of incorporated  
 12 cities, towns, or villages shall grant no such license except upon the petition of a  
 13 majority of the registered residents, males and females, over the age of 21 years, of the  
 14 ward or election district therein where the dram-shop is proposed to be located; or, if there  
 15 be no division of wards or election districts, then upon the petition of the residents, as  
 16 aforesaid, of the entire town or village. *And provided,* that any license granted in contra-  
 17 vention of the provisions of this section shall be utterly null and void, and the persons  
 18 constituting the boards of registry for registering the qualified electors, as by the registry  
 19 laws of this state constituted, shall, when they make the list or register of electors in their re-  
 20 spective districts, at the same time and in the same manner make a separate list or register of  
 21 all female residents of such district over the age of twenty-one years, and who have resided in the  
 22 United States five years. in this state one year, in the county ninety days, and in such district  
 23 thirty days; and said list at the time of the revision of the register of electors shall be revised  
 24 and corrected, and certified to by said board, and within three days thereafter be filed in the  
 25 same office and with the same officer that the register of electors is filed; and said list or reg-  
 26 ister of females and the register of electors shall be *prima facie* evidence in determining the  
 27 sufficiency of any petition presented under the provisions of this act; and all the provisions  
 28 and restrictions of said registry laws, so far as the same are necessary to carry into effect this  
 29 act, shall apply, be observed, and complied with in making and revising said lists; and for  
 30 a violation thereof on the part of any person or officer in making or revising the same the  
 31 same fines and penalties shall be imposed as by said laws prescribed.

§ 4. The license shall state the time for which it is granted, which shall not exceed one  
 2 year, the place where the dram-shop is to be kept, and shall not be transferable, nor shall the  
 3 person licensed keep a dram-shop at more than one place at the same time; and any license  
 4 granted may be revoked by the county board or corporate authorities, as the case may be,  
 5 whenever they shall be satisfied that the person licensed has violated any of the provisions of  
 6 this act, or keeps a disorderly or ill-governed house, or place of resort for idle or dissolute  
 7 persons, or allows any illegal gaming in his dram-shop, or in any house or place adjacent  
 8 thereto.

## HISTORY OF THE HOME PROTECTION PETITION IN ILLINOIS.

PREPARED BY MRS. M. L. WELLS.

(Vice-President of 12th Cong'l Dist., Springfield, Ill.)

[As a matter of history and for future comparison with other campaigns, the following is copied:]

*October 10th, 1878.*—The Annual Meeting of the Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union, at Monmouth, ordered the petition to be prepared; which was accordingly done by Miss Willard, assisted by W. P. Black, an attorney at law, of Chicago.

*December 5th.*—The draft prepared was accepted by the Executive Committee of the State Union.

*December 12th.*—The first presentation was made by Miss Willard, at Geneseo; but no general effort was made until January.

*January 1st, 1879.*—Less than 1,000 names had been obtained.

*March 1st.*—The petitions were called in for presentation, the entire canvass having occupied but about two months or nine weeks. The signatures were pasted on strong white muslin, eighteen inches wide, bound with red ribbon on one edge and blue on the other. The entire supervision of this (the first) petition and putting it together were the weighty task of Miss Anna Gordon, Miss Willard's private secretary, and the work was admirably done. Prominent business men of Chicago, chief of whom was R. J. Fowler, Esq., furnished the funds for postage, printing, and necessities.

*March 4th (Evening).*—There was a reception in the Governor's Rooms at the Capital and addresses by a number of ladies.

*March 5th (Evening).*—There was a mass meeting in the Representatives' Chamber, previously granted for that purpose. The petition was gracefully festooned around the chamber, and stirring addresses were delivered by ladies of the Presentation Committee, and by Mrs. Foster, the lady lawyer of Clinton, Iowa, who was present by invitation of the ladies and presented the legal aspects of the case. The Presentation Committee were: Miss Frances E. Willard, president of W. C. T. U. of Illinois; Mrs. T. B. Carse, president of Chicago W. C. T. U.; Mrs. L. A. Hagans, Mrs. Willis A. Barnes, Mrs. C. H. Case, Mrs. D. J. True, all of Chicago; Mrs. Prof. Fry and Mrs. A. R. Riggs, of Bloomington; Mrs. C. H. St. John, of Eureka; Mrs. M. H. Villars, of Pana; Miss Mary A. West, of Galesburg; Mrs. E. W. Kirkpatrick, of Monmouth; Mrs. H. A. Calkins and Mrs. E. G. Hibben, of Peoria; Mrs. M. L. Wells and Mrs. R. Beach, of Springfield; and Miss Anna Gordon, of Massachusetts (Mrs. M. Wait, of Galesburg, former Pres't State W. C. T. U., and Miss Kate Ross, of Abingdon, also members, were unable to be present).

*March 6th.*—Presentation of the petition to the House of Representatives, with an address by Judge Hinds, of Stephenson County. Three of the ladies—Miss Willard, Mrs. Foster, and Mrs. St. John—by invitation of the House, on the motion of Hon. Sol. Hopkins, then addressed the House—this being the first time a lady had ever spoken in an open session of the Illinois Legislature. The number of signatures to the petition was 110,000, of men over twenty-one and women over eighteen years of age, about half of these being voters.

*April 9th (Evening).*—Mass meeting in the Senate Chamber, with supplemental petition exhibited in like manner as above, which petition contained at least 70,000 additional names, all secured in less than four weeks. The put-

ting together of this last petition was the work of the women of Springfield, under supervision of Miss Barnett.

*April 10th.*—Presentation in the Senate by Senator Taliafero. An effectual objection being made to the ladies speaking in open session, a motion for a recess of thirty minutes prevailed, and Miss Willard occupied the time in speaking on the objects of the petition. Twenty-four senators voted for the recess and nineteen against it. Three senators left the chamber, returning at the close of the recess.

The presentation committee was the same as before, with the addition of the following persons: Mrs. H. A. Allyn, of Springfield; Mrs. R. Greenlee, Mrs. M. A. Cummings, Mrs. J. B. Hobbs, and Miss Lucia Kimball, of Chicago; Mrs. G. H. Read, of Bloomington; Mrs. H. W. Harwood and Mrs. H. C. Cullom, of Joliet; Mrs. S. B. Mooney, of Pana; Mrs. S. M. I. Henry, of Rockford; and Mrs. M. A. Taliafero, of Keithsburg.

### HOME PROTECTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

In Massachusetts the W. C. T. U. presented the following excellent form of a bill to the Legislature of 1879, which was passed in the Senate, but tabled in the House:

"The vote shall be by ballot; and ballots shall be 'Yes' or 'No,' in answer to the question: 'Shall the mayor and alderman (or selectmen) be authorized to grant licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors in this city (or town)?"

"Any woman possessing the other qualifications for voting now established by law may apply to one of the assessors of the city or town in which she has residence, to be assessed for a poll-tax, and shall be so assessed; and upon payment thereof she may apply to the proper board of registration of voters in such city or town, not later than the Saturday preceding such day of voting; and it shall be the duty of such board, upon being satisfied that she possesses the other qualifications required of voters, to place her name on the voting list for use at such meetings; and she shall continue to be so assessed each year, until she shall otherwise request in writing; and so long as such qualifications continue to exist she shall have at all meetings held under this act all the rights of a legally-qualified voter.

"All licenses granted under the provisions of this act, and of the act of which this is an amendment, shall contain, in addition to the name of the licensee, the name of the owner of the premises upon which the business is to be carried on. The clerk of each city and town shall keep a complete record of all licenses, with their bondsmen, and of the owners of the premises upon which the business is to be carried on, in each case, which record shall at all times be open to public inspection."

### THE HINDS BILL.

A temperance ballot for women requiring a constitutional amendment, a bill was drawn (at the request of the ladies) by J. C. Wells, an attorney, of Springfield, providing that women over 21 may be registered, the same as voters, and that before a saloon-keeper can open a saloon he must be able to prove to the municipal authorities that he has secured the signatures of a majority

of both men and women over 21 years of age. The bill was introduced by Judge Hinds and called by his name, and referred to License Committee Feb. 13th, reached a third reading May 30th, with some amendments, chiefly verbal, and was put on its passage. The ladies feel under obligations to many of the members of both houses for their courteous, kindly words and acts; but especially to Judge Hinds, who battled for us so grandly from first to last, and Mr. Peters, who insisted on the final vote. The bill was lost by a vote of fifty-three to fifty-five.

Those voting for the bill are as follows: Messrs. Abraham, Allen, of Warren; Bolt, Bowen, Bisbee, Black, Brigham, Byers, Churchhill, Core, Crooker, Crosthwait, Davis, Dysart, Elliott, Ewing, Foy, Gray, Gross, Hall, of Gallatin; Halladay, Harts, Hinds, Ingham, Jackson, Johnson, Keniston, Latimer, Lyon, McFie, Moss, Neal, Otman, Peters, Price, Ranney, Reavill, Robinson, of Jackson; Robison, of Fulton; Ryan, Savage, Scott, Secrest, Shaw, Simonson, Sloan, Smith, Stevens, Thomason, Tice, Trammell, Tyler, Mr. Speaker. Yeas, 53.

Those voting against the bill are as follows: Messrs. Barry, Bower, Brumback, Buck, Cockle, Collins, Day, Durfee, Ehrhardt, Eldredge, English, Granger, Hall, of Tazewell; Hamilton, Hammond, Herrington, Hinkley, Holden, Hopkins, Jennings, Jones, of Christian; Jones, of Washington; Kouka, Lovell, Marston, Mason, McCreery, Mielbeck, Mock, Murray, Nichols, Orendorf, Pearson, Pleasants, Powell, Prickett, Provart, Reaburn, Rogers, Scarlett, Seiter, Sexton, Snigg, Struckman, Taylor, of Cook; Thomas, Thomson, of Will; Truesdell, Vasey, Veile, Walsh, Weber, Wentworth, Wilson, Zimmerman. Nays, 55.

Those absent or not voting, many of whom were supposed to be friends, were: Messrs. Allen, of Whiteside; Bridges, Burt, Butterworth, Carter, of Adams; Carter, of Johnson; Chase, Clark, Cremer, Dewey, Ficklin, Fosbender, Frew, Graham, Green, Gregg, Layman, Lewis, Matthews, McBride, McKinlay, Meyer, Miles, Mileham, Mitchell, Morrison, Neff, O'Malley, Pratt, Richey, Samuel, Sherman, Snyder, Spencer, Taylor, of Winnebago; Thomson, of Cook; Tracey, Wall, Warren, Wheeler, Wightman, Wright, of Boone; Wright, of Dupage; Zink.—44.

[Illinois temperance people please copy these names for reference, and secure their publication in local papers throughout the state.]

NOTE.—The Ohio Woman's Christian Temperance Union is actively circulating the following:

#### TWELVE REASONS FOR WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE BALLOT.

—  
BY JOSEPH COOK.

1. It is more difficult for a woman to obtain a livelihood alone than for a man to do so, and so she has a deeper interest than a man in the home.

2. Woman's love of home is the natural antagonist of the enemies of the home, and among these perhaps the most mischievous is intemperance.

3. Woman is less intemperate than man, and so could be trusted to give a purer vote on temperance laws.

4. Woman is less complicated with party in-

trigue and political ambition, with desire for office and with business at large, and so would be more free than men to give a vote on the merits of the case.

5. A temperance vote by women would be a test by which the theory of woman's suffrage could be tried on a restricted scale, without danger.

6. It would not be an entering wedge, but only an appeal to experience; and the latter, as it should reveal good or bad tendencies in the theory, would decide the result.

7. Rumsellers oppose the temperance vote of women. I suppose that nothing has ever stirred the rumsellers of Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati quite so much as this movement to give the temperance vote to the women. If you will show me what rumsellers do not want, I will show you what I want.

8. The temperance vote is asked for by women in overwhelming numbers, most of whom are not female suffragists.

9. Such a change as woman's temperance ballot asks for is not connected with high theories as to natural rights to suffrage, nor as to property qualifications.

10. Under English law, women paying taxes can vote in municipal and town elections, and this wider privilege, which has worked well, includes the narrower one of woman's temperance vote.

11. In questions where the decision is so easy as that between license and no license woman's vote would not often be unintelligent, and so would not add to the mass of the ignorant suffrage.

12. In questions so important to the home as those relating to temperance laws woman's vote would not often be unused, and so would not add essentially to the dangers of absenteeism at the polls and of unexercised suffrage.

In proof of Mr. Cook's seventh reason, read the following from the liquor organ of Cincinnati:

LOCAL OPTION AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—“The New Crusade” is what the vigorous temperance movement breaking out all over the land is called. That there is unusual motion, energy, and determination in the matter of opposition to the “liquor traffic” is too apparent to escape the observation of the most obtuse. It is in the air everywhere. Not a breeze from any quarter but is sonorous with the notes of preparation and the voices of the workers. The women furnish most of the agitating force, and it is very effective. “The strongholds of sin” must prepare for a no ordinary struggle, or fall with a crash that will make every distillery, brewery, and wine-press in the country tremble. The two main points sought to be accomplished by legislation are local option, and woman suffrage at such option elections. Give the women the ballot on such occasions, allow them to have a voice in the question whether saloons and beer or wine-rooms where intoxicating drinks are sold may or may not exist, and not a drop could a thirsty soul get anywhere in the state. There is an earnestness in “The New Crusade” we have never before witnessed; and if there are any who think there is not going to be much of a shower, after all, they will fool themselves as completely as did the scoffers of Noah and his Ark. The signs of the coming storm are too apparent for any observing mind to mistake their meaning. “Local option and woman suffrage” will be the inspiring motto of the New Crusaders, and the political arena will be made lively with the shouts of battle-cry and activity of those who use it. And it



will worry the political parties and the small politicians more than any question they have for some time had to deal with. Shall we say there is fun or death ahead?—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

## HOME PROTECTION HYMN.

BY MARY A. LATHBURY.

Tune, "Arise and Shine," No. 74 in *Gospel Hymns No. 2*.

Oh! trust ye in the Lord forever!  
Strong is His arm and wide His love;  
He keepeth truth, He faileth never,  
Though earth and sea and Heaven remove.

*Chorus:*

Sing to the Lord! He goes before us.  
His strength is ours, His truth shall stand  
Till East and West shall join the chorus:  
"For God and Home and Native Land!"

Be strong, O men, who bear in battle  
For us the banner and the shield;  
For strong to conquer as to suffer  
Is He who leads you in the field.

*Chorus:*

Lift up your eyes, O women, weeping  
Beside your dead! The dawning day  
Has rent the seal of death forever,  
And angels roll the stone away!

*Chorus:*

Room for the Right! Make room before us  
For Truth and Righteousness to stand;  
And plant the holy banner o'er us,  
"For God and Home and Native Land!"

*Chorus:*

NEWARK, N. J., Easter, 1879.

## PROHIBITION LITERATURE.

|  |                            |     |                |
|--|----------------------------|-----|----------------|
| Prohibition Does Prohibit.               | J. N. Stearns.             | 48. | 10 cts.        |
| Suppression of the Liquor Traffic.       | Rev. H. D. Kitchell, D.D.  | 48. | 10 cts.        |
| The Throne of Iniquity.                  | Rev. Albert Barnes, D.D.   | 22. | 5 cts.         |
| Fruits of the Liquor Traffic.            | Sumner Stebbins, M.D.      | 24. | 5 cts.         |
| Maine Law Vindicated.                    | Hon. Woodbury Davis.       | 8.  | \$6 per 1,000. |
| Review of Ex-Governor Andrew on License. | Rev. Wm. M. Thayer.        | 8.  | \$6 per 1,000. |
| Indictment of the Rum Traffic.           | By Rev. W. W. Hicks.       | 4.  | \$3 per 1,000. |
| The Fruits of License.                   | Rev. William M. Thayer.    | 4.  | \$3 per 1,000. |
| The Ballot for Temperance.               | Rev. James B. Dunn.        | 4.  | \$3 per 1,000. |
| Natural and Reserved Rights.             | Rev. Joseph Cummings, D.D. | 4.  | \$3 per 1,000. |

|   |                        |     |                |
|---|------------------------|-----|----------------|
| Evils of License.   | Rev. Wm. M. Thayer.    | 4.  | \$3 per 1,000. |
| Rum and Taxation under License.   | Rev. Wm. M. Thayer.    | 4.  | \$3 per 1,000. |
| Why We Oppose the Traffic.  | Rev. A. Sutherland.    | 4.  | \$3 per 1,000. |
| The Rumseller a Robber.   | Rev. Luther Keene.     | 8.  | \$6 per 100.   |
| Accountableness for Evils of Intemperance.                                    | Rev. J. C. Foster.     | 8.  | \$6 per 100.   |
| The Evils of Beer Legislation.  | Rev. James B. Dunn.    | 8.  | \$6 per 100.   |
| What it all Costs.  | Ovid Miner, Esq.       | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| Practical Workings of Prohibition.  | Hon. Robert C. Pitman. | 8.  | \$6 per 100.   |
| National Legislation.   | A. M. Powell, Esq.     | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| The Sabbath and Beer Question.  | Rev. Geo. L. Taylor.   | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| Moral and Legal Suasion.  | Hon. Robert C. Pitman. | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| The Results of Prohibition.   | A. M. Powell, Esq.     | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| Law as an Educator.   | Rev. Wm. M. Thayer.    | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| The Relations of Drunkenness to Crime.  | Elisha Harris, M.D.    | 8.  | \$6 per 100.   |
| Constitutionality and Duty of Prohibition.                                    | Rev. H. M. Scudder.    | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| Governor of Massachusetts against License.                                    | Hon. T. Talbot.        | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| The Street of Hell.   | Rev. R. T. Cross.      | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| Second Declaration of Independence.   | Rev. A. W. Corey.      | 4.  | \$3 per 100.   |
| Constitutional Amendment on the Manufacture and Sale of Intoxicating Liquors. | Hon. H. W. Blair.      | 43. | 10 cts each.   |

It is a storehouse of fact, argument, and statistics, and should be in the hands of every lecturer, clergyman, student, and every one who is interested in temperance. Sent by mail, postpaid, on receipt of price.

Address J. N. STEARNS, *Publishing Agent*,  
53 Reade Street, New York.

ALCOHOL AND THE STATE. A Discussion of the Problem of Law as Applied to the Liquor Traffic. By ROBERT C. PITMAN, LL. D., Associate Judge of Superior Court of Massachusetts. 12mo, 406 pages. \$1 50

PROHIBITIONIST'S TEXT-BOOK, THE. 12mo, 312 pages. Paper, 50 cents. Cloth. \$1 00

PACKET OF PROHIBITION DOCUMENTS. \$0 25

Comprising tracts on prohibition and the suppression of the liquor traffic, making 220 pages.

LOCAL OPTION.—SPECIAL. Per 1,000. \$8 00  
Also Tracts in the German language.

# Plan of Work for a W. C. T. U.

---

1. Wherever possible, a Gospel Temperance Meeting is to be held on Sabbath afternoon at an hour that does not conflict with church services, and in a place to which the drinking class will come. Here the iron-clad temperance pledge ("including wine, beer, and cider") must be presented and the power of Christ to save illustrated and enforced in Bible Readings, Addresses, and Songs. A Union Temperance Prayer Meeting of all the churches should be held monthly.

2. The vice-president of each church is responsible to secure members (active and honorary) in her own church; also subscribers to "*Our Union*"; to introduce the plans of the S. S. Committee; and to see that the subject of temperance and the women's work are brought before the church or the church prayer-meeting at least once a month. She is also to use her influence for the substitution of grape juice for wine at the sacramental service.

3. A column should be secured in each local paper, and material, selected and original, prepared by ladies appointed for this purpose. The column should be headed "Department of the W. C. T. U.," and its list of officers, with time and place of meeting and earnest invitation to women to co-operate in the temperance work, should be published in every issue.

4. Efforts should be made to enlist the young ladies. They may constitute a committee to furnish and conduct a temperance reading-room, to establish fountains and other water-drinking places "for man and beast," to circulate temperance literature, to provide a course of lectures, and to organize a Juvenile Temperance Union, to introduce Miss Colman's and Dr. Richardson's books into the public schools; also to keep autograph pledge-books on their tables and secure signatures.

5. A special committee on finance should be appointed to add to the resources of the treasury by assessments in the churches, finance cards circulated from house to house pledging a specified sum quarterly, "little brown jug" collection boxes, festivals, concerts, temperance colloquies, loan exhibitions, and other methods.

## MISCELLANEOUS SUGGESTIONS.

Miss Willard's "Hints and Helps in our Work" (2d ed.) can be had by sending 25 cents to "W. C. T. U., Room 4, No. 148 Madison Street, Chicago."

For all desired information about "Our Union," address Mrs. C. C. Alford, Y. M. C. A. Building, Brooklyn. For Dr. Richardson's Temperance Lesson Book, Miss Colman's Juvenile Temperance Manual, Sunday-school papers, temperance books, etc. send to J. N. Stearns, No. 58 Reade Street, New York, or to W. C. T. U., Room 4, No. 148 Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. For leaflets and information on circulation of literature, address Miss Julia Colman, No. 443 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn. On Sunday-school Temperance Work, separate Juvenile Societies, and Temperance in Public Schools address Miss Lucia Kimball, No. 644 Monroe Street, Chicago. On unfermented wine—how to obtain it, etc.—Mrs. T. B. Carse, President Chicago W. C. T. U., 148 Madison Street. For Forms of Constitutions, Suggestions for the Illinois Work, etc. address Miss Frances E. Willard, No. 148 Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. In all cases please enclose stamp for return postage.

"Roberts' Rules of Order" is our authority on parliamentary usage.

The Badge now adopted by the National as well as State and Local Unions is the knot of white ribbon, which we ought all to wear. Let us not neglect any of these outward means of bringing our widely scattered workers into unity of thought and plan; but, above all, let us seek to be guided by the spirit which is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated," full of charity and faith.

Dear Sisters, do not let it be forgotten that earnest, hard work alone gives proof of living faith. Our Unions will no more win trophies for Christ on prayer without work than a bird will soar to heaven upon one wing. Our Master is him who "went about doing good." "Lo, I am with you always" is his promise. Trusting in this, let us walk gently forward, "without haste, without rest."

# FOR GOD AND HOME AND NATIVE LAND.

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*"The government shall be upon His shoulder."*

—Isaiah ix, 7.

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*"Woe unto him that justifieth the wicked for a reward."*

—Isaiah v, 23.

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*"There is neither male nor female; but ye are all one in Christ Jesus."*

—Paul.

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*"For if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."*

—Gamaliel.

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*"Philanthropy and politics, now flowing apart, will unite in one stream when philanthropists become conscious of power to reach the sources of crime and misery, and when statesmen understand that their functions are assigned to them for none but a philanthropic end."*

## Black Women and Reform - Aug. 1915

Nannie Helen Burroughs

August 01, 1915

*Burroughs' remarks from "Votes for Women: A Symposium by Leading Thinkers of Colored Women" held in Washington, D.C., as published in the August 1915 issue of The Crisis (Vol 10., No. 4). Burroughs was secretary of the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention.*

The Negro Church means the Negro woman. Without her, the race could not properly support five hundred churches in the whole world. Today they have 40,000 churches in the United States. She is not only a great moral and spiritual asset, but she is a great economic asset. I was asked by a southern white woman who is an enthusiastic worker for "votes for (white) women," "What can the Negro woman do with the ballot?" I asked her, "What can she do without it?" When the ballot is put into the hands of the American woman the world is going to get a correct estimate of the Negro woman. It will find her a tower of strength of which poets have never sung, orators have never spoken, and scholars have never written.

Because the black man does not know the value of the ballot, and has bartered and sold his most valuable possession, it is no evidence that the Negro woman will do the same. The Negro woman, therefore, needs the ballot to get back, by the wise *use* of it, what the Negro man has lost by the *misuse* of it. She needs it to ransom her race. A fact worthy of note is that in every reform in which the Negro woman has taken part, during the past fifty years, she has been as aggressive, progressive and dependable as those who inspired the reform or led it. The world has yet to learn that the Negro woman is quite superior in bearing moral responsibility. A comparison with the men of her race, in moral issues, is odious. She carries the burdens of the Church, and of the school and bears a great deal more than her economic share in the home.

Another striking fact is that the Negro woman carries the moral destiny of two races in her hand. Had she not been the woman of unusual moral stamina that she is, the black race would have been made a great deal whiter, and the white race a great deal blacker during the past fifty years. She has been left a prey for the men of every race, but in spite of this, she has held the enemies of Negro female chastity at bay. The Negro woman is the white woman's as well as the white race's most needed ally in preserving an unmixed race.

The ballot, wisely used, will bring to her the respect and protection that she needs. It is her weapon of moral defence. Under present conditions, when she appears in court in defence of her virtue, she is looked upon with amused contempt. She needs the ballot to reckon with men who place no value upon her virtue, and to mould healthy public sentiment in favor of her own protection.

Burroughs, Nannie Helen. 1915. "Black Women and Reform." *The Crisis* 10(4).

***Neither the Catt Center nor Iowa State University is affiliated with any individual in the Archives or any political party. Inclusion in the Archives is not an endorsement by the center or the university.***

Excerpts from Inez Haynes Irwin, *The Story of the Woman's Party* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1921), found at "[Project Gutenberg](#)"

On Monday, July 23, exactly a month from the time that the police had first interfered with the picketing and the Suffragists, the daily Suffrage picket was resumed. The crowds streaming home in the afternoon from the offices, laughed when they saw the banners at the White House gates again. Some stopped to congratulate the women.

Time went on and still the President did nothing about putting the Amendment through. As always when it was not strikingly brought to his attention, Suffrage seemed to pass from his mind. It became again necessary to call his <sup>229</sup>attention to the Amendment. Often it seemed as though the President's attention could be gained only by calling the country's attention to his inaction.

Within a week appeared a new banner. Elihu Root, the Special Envoy of the United States to Russia, had just come home from a country which had enfranchised its women. With the other members of the American Mission to Russia, he called at the White House, and at the gates he was confronted by these words:

TO ENVOY ROOT:  
YOU SAY THAT AMERICA MUST THROW ITS MANHOOD IN THE  
SUPPORT OF LIBERTY.  
WHOSE LIBERTY?  
THIS NATION IS NOT FREE. 20,000,000 WOMEN ARE DENIED  
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THE RIGHT TO  
REPRESENTATION IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.  
TELL THE PRESIDENT THAT HE CANNOT FIGHT AGAINST  
LIBERTY AT HOME WHILE HE TELLS US TO FIGHT FOR LIBERTY  
ABROAD.  
TELL HIM TO MAKE AMERICA FREE FOR DEMOCRACY BEFORE  
HE ASKS THE MOTHERS OF AMERICA TO THROW THEIR SONS TO  
THE SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE.  
ASK HIM HOW HE COULD REFUSE LIBERTY TO AMERICAN  
CITIZENS WHEN HE HAS FORCED MILLIONS OF AMERICAN BOYS  
OUT OF THEIR COUNTRY TO DIE FOR LIBERTY.

For two hours, Lucy Ewing and Mary Winsor stood holding this banner. It attracted the largest crowd that the pickets had as yet experienced. But the police managed them perfectly—although in the courts there had been plenty of testimony that they could not manage similar crowds—and without a word of protest—although half a block was completely obstructed for two hours.

<sup>230</sup>The following day saw scenes the most violent in the history of the pickets. This was August 14. Catherine Flanagan's story of this period of terror is one of the most thrilling in the annals of the Party:

That day a new banner was carried for the first time by Elizabeth Stuyvesant—the "Kaiser" banner. The banner read:

KAISER WILSON, HAVE YOU FORGOTTEN YOUR SYMPATHY WITH

THE POOR GERMANS BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT SELF-GOVERNING?  
TWENTY MILLION AMERICAN WOMEN ARE NOT SELF-GOVERNING.  
TAKE THE BEAM OUT OF YOUR OWN EYE.

I do not remember when Elizabeth took this banner out, but I think she was on the four o'clock shift. For a half an hour people gathered about the banner. The crowd grew and grew. You felt there was something brewing in them, but what, you could not guess. Suddenly it came—a man dashed from the crowd and tore the banner down. Immediately, one after another, the other banners were torn down. As fast as this happened, the banner bearers went back to Headquarters; returned with tri-colors and reinforcements; took up their stations again. Finally the whole line of pickets, bannerless by this time, marched back to Headquarters. The crowd, which was fast changing into a mob, followed us into Madison Place. As the pickets emerged again, the mob jumped them at the very doors of Cameron House, tore their banners away from them and destroyed them. By this time the mob, which had become a solid mass of people, choking the street and filling the park, had evolved a leader, a yeoman in uniform, who incited everybody about him to further work of destruction. Suddenly, as if by magic, a ladder appeared in their midst. A yeoman placed it against Cameron House, and accompanied by a little boy, he started up. He pulled down the tri-color of the Woman's Party which hung over the door. In the meantime, it was impossible for us to take any banners out. We locked the door, but two strange women, unknown to the Woman's Party, came in. They opened a window on the second floor and were about to push the ladder, on which the sailor and the little boy still stood, back into the street when Ella Morton Dean drew them away.

At the other side of the house and at the same moment, another member of the crowd climbed up the balcony and pulled down the American flag which hung beside the tri-color. Immediately Virginia Arnold and Lucy Burns appeared on the balcony carrying, <sup>231</sup>the one the Kaiser banner and the other the tri-color. The crowd began to throw eggs, tomatoes, and apples at them, but the two girls stood, Virginia Arnold white, Lucy Burns flushed, but—everybody who saw them comments on this—with a look of steady consecration, absolutely motionless, holding the tri-color which had never before been taken from its place over the door at Headquarters.

Suddenly a shot rang out from the crowd. A bullet went through a window of the second story, directly over the heads of two women who stood there—Ella Morton Dean and Georgiana Sturgess—and imbedded itself in the ceiling of the hall. The only man seen to have a revolver was a yeoman in uniform, who immediately ran up the street. By this time Elizabeth Stuyvesant had joined Lucy Burns and Virginia Arnold on the balcony; others also came. Three yeomen climbed up onto the balcony and wrested the tri-color banners from the girls. As one of these men climbed over the railing, he struck Georgiana Sturgess. "Why did you do that?" she demanded, dumbfounded. The man paused a moment, apparently as amazed as she. "I don't know," he answered; then he tore the banner out of her hands and descended the ladder. Lucy

Burns, whose courage is physical as well as spiritual, held her banner until the last moment. It seemed as though she were going to be dragged over the railing of the balcony, but two of the yeomen managed to tear it from her hands before this occurred. New banners were brought to replace those that had disappeared.

While this was going on, Katherine Morey and I went out the back way of Headquarters, made our way to the White House gates, unfurled a Kaiser banner, and stood there for seventeen minutes unnoticed. There was a policeman standing beside each of us, but when the yeoman who had led the mob and who was apparently about to report for duty, tore at the banner, they did not interfere. We were dragged along the pavements, but the banner was finally destroyed.

By this time the crowd had thinned a little in front of Headquarters. The front door had been unlocked when we went back. Five different times, however, we and others, led always by Lucy Burns, made an effort to bear our banners to the White House gates again. Always, a little distance from Headquarters, we were beset by the mob and our banners destroyed.

About five o'clock, the police reserves appeared and cleared the street. Thereupon, every woman who had been on picket duty that day, bearing aloft the beautiful tri-color, went over to the White House gates, marched up and down the pavements three 232 times. The police protected us until we started home. When, however, our little procession crossed the street to the park, the crowd leaped upon us again, and again destroyed our banners. Madeline Watson was knocked down and kicked. Two men carried her into Headquarters.

While the crowd was milling its thickest before Headquarters, somebody said to a policeman standing there, "Why don't you arrest those men?" "Those are not our orders," the policeman replied.

Twenty-two lettered banners and fourteen tri-color flags were destroyed that day.

During all the early evening, men were trying to climb over the back fence of the garden to get into Cameron House. None of us went to bed that night. We were afraid that something—we knew not what—might happen.

The next day, August 15, was only a degree less violent. The Suffrage pickets went on duty as usual at twelve o'clock, and picketed all that afternoon.

All the afternoon yeomen, small boys, and hoodlums attacked the women without hindrance. Elizabeth Stuyvesant was struck by a soldier who destroyed her flag. Beulah Amidon was thrown down by a sailor, who stole her flag. Alice Paul was knocked down three times. One sailor dragged her thirty feet along the White House sidewalk in his attempts to tear off her Suffrage sash, gashing her neck brutally. They were without protection until five o'clock.

During this time they lost fifty tri-color banners and one Kaiser banner.

The pickets were, of course, constantly going back to Headquarters for new banners, and constantly returning with them.

At five o'clock, in anticipation of the President's appearance, and while still the turmoil was going on, five police officers quickly and efficiently cleared a wide aisle in front of each gate, and as quickly and as efficiently drove the mob across the street. The President, however, left by a rear gate.

On the next day, August 16, the policy toward the pickets changed again. Fifty policemen appeared on the scene, and <sup>233</sup> instead of permitting Suffragists to be attacked by others, they attacked them themselves. Virginia Arnold was set upon by three police officers. Before she could relinquish her banner to them, her arms were twisted and her hands bruised. Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Natalie Gray, and Lucy Burns were all severely handled by the police. Elizabeth Smith and Ruth Crocker, who were carrying furled flags, were knocked down. When men, more chivalrous-minded than the crowd, came to their rescue, they were arrested.

In the late afternoon, the crowd grew denser. The police, therefore, ceased their efforts, and waited while the crowd attacked the women and destroyed their banners. An officer threatened to arrest one young woman who defended her banner against an assailant.

"Here, give that up!" called the second officer to a girl who was struggling with a man for the possession of her flag.

During these days of mob attacks, the pickets had been put to it to get outside Headquarters to some coign of vantage where they could stand for a few seconds before the inevitable rush. For the first time in the history of their picketing the girls could not carry their banners on poles. Either the mobs seized them or the policemen who lined the sidewalks outside Headquarters. The pickets carried them inside their sweaters and hats, in sewing bags, or pinned them, folded in newspapers or magazines, under their skirts. One picket was followed by crowds who caught a gleam of yellow at the hem of her gown. When they got to the White House, the pickets held the banners in their hands. Lucy Burns kept sending out relays with new banners to take the place of those which were torn.

Catherine Flanagan says that on August 16 when the four o'clock shift of the picket line started out, Lucy Burns pointed to rolls of banners done up in various receptacles and said, "Take out as many of these as you can carry and keep them concealed until it is necessary to use them." The eight pickets distributed the banners in different parts of their clothes, and approaching the White House by various <sup>234</sup> routes, suddenly lined themselves against the White House fence, each unfurling a Kaiser banner at the word of command. They were faced by forty policemen, policewomen, and secret service



men. Instantly the police were on them. The pickets held the banners as long as it was physically possible—it took three policemen to remove each banner. The policemen heaved sighs of relief, as though their work for the day was done, turned, and moved to the edge of the pavement. Instantly, eight more banners appeared and as instantly they fell on the pickets again. This happened seven times. As often as the police turned with captured banners in their hands, reinforcing pickets in the crowd handed fresh banners to the pickets at the gates. Fifty-six Kaiser banners were captured this day. When the Kaiser banners were exhausted, the eight pickets returned to Headquarters and soon emerged bearing the tri-color. The tactics of the police changed then. They did not, themselves, attack the pickets, but they permitted the crowds to do so. In all, one hundred and forty-eight flags were destroyed.

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On August 17, Major Pullman, police head of Washington, called upon Alice Paul, and warned her that young women carrying banners would be arrested.

Alice Paul replied, “The picketing will go on as usual.”

In a letter to his friend, Major Pullman, quoted in the *Suffragist* of August 25, Gilson Gardner put the case concisely and decisively....

You must see, Pullman, that you cannot be right in what you have done in this matter. You have given the pickets adequate protection; you have arrested them and had them sent to jail and the workhouse, you have permitted the crowds to mob them, and then you have had your officers do much the same thing by forcibly taking their banners from them. In some of these actions, you must have been wrong. If it was right to give them protection and let them stand at the White House for five months, both before and after the war, it was not right to do what you did later.

You say it was not right and that you were “lenient,” when 235 you gave them protection. You cannot mean that. The rightness or wrongness must be a matter of law, not of personal discretion, and for you to attempt to substitute your discretion is to set up a little autocracy in place of the settled laws of the land. That would justify a charge of “Kaiserism” right here in our Capitol city.

The truth is, Pullman, you were right when you gave these women protection. That is what the police are for. When there are riots they are supposed to quell them, not by quelling the “proximate cause,” but by quelling the rioters.

I know your police officers now quite well and I find that they are most happy when they are permitted to do their duty. They did not like that dirty business of permitting a lot of sailors and street ruffraff to rough the girls....

It is not my opinion alone when I say that the women were entitled to police protection, not arrest. President Wilson has stated repeatedly that these women were entirely within their legal and constitutional rights, and that they should not have been molested. Three reputable men, two of them holding office in this Administration, have told me what the President said, and I have no reason to doubt their word. If the President has changed his mind he has not changed the law or the Constitution, and what he said three weeks ago is just as true today.

In excusing what you have done, you say that the women have carried banners with “offensive” inscriptions on them. You refer to the fact that they have addressed the President as “Kaiser Wilson.” As a matter of fact, not an arrest you have made—and the arrests now number more than sixty—has

been for carrying one of those “offensive” banners. The women were carrying merely the Suffrage colors or quotations from President Wilson’s writings.

But suppose the banners were offensive? Who made you censor of banners? The law gives you no such power. Even when you go through the farce of a police court trial, the charge is “obstructing traffic,” *which shows conclusively that you are not willing to go into court on the real issue.*

No. As chief of police you have no more right to complain of the sentiments on a banner than you have of the sentiments in an editorial in the *Washington Post*, and you have no more right to arrest the banner bearers than you have to arrest the owner of the *Washington Post*. So long as the law against obscenity and profanity is observed, you have no business with the words on the banners. Congress refused to pass a press censorship law. There are certain lingering traditions to the effect that a people’s <sup>236</sup>liberties are closely bound up with the right to talk things out and those who are enlightened know that the only proper answer to words is words.

During the entire afternoon of that day—August 17—the day that Major Pullman called on Alice Paul—the sentinels stood at their posts. One of the banners read:

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA ARE ENFRANCHISING WOMEN IN WAR TIME;

Another:

THE GOVERNMENT ORDERS OUR BANNERS DESTROYED BECAUSE THEY TELL THE TRUTH.

At intervals of fifteen minutes—for two hours—the pickets were told by a captain of police that they would be arrested if they did not move. But they held their station. At half-past four, the hour at which the thousand of government clerks invade the streets, there was enough of a crowd to give the appearance that the pickets were “blocking traffic.” Lavinia Dock; Edna Dixon; Natalie Gray; Madeline Watson; Catherine Flanagan; Lucy Ewing, were arrested soon after four o’clock. Their trial lasted just forty minutes. One police officer testified that they were obstructing traffic. They all refused to pay the ten-dollar fine, which, though it would have released them, would also have been an admission of guilt, and Police Magistrate Pugh sentenced them to serve thirty days in the Government Workhouse.

## Peace - June 9, 1915

**Leonora O'Reilly**

June 09, 1915— New York City

*O'Reilly delivered this report from the International Congress of Women, held at The Hague, Holland, on April 28-30, 1915, to the Fifth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union of America.*

When on April 1st I received a telegram from our National office saying, "By vote of the National Executive Board you are earnestly urged to represent League at Peace Conference, The Hague. Steamer sails April 13th." I thought some one was playing a practical joke on yours truly. My reply, however, to the call was, as nearly as I can remember it, "Do you think there is a ghost of a chance of bringing peace on earth or anything lastingly useful by going? If so. I'll go if they blow me to atoms; all's well spent which is spent in labor's cause, the greatest peace movement in the world."

Well. I went, and in order that we may be perfectly clear in our own minds about the work which was begun by women for peace that shall be permanent, I must tell you the Peace Conference resolved itself at once into "The International Congress of Women, which has for its object the establishment of such relations between all the peoples of the earth as will make for permanent peace. founded on justice, rather than peace immediately at any price."

The keynote struck by the 954 women delegates to The Hague was one of self-obliteration in the desire to help suffering

Europe to-day, in the hope that, through a wise understanding of the immediate anguish and sorrow, they may bring all mankind to a larger, better life on this planet before long. Some wise person has said, the reason women succeed in doing new things while men stay put in ways that are old, is that the women are such darn fools they don't know the thing can't be done, so they go right ahead and do it. Be that as it may, women did a piece of work at that International Congress of Women, and they can leave the future to decide whether they were fools or wise ones in their day and generation.

I should like to give you here the sense of the words with which Jane Addams closed that convention, at noon Saturday, May 1, 1915. She said that this first International Congress of Women, met during the greatest war the world had known, served to create good will and good fellowship; the work had been most difficult, we had done it extremely well; the wonder was that at this time women from belligerent and neutral nations could meet together for four day without one jarring word, one word of discord.

Now I believe I am not overstating when I say all our labor men. and all other men, looked on those women delegates setting out on their errand of peace, fraternity and solidarity in these war times, as a bit freakish, if not definitely mad. The women started out believing peace possible; they returned knowing that women in all countries want peace, are willing to work for it, and are ready to make great personal sacrifices to secure permanent peace.

At Christmastime, 1914, in spite of the horrors and bitterness of war, the women of England sent the season's greeting of love to the women of Germany and Austria, and Austria sent back a message of solidarity and humanity to the women of England. These letters were quickly followed by letters from the women of France, Russia, Ireland, Denmark; in fact the women of all lands were anxious to be heard in the name of peace. All these women pinned their faith in the power of women to bring peace on earth. In these letters a note of solidarity among women was struck which was heard around the world. The women of the warring countries having done this much for peace and humanity, it remained for the women of the neutral countries to carry the good work further. The women of the neutral countries hesitated at first, not knowing how to act, then Rosika Schwimmer came to us; she went through the states and stirred our women to a sense of their responsibility for

this war, if they sat quiet in their neutrality without trying to answer the call of the women of Europe in distress. The thought which Rosika Schwimmer left in the head and heart of every thoughtful woman in this country was: Europe's women are shedding their blood on the battlefield in the lives of -their children, who are being sacrificed to the War God. She made women feel they must come out of their snug, inert neutrality, and do something to bring peace. They must secure a peace ship and set sail for Holland and at the Hague meet other women in the name of peace. Granted they might be blown to pieces on their way over, they, must accept their fate conscious that so too they might serve as their sisters were serving in Europe.

The women who sailed on the "Noordam" April 13th, felt they were going forth likely not to return. They did not escape so easily; instead they have returned, and brought back with them a program of action and a set of resolutions, to carry out which will require a long and useful life's service; from all of them. These resolutions deal with:

1. Women and War.
2. Action Toward Peace
3. Principles of Permanent Peace.
  - (a) Respect for Nationality.
  - (b) Arbitration and Conciliation.
  - (c) International Pressure.
  - (d) Democratic Control of Foreign Policy.
  - (e) The Enfranchisement of Women.
4. International Co-operation.
  - (a) International Organization.
  - (b) General Disarmament.
  - (c) Commerce and Investments.
  - (d) National Foreign Policy.
5. The Education of Children.
6. Women and the Peace Settlement Conference.

On the voyage going over we had as our leader Jane Addams, that splendid democrat, meaning by that much abused term, a woman so quietly, splendidly strong that, with her intelligence, she could understand the smallest of us and the biggest of us, while she held all of us to the best that was in us by her own humane goodness, for the sake of the cause we served, which was greater than all of us put together. Around this woman democrat we grouped and worked on the tentative program which the women of the Dutch countries had prepared. We began our sessions the first morning out at sea, planning for one session a day; the next day we planned for a morning and afternoon session, and later we added an evening session. We worked morning, noon and night, leaving the sessions for meals and going back from meals to work. Jane Addams was getting from every member of the party the best she had to give, while making the giver see that that which we moulded out of the intelligence of the group was much better than the best in any one of us. Always unity and solidarity of purpose prevailed.

We were held up outside the coast of England for four days, just off the coast from Dover or Deal. While held as prisoners by order of the British Admiralty we were the guests of the Holland-American line and fared like

princesses, but prisoners for all that to whom the world was calling to be up and doing in the cause of peace.

When we reached Holland we learned we were very likely held out of the North Sea for our own good, as there had been some serious action there while we sat quietly waiting the signal to move on. Had we gone into the trouble we would have had to take the consequences.

We reached Rotterdam 7 p. m., April 27th; had to take one-half hour's ride to reach the Hague, where we ate a hurried supper, then on to the first evening meeting. The meetings were held in the Dierentuin, the largest meeting hall outside of the Madison Square Gard in New York I have ever seen. The hall was full to overflowing with the delegates and the people of Holland, who came great distances to be present at the night sessions.

The four days the women of Europe sat waiting for the United States delegates to arrive made heroines of us all. We were welcomed as sisters saved from the sea, to whom might be given the wisdom to know how to bravely serve the others. In all honesty I think I can say the women of the United States did not disappoint the hopes of the women of Europe.

At the Hague we found there were 1,328 women enrolled as members of the Congress; there were 954 delegates present from sixteen countries—England, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Armenia, Brazil, Poland, Italy, South Africa, Canada, Holland and the United States of America.

The members not present were prevented from coming by the governments at war.

At the Hague, by a unanimous vote, Jane Addams was made chairman of the Congress.

While the past has given to gods credit for deeds great and heroic, I believe the future will have to place by the side of the gods the goddess of great and heroic deeds, or maybe, better still the future will show how the God of War was vanquished forever by the Goddess of Peace. Be that as it may, when the International Congress of Women was called to order April 28, 9 a. m., at that table of peace beside Jane Addams there sat and worked two of these wonderful women from each of the nations assembled, super-women, goddesses, if you will, who through their own fine sympathy and intelligence were working to make love grow where hate might so easily flourish.

These women sat at a table such as Christ and His disciples are pictured at when taking their Last Supper together. The table of women may some day become the symbol of the day when woman made her vital contribution to the sisterhood of women and the motherhood of the same, by declaring woman's right to share the bread of peace and plenty of one nation with that of another, through the love and understanding in the heads and hearts of the women of all nations.

At the table of peace Jane Addams was the central figure; at her right hand sat the two German delegates, at her left hand the two English delegates; next to the German delegates sat the Belgian delegates; next to the English sat the Austrian, and so on down the table, two women from each of the nations represented.

The meetings were conducted in three languages—English, French and German.

The splendid women secretaries translated immediately from one language to another, as if it was just as easy to speak three languages as it is to speak one. The Europeans seem to learn three languages at school as we are taught the three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Without more words from me you will understand the great goodness in human nature which the success of this congress bespeaks. The spirit of love permeated all those present It made them forget national strife for the sake of international peace.

Every woman at the congress understood that peace cannot and will not come if we sit with folded hands waiting for its arrival. A peace propaganda is not one in which we can sit and talk big talk and do nothing, while human beings are slaughtered by the millions for one reason or another. So these women undertook the peace movement

as a crusade in which women were enlisting to pay the price of eternal vigilance—eternal vigilance in order that no child born on this planet may be deprived of its rightful inheritance of peace and plenty through industry and the full return therefrom.

These women knew that to them will fall the duty and the privilege of proving that the peoples of the earth will do right one by the other through mutual interest and the fraternity of nations sooner than by the power of authority exercised autocratically from above.

To secure this fraternity of nations and give it expression in the democratic laws, the voice of the whole people, men and women, must be heard in the making and enforcing of these laws. To secure these rights of autonomy and self-government, in order that all may do their duty, will need much work, quiet, steady patient unending service in season and out of season.

The International Congress of Women at The Hague took up this work of active service in this crusade to make the men and women of all nations, creeds and colors love one another, because they were worthy of love, knowing the road would be a difficult one, but that it was the only one which could bring peace on earth.

In our midst sat women whose hearts were torn and bled because of the horrors they had witnessed and lived through, women whose eyes had grown accustomed to seeing maimed men on every street, blind men learning to use their fingers, without the aid of sight, in the hope that when the war is over they may be again self-supporting. These women were petitioning all women to love one another for the sake of those who were suffering, through no fault of their own, save that they were ignorant of the ways of militarism and what was done in its name to all peoples. These women maintained the people, the great mass of the common peoples, had no bitterness in their hearts for each other; their interests were mutual if not identical; from their mutual understanding and interest the women knew there would be born a day in which war would be only a memory.

The first night's meeting, April 27th, was given over to short speeches from the women of all lands.

A word of welcome was spoken to the strangers by Dr. Alletta Jacobs of Holland.

Madame Rose Genoli brought greetings from Italy.

Froken Anna Kleman brought greetings from Sweden.

Miss Kathleen Courtney brought greetings from Great Britain and Ireland.

Fraulein Vilma Glucklich brought greetings from Hungary.

Dr. Keilhau brought greetings from Norway.

Dr. Anita Augspurg brought greetings from Germany.

Fru Tybjerg brought greetings from Denmark.

Frau Leopoldina Kulka brought greetings from Austria.

Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, of Boston. from the United States.

The next morning, May 28th, all delegates were in their seats early, and active work began on the program.

The second night, April 28th, was given over to speeches on what war meant to the women of all lands.

The story was the same from all nations: Women pay the first and last full tax of all wars. They take up the burden of production when the men are forced to lay down their tools to take up guns. They must feed the men at the front while in their bodies they must build the next generation perhaps to share a like fate. These women, one and all, maintained war must cease. They stated emphatically this cessation can only come through the growth

and development of the anti-military spirit in the whole people. This is a matter of education; education is principally woman's work.

April 29th was given over to talks on suffrage from the women of all lands, those who had the vote those who were working to get the vote. Here again unanimity of purpose and solidarity of thought prevailed. All the speakers maintained the time for democracy is here, the enfranchisement of women in all lands is necessary to make the self-government of people possible. Ballots in the hands of women, preferable to bullets in the hands of their fathers, husbands and sons as a means of settling questions political, industrial or territorial. Arbitration and conciliation can be trusted to settle all questions to-day. For this woman must be given an opportunity to write the laws, and help establish the relations which must prevail between nations before men and women can live on this planet in peace. Intelligent women must refuse to re-people the earth for any purpose less worthy than to work out a destiny of constructive peace and harmony. For this the enfranchisement of women is needed.

On April 30th at least twenty women from different lands brought their messages of energetic sympathy to the congress. All the speakers were filled with altruistic cosmopolitanism, rather than narrow, egotistical patriotism of one country for itself and its people, regardless of what happened to humanity as a whole.

It would be impossible to give you the thoughts of all those splendid women, doctors all, educators, physicians, writers, economists, lecturers, and workers generally for the liberty of the human family.

When Gerald Massey wrote his glorious poem to the Men of '48, who was there then to understand that before the glorious dreams of the men could be made realities, beside the spirit of those wise men would have to, stand the dauntless spirit of the mothers of men to make possible the fusion of the peoples through the sympathy, intelligence, and love of the women of 1915.

This fusion of the people was begun in the work of the International Congress of Women at The Hague, and especially expressed in those five-minute speeches on April 30th.

Jane Addams, who made the address of the evening, made her strong plea for the spiritual which, in spite of the grossest materialism, will survive and triumph.

She put the question, why had women come from both warring and neutral nations? Because women realized the spiritual value of Internationalism which surrounds and completes our national life. Men have recognized internationalism in science, art, philosophy and religion. Women are here demanding it for political life. We must find methods of expression for this new internationalism. We must trust international good will.

If the idealism of men can drive men to the point of making war, then cannot the idealism of women induce them, at no matter what cost to themselves, to give to the world their spiritual message, the world to use it now if it will, but surely at last, for always the spiritual triumphs however difficult the situation into which it has come.

Then when your delegate was asked to give labor's message, she tried to say what you would have her say, in no failing tones, out of the fulness of a heart of love ;to all these intelligent women. She tried also to be true to that department of school children who asked her to speak for them in the name of peace. As their teacher mother they asked her to bring peace on earth, in order that their children might be permitted to fulfill their function as useful workers in their day of the world's work. Rather a large order for any poor mortal, but they are young and how can we old ones serve the young better than by trying through our larger experience to make the dreams of youth come true. With all seriousness she therefore tried to use her time to say for the 250,000 working women what no other woman there was delegated to say—namely, that the organized workers of the world had been carrying on a peace propaganda for more than fifty years, that these workers had done more for international peace than all the capitalist peace movements put together. Yet where were the workers and their representatives to-day? Where were the institutions and societies that by industry and personal sacrifice they had built up? All gone, all mowed down as grass before the devastating machinery of war. She tried to tell them that most of the workers in the United States were exiles from the European countries because they could not make a living in their native lands, but for all that the love of their hearts was in their own lands. They had left their own lands to seek larger opportunities; they soon learned that the same economic struggle to live holds the workers down in

all lands, yet it is the courage and pioneer spirit of the people who leave their native land to try to make their fortune in a new world that underlies the labor struggle in the United States, which will be satisfied with nothing short of industrial democracy; further, that the industrial war waged in the United States will run a very close second to military war in the mortal statistics of the future, which will be compiled to show how men, women and children sacrificed to empire and profit alike by their masters, political and industrial, in the twentieth century. The workers must learn that ignorance is the evil which destroys all before it, and that profit and idleness are the canker worm and the cancer which eat the vitals out of life and labor on this planet. She told them further that the thoughtful women in the labor struggle were beginning to see that there must be something fundamentally wrong with society as organized to-day, since if the workers escape death by cannon they meet with it in the exigencies of commerce, which sap them white in factories and mills, for profit, through long hours and short wages, or again feeds sixty thousand of the youngest working women in the United States into the white slave trade every year.

Yet we, the workers, would dismiss our own immediate wrongs for the moment, after calling attention to them, in the hope of establishing a peace on earth that shall be permanent—permanent because it shall be established in accordance with the first law of life, which is to labor; for this every child must be taught how to labor, every worker must join the constructive army of the workers, for so and so only can the people shake off those parasites, personal and institutional, that live by and profit on the negotiations leading up to war and the carrying on of the murderous business.

To sum up and give a mental picture of the work done at the International Congress of Women: We set sail in a very light craft of hope on a seething sea which might rise up and submerge us at a moment's notice. We found in our travels 1,300 other women imbued with the same faith; they had all come together in response to the call of brave women in countries at war. High up in the crow's nest of the craft on which we sailed sat intellect, using the strongest glasses at its command to detect and prepare to meet any signs of disturbance or trouble on the far horizon. Every woman on board was tense with the desire to serve to her utmost capacity in the cause of peace. The wonderful ship was kept afloat and sailing smoothly by the stokers in their holds below the surface; the work of the stokers was carried on so quietly, so far from sight, that intellect itself almost forgot the existence of the men at the furnaces and the boilers below. Yet unless the stokers on that ship, the men in the mines, the women in the factories, the girls in the shops; the children in the mills, the vast army of workers, can be made to understand it is their labor and their blood which supplies the energy that keeps the ship of state afloat, as well as the body social intact, there is no hope for permanent peace. Only when the workers are intelligent enough to stop all industry, when anywhere on earth a worker is compelled to take up arms to destroy that which humanity through long ages of labor has built up, will war cease. To teach this is labor's mission, none but the workers can do this work.

The labor movement is the true peace movement of the world, because it is based on principles which are just, and therefore will bring peace and plenty to all who obey labor's law.

The world has had only two forms of civilization thus far—the military and the industrial. Military civilization is what has brought Europe where she is to-day, with seventeen million men in arms in eight countries, costing seven billion six hundred million dollars to keep them active in destruction for six months. Who must pay for all of this? The workers, the producers, unto the fifth, sixth and seventh generation to come.

What an industrial civilization can be is typified by the hundred years of peace which has existed between the United States and Canada, with a four thousand mile border line between them without a fort or battleship in sight on either side.

We, the workers, must put all our energy to work in the constructive army of labor, to establish this industrial civilization upon a permanent basis. We must insist that sane people can settle all disputes, nation or international, by arbitration and conciliation. We must teach that the worker, the producer battling for industrial justice is the hero in an industrial civilization. We must work for universal anti-militarism. If we will do these things as the workers' contribution to an industrial civilization, we can let the poor politician build few more battleships because they know not what else to do. We, the workers, when the time is ripe, will make floating schools out of these battleships. We will leave the guns on shore and take brains on board. We will give health,



pleasure and knowledge to the students, and inspire humanity with a crew of energetic, sympathetic, constructive minded youths who shall inaugurate and represent the altruistic cosmopolitanism of the future, not my country as against they country, but our world, our humanity. This, and nothing short of this, is labor's stand on the peace question. Labor stands for organization and co-operation. Labor must never lose sight of its great ideal, which is the establishment of universal peace, a universal republic, and the solidarity of mankind.

National Women's Trade Union League of America. Proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union of America. Chicago.

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## CHAPTER XXVII: NEGRO WOMEN IN WAR WORK

*Enthusiastic Service of Colored Women in the Wartime Emergency --Overcoming the Problems of Race by Pure Patriotism--Work for the Red Cross--The Young Women's Christian Association --The Colored Hostess Houses and Rest Rooms for Soldiers--War Problems of Living--The Circle for Negro War Relief--Colored Women in the Loan Drives--Important Work in War Industries .*

By ALICE DUNBAR-NELSON

When the world war began, even before the United States had entered the conflict the women of this country were thrilled as women have ever been since wars began, with the desire to serve. As if in anticipation of the days soon to come when their own men would be sent forth to battle, they began to sew and knit and plan relief work for the men of other nations. It was but an earnest of the days to come, when every nerve of the nation would be strained to care for its own men.

When, after that day in April, 1917, so filled with direful possibilities for the nation, the women realized that they were indeed to be called upon to give up their all, there was but one desire in the hearts of all the women of the country--to do their utmost for the men who were about to go forth to battle for an ideal. Overnight careless idlers were transformed into busy workers; social butterflies into earnest grubs; thoughtless girls into poised women; card clubs into knitting circles; aspirants to social honors into workers whose sole ambition was to be a definite factor in helpful service. Where there had been petty bickering, there was now a realization that this was no time for the small things of life. The one common sorrow of loss of the men dearest to them, of seeing their sons, brothers, fathers and husbands in the great conflict, welded together the woman of the nation, and purged the dross of littleness from their souls by the fire of service.

One thing which served to strengthen and intensify the feeling of responsibility and seriousness of the women of the country was the fact that for the first time in the history of the world, a nation at war recognized its women as a definite asset in the conduct of the war. Hitherto, her place had been that of those in the poem, For men must work, and women must weep. Hers was the task of sending her men forth to return with their shields or upon them, while she remained at home to weep and perhaps make bandages against the return of her wounded men. As a factor in the war she was nil, save in those isolated and abortive cases in history where she became an Amazon or a Molly Pitcher.

But in April, 1917, all this was changed! The nation called upon its women to do definite and constructive work, far-reaching and real. It called them not only to nurse the wounded, but to conserve the health of those at home; not only to give aid and comfort to the fighting men, but to preserve the health and morals of the women whom they must meet, love, and marry; not only to make bandages for the stricken soldiers, but to provide ambulances and even drive them; not only to give love and tears, but money, which they raised from every legitimate source; not only to cheer the men as they marched to the front, but to keep up the morale of those left at home; and to fan into a flame the sparks of patriotism in the breasts of those whom the country denied the privilege of bearing arms. With one stroke the Government organized every woman of the nation into an inclusive body, and mobilized the formerly overlooked greatest asset of the nation.

Into this maelstrom of war activity the women of the Negro race hurled themselves joyously. They asked no odds, remembered no grudges, solicited no favors, pleaded for no privileges. They came by the thousands, hands opened wide to give of love and service and patriotism. It was enough for them that their country was at war; it was enough for them that there was work to do. Centuries of labor had taught them the love of labor; a heritage of service had taught them the beauty of giving of themselves, and a race record of patriotism and loyalty had imbued them inherently with the flaming desire to do their part in the struggle of their native land.

The problem of the woman of the Negro race was a peculiar one. Was she to do her work independently of the women of the other race, or was she to merge herself into their organizations? There were separate regiments for Negro soldiers; should there be separate organizations for relief work among Negro women? If she joined relief organizations, such as the Red Cross Society, and worked with them, would she be assured that her handiwork

would reach black hands on the other side of the world, or should she be great-hearted and give her service, simply for the sake of giving, not caring who was to be benefited? Could she be sure that when she offered her services she would be understood as desiring to be a help, and not wishing to be an associate? As is usually the case when any problem presents itself to the nation at large, the Negro faces a double problem should he essay a solution --the great issue and the lesser problem of racial adjustment to that issue.

However, the women of the race cut the Gordian knot with magnificent simplicity. They offered their services and gave them freely, in whatsoever form was most pleasing to the local organizations of white women. They accepted without a murmur the place assigned them in the ranks. They placed the national need before the local prejudice; they put great-heartedness and pure patriotism above the ancient creed of racial antagonism. For pure, unalloyed unselfishness of the highest order, the conduct of the Negro women of the United States during the world war stands out in splendid relief, a lesson to the entire world of what womanhood of the best type really means.

### **Colored Women and the Red Cross**

At the very beginning of the war, the first organization to which the women of the country naturally turned was the Red Cross Society. It was to be expected that the colored woman, preeminently the best nurse in the world, would necessarily turn to the Red Cross Society as a field in which to exercise her peculiar gifts. Red Cross branches were organized in practically every community in the country. Yet it is extremely difficult to tell just what the contribution of the colored woman has been to this organization. We are told that, The American Red Cross during the war enlisted workers without regard to creed or color and no

separate records were maintained of the work of any particular Auxiliary. We know that some eight million women worked for the Red Cross in one way or another during the war, but we have no figures indicating how many of them were colored.

In the Northern cities the colored women merged their identity in their Red Cross work with the white women, that is, in some Northern cities. In others, and in the South, they formed independent units, auxiliaries to the local branches presided over by the women of the other race. These auxiliaries sent hundreds of thousands of knitted garments to the front, maintained restaurants, did canteen service where they could; sent men from the local draft boards to the camps with comfort kits; in short, did all that could be done--all that they were allowed to do.

But the story of the colored woman and the Red Cross is not altogether a pleasant one. Unfortunately, her activities in this direction were considerably curtailed in many localities. There were whole sections of the country in which she was denied the privilege of doing canteen service. There were other sections in which canteen service was so managed as to be canteen service in name only. Local conditions, racial antipathies, ancient prejudices militated sadly against her usefulness in this work. To the everlasting and eternal credit of the colored woman be it said that, in spite of what might have been absolute deterrents, she persisted in her service and was not downcast in the face of difficulties.

The best part of the whole situation lies in the fact that in the local organizations of the Red Cross the Negro woman was the beneficiary. The Home Nursing classes and the classes in Dietetics not only served to strengthen the morale of the women engaged therein, but raised the tone of every community in which they were organized. This was shown during the influenza epidemic of 1918, when a panic-stricken nation called upon its volunteer nurses of every race and color, and the women of the Red Cross were ready in response and in training.

Theodore Roosevelt has said, All of us who give service and stand ready for sacrifice, are the torch-bearers. We run with the torches until we fall, content if we can then pass them to the hands of other runners. If that be the case, the gray chapter of the colored nurses in overseas service is a golden one. Early in 1918

the Government issued a call for nurses. The need was great overseas; it was greater at home. Colored women since the inception of the war had felt keenly their exclusion from overseas service. The need for them was acute; their willingness to go was complete; the only thing that was wanted was authoritative sanction. In June,

1918, it was officially announced that the Secretary of War had authorized the calling of colored nurses in the national service. It was an act that did more complete justice to our people, in enfranchising our women for this noble service than any other of the war. All colored nurses who had been registered by the American Red Cross Society were thus given the right to render service to their own race in the army. Colored nurses were assigned to the base hospitals at Camp Funston, Kansas; Camp Grant, Rockford, Illinois; Camp Dodge, Des Moines, Iowa; Camp Taylor, Louisville, Kentucky; Camp Sherman, Chillicothe, Ohio, and Camp Dix, Wrightstown, New Jersey. At these camps a total of about 38,000 colored troops were located.

### **The Service of Colored Nurses**

Colored people throughout the country felt deep satisfaction over this authorization of the enrollment of colored nurses at the base hospitals and camps. Hundreds of competent colored nurses had registered their names for many months with the Nursing Division of the American Red Cross, in the hope of finally securing positions where their skill and experience could be utilized to proper advantage. These last were particularly gratified over the happy turn of affairs. At the convention of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses held at St. Louis, Missouri, a formal message of appreciation was sent to the War Department, the American Red Cross Society, and other agencies that had been instrumental in pushing their claims.

Mrs. Adah B. Thomas, R. N., president of the National Association of Graduate Nurses, attached to the staff of the Lincoln Hospital and Home in New York City, gave a typical expression of the sentiment of the colored nurses and the colored people generally with reference to the admission of colored women to this branch of service. She was the first to offer herself for overseas service. Indianapolis, Indiana, sent a contingent for active service at once. Elizabeth Miller of Meharry Medical College, Nashville,

Tennessee, answered the Government call and was assigned to duty at a nitrate plant in Alabama.

These were but sporadic instances indicating the instant response to the long-awaited call to service. Unfortunately, before any considerable change in existing circumstances surrounding this branch of service could be made, the Armistice was signed and history will never know what the colored woman might have done on the battlefields of France as a Red Cross Nurse. Rumor, more or less authentic, states that over 300 colored nurses were on the battlefields, though their complexion disguised their racial identity.

### **Young Women's Christian Association**

Of the remedial agencies at work for the relief of humanity, and the shouldering of responsibility for the health, morals, and happiness of those also working for the relief of humanity, the Young Women's Christian Association in its operation among the colored girls, women, and men stands out pre-eminently. The reason for this is not hard to seek--the qualities of personality in the leader of this work among colored women, Miss Eva D. Bowles.

At the time the country faced the possibility of war, the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association was confronted with the great responsibility of helping to safeguard the moral life of women and girls as affected by war conditions. Request came from the United States War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities and from the Young Men's Christian Association, for women workers to undertake work among girls in communities adjacent to army and navy training camps. Hence the formation of the War Work Council. It was organized in June, 1917, with a membership of 100, its function to help meet the special needs of girls and young women in all countries affected by the war. Allied with this was the Junior War Work Council, and the Patriotic League. The extension of these activities among colored girls and women was simultaneous, and one of the brightest chapters in the story of women in the war is the one which records how this work measured up to the responsibilities laid upon it.

The War Work Council of the Young Women's Christian Association, recognizing the loyalty and the need of the colored

women and girls of the country, devoted 400,000 of its 1918 budget to the work among the colored girls. When it was organized there was one colored National Secretary and sixteen associations or communities, with nine paid workers. The great demand for a better morale among the girls of the country soon raised that number to twelve National workers, three field supervisors, and forty-two centers, with sixty-three paid workers.

There were opened up in the various camps fifteen hostess houses with complete staffs of colored women. These houses served a splendid purpose. When the War Department planned the great training camps it may not have remembered the women of the country in the stress of making up the army of men, or it may have thought that if it said that there were to be no women in the camps, there would be none. But every woman knows that as long as there is a path to the camps, that path the women will follow; be it on foot, by boat, in cars, trains, trolleys, motor cars, or on horseback; and if there be no trail, the women will blaze one. They must see if their men are ill, or living, and how they are living. If they are ill, they must get to them; if homesick, they must cheer them; if they are leaving for overseas, they must say good-bye to them. And if there are none of their own, they must be charitable enough to extend their good-will to the lonely and heart-hungry of others.

Hence the birth of the Hostess House idea; a bit of home in the camps, a place of rest and refreshment for the women folks belonging to the soldiers; a sheltering chaperonage for the too-enthusiastic girl; a dainty supplement to the stern face of the camp-life of the soldiers; an information bureau for women and soldiers alike; a clearing-house for the social activities which included the men in camps and their women visitors.

As the colored troops came into the camps in large numbers, there was an urgent appeal to meet the needs of their women. The first house to be opened was at Camp Upton, when the Buffaloes (367th) were being made into the crack regiment that it afterward became; Mrs. Hannah C. Smith, the pioneer among the Hostess House leaders, going there to take charge in the early part of November, 1917. Only great enthusiasm and faith in the value of the work to be done could have brought about the results

which Mrs. Smith achieved at Camp Upton at this time. The temporary headquarters for the hostess house were in a barracks with few conveniences and almost no possibilities. Mrs. Smith, with her co-worker, Mrs. Norcomb, soon made the place as homelike as possible. This was the beginning of the Hostess House work for colored women.

In no very great while Hostess Houses in seven of the large camps were in operation and others soon followed. In some camps, where there was a definite surety, work was begun in the barracks. From many Southern camps came the request for the immediate erection of houses on an insufficient plan, but these plans were rejected. Finally, in the natural progress that came, the houses were erected, and used the same as other Hostess Houses. The relationship of the staff to the whole staff of the camp developed into an ideal, and all groups working under the general tutelage of the Young Women's Christian Association understood each other and had a better appreciation of mutual problems by working together.

### **The Y. W. C. A. and War Industries**

As the war progressed, our colored girls were taken into almost every phase of the industrial field. It was then recognized early in the work that the success of the movement depended largely upon the correct interpretation of the colored girl to her employer and her white co-worker, and of a fair, just attitude of the white worker toward the colored girl. The war opened up many avenues of employment and service to the colored girls that had not hitherto been her privilege to accept, principally in the industrial field, and with the opening up of these new lines of work, new problems were developed; consequently there came a demand for women to go into localities where factories were located, to make investigations as to working conditions, housing and recreational facilities; to create a better understanding between the employer and employee, and to assist in the opening up of new opportunities for work. As a result of this, an industrial worker was placed at such vital points as Detroit, St. Louis, Louisville, East St. Louis, Nitro, West Virginia; Penniman, Virginia, and Philadelphia, with one appointed for Baltimore, and an acute situation in Washington cared for.

Not only was there need for the care and protection of the girl in the factory, but equally as much so for those in more social

communities. This led to the development of club and recreational centers especially in cities near which camps were located. To-day, these centers reach from New York to Los Angeles, California, and from St. Paul, Minnesota, to San Antonio, Texas. These clubs and recreational centers are also an important feature in industrial communities.

### **Splendid Colored Women Workers**

Not only in groups, but as individuals, the women felt the call of this great and important work, and responded from every walk of life. There were many offers of volunteer service, and Miss Mary Cromwell, of Washington, D. C., was one of those to offer. She spent the summer at Camp Dix as a volunteer information and emergency hostess, and completed her two months of observation and service, feeling that there was an imperative need for the workers to be able to differentiate between types of people and to deal with each type scientifically as well as sympathetically; to know enough about such things as Home Service, War Risk Insurance, Protective Agencies, and Allotments, to answer any question that might be asked.

Miss Cromwell was well fitted both by training and experience for her work. As an undergraduate at Ann Arbor, she spent her summers in New York doing special investigations for the Charity Organization Society. After graduating, she became a teacher in the Dunbar High School of Washington, and there she became interested in the Washington alleys, and opened a settlement in one of the most congested districts. Later, she received her master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania for special research work in psychology.

The arduous task of directing the work of the Industrial Section of the War Work Council was given over to Miss Mary E. Jackson, as Special Industrial Worker among Colored Women for the War Work Council. She was appointed in December, 1917. Prior to that time, Miss Jackson did statistical work in the Labor Department of the State of Rhode Island.

Associated with Miss Bowles in this War Work Council of colored women as heads of departments in addition to Miss Mary E. Jackson, were Miss Crystal Bird, girls' worker; Mrs. Vivian W. Stokes, who at one time was associated with the National Urban

League and assisted in making a survey of New York City in connection with the Urban League of New York (Mrs. Stokes' work in connection with the Room Registry work has already been mentioned); Mrs. Lucy B. Richmond, special worker for town and county; Miss Mabel S. Brady, recruiting secretary in the Personnel Bureau; Miss Juliette Dericotte, special student worker; Mrs. Cordelia A. Winn, formerly a teacher in the public schools of Columbus, Ohio; Mrs. Ethel J. Kindle, special office worker. Miss Josephine V. Pinyon was appointed a special war worker in August, 1917. She is a graduate of Cornell University, a former teacher, and a student Y. W. C. A. secretary from 1912 to 1916.

The field workers were Mrs. Adele Ruffin, South Atlantic Field, appointed in October, 1917. Mrs. Ruffin was a teacher for some years at Kittrell College, and then secretary of the Y. W. C. A. branch at Richmond, Virginia. Miss May Belcher had charge of the South Central field and Miss Maria L. Wilder of the Southwestern field. Miss Elizabeth Carter was loaned to the Association work by the Board of Education of New Bedford, Massachusetts, where she is the only colored teacher in the city. She is chairman of the Northeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, and former president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. She was placed in charge of the center in Washington, D. C.

Aside from these, there was a small army of club and recreation workers, Hostess House workers, industrial workers, and supervisors. Throughout the trying ordeal of directing the work of these assistants, and meeting the huge problems presented to the council, Miss Bowles remained perhaps the most effective and achieving, and at the same time, noiseless worker among the colored women in this country.

### **Women's Division, Council of National Defense**

The Council of National Defense made the best organized attempt at mobilizing the colored women of all the war organizations. In most Northern States it was felt that separate organizations were superfluous, yet, on the other hand, in many cases it was agreed that the work could be best served by distinct units. There were many ramifications to the work of the Council of Defense; registration of women, the weighing and measuring of babies, the establishment of milk stations, health and recreations centers, supervision of women

in industry, correlation with other war organizations. Different States excelled in different phases of the work. In the establishment of Child Welfare and the conservation of infancy Alabama seems to be the banner state, the best work emanating from Tuskegee, where the examination of infants was under the care of Mrs. J. W. Whitaker. At Birmingham, Alabama, Mrs. H. C. Davenport had charge of the activities of the Council and was particularly successful in the establishment of Community houses at two great industrial centers, Acipco and Bessemer. In the first community, where the managers of the plant had established a model village with community house and all forms of Community life, the entire program of the Council of Defense was carried through, conservation of children, attention to health and recreation, with a very strong emphasis on food conservation. In the latter instance, a Community house established in the heart of the village of Bessemer concentrated on child welfare, food conservation, and war gardens.

### **Service in Various States**

Two women in Florida stand out as doing yeoman service under the work of the Women's Committee of the Council of Defense. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, who at Daytona, where her splendid school is situated, pushed forward the work of the Emergency Circle, Negro War Relief, and Miss Eartha White, the State Chairman of the Colored Woman's Section of the Council of Defense. Under her direction Florida was organized into excellent working units, with a particular concentration on a Mutual Protection League for Working Girls, who had taken up the unfamiliar work of elevator girls, bell girls in hotels, and chauffeurs. From this it was not far to a Union of Girls in Domestic Service, a by-product of war conditions that might well be continued in every city and hamlet in the country.

In Colorado, the women formed themselves into a Negro Women's Auxiliary War Council, a Negro Women's League for Service, and a Red Cross Auxiliary, all apparently working under the general management of the Council of Defense. In Georgia, the president of the Georgia State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Mrs. Alice Dugged Carey of Atlanta, reported organizations in Tallapoosa County, a community canning center in Bremen, Coweta and Cobb counties, with other organizations in every important

city. The Illinois women, organized into a Committee on Colored Women, worked in cooperation with the Urban League for training of Negro Women.

Delaware did not have a separate organization of the Council of Defense, but the race was represented on the State Committee, and through them work was carried on. Mrs. Blanche W. Stubbs, president of the City Federation of Christian Workers, represented the women, and through her efforts the usual classes in food conservation were established at the Thomas Garrett Settlement, while a baby-weighing station was established, and a public nurse appointed.

The work in Indiana was carried on by a separate division, largely directed by the State President of Colored Women's Clubs, Mrs. Gertrude B. Hill. Kentucky, with no special woman's division, specialized on the protection of girls. The best work done in Louisiana was in the conservation of children through the weighing and measuring of babies, and in the effective registration of the women and the conservation of food.

Maryland did some splendid and effective work under the direction of Miss Ida Cummings, the State Chairman of the Colored Women's Committee. Practically every phase of the inclusive program mapped out by the Council of Defense was carried through, and a public-speaking class at the Bowie Summer School was successful. Mississippi was organized by Miss Sallie Green, of Sardis, into eleven sections, corresponding with a similar organization among the white women, with good work done in child conservation at Jackson. Mrs. Victoria Clay Haley saw to it that Missouri did effective work. Colored women in North Carolina merged their war activities into one, and were most successful in training camp activities, the War Camp Community Service maintaining

an interesting work at Charlotte. In Portland, Oregon, the Rosebud Study Club, as was the case with so many clubs, turned its attention knitting and a practical study of food conservation. In Columbia, South Carolina, the Phyllis Wheatley Club opened a community center to be used as a clearing-house for war activities, welcoming all war organizations to work within its walls--Y. W. C. A., Red Cross, War Camp Community Service, and Council of Defence.

In Tennessee, Mrs. Cora Burke, of Knoxville had a successful

work; registration of nurses was particularly complete. The colored women of Nashville had a tag day to raise funds for their Branch Council of National Defense. Virginia concentrated on food conservation and the Children's Year, with most successful war gardens. A Colored Woman's Volunteer League was organized at Newark, New Jersey, as a branch of the Mayor's committee, of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, Mrs. Amorel Cook, president. This league established a canteen and specialized on making soldiers feel at home.

### **War Problems of Living**

The problems of living, made by the war, which were solved sometimes in whole, sometimes in part by the Woman's Committee of National Defense, were many and various. For instance there was the shifting of the percentage of women in the rural population particularly in the South, the same condition which was met in the North in industrial plants. The employment of women in the cotton fields was as great a problem in its way as the mass of girlhood in the Northern mills. This employment of the women could not but react upon the child, with a consequent lowering of child vitality and raising of infant mortality. It was this condition which the Council of Defense tried to meet, and to forestall the inevitable problems of reconstruction. Hence the establishment of stations where babies were weighed, measured, tested, and placed under weekly supervision with competent nurses in charge. Perhaps the various units did not always accomplish this end, but it was an ideal worth striving for.

### **The Lure of the Khaki**

One of the fundamental problems of the War--no new one but suddenly aggravated by the abnormal atmosphere and excitement accompanying the presence of large numbers of soldiers--was that of the relationship of the young girl and the soldier. What has been called the lure of the khaki is but an expression on the part of the girl of her admiration for the spirit of the men who are willing to give their lives, if need be, in the defense of their country. How to win this feeling into the right channels was one of the problems of the women in the war. It was met by two organizations, the Young Women's Christian Association, of which we have spoken, and the War Camp Community Service. It was the duty of the latter organization

to recreate home ties for enlisted men in cities adjacent to training camps.

It was in providing this home atmosphere that the War Camp Community Service was most successful. Entertainment was developed for the colored soldiers; concessions let for poolrooms, picture shows, canteens and cafeterias in connection with the work. But where the War Camp Community Service was most successful was in the chaperoned dances, given at the clubrooms. Here the lure of the khaki might find conventional self-expression. The largest of the Negro Community Service Clubs were in Des Moines, Iowa; Battle Creek, Michigan; Louisville, Kentucky; Chillicothe, Ohio; Charlotte, North Carolina; Petersburg and Newport News, Virginia; Washington, D. C.; Baltimore, Maryland; Atlanta, Georgia; Montgomery, Alabama; and Columbia, South Carolina.

This working together for a common purpose is resulting in building up a new community consciousness among our own people and in turning our thoughts to community projects of a permanent nature. Early in the war, work was started at Des Moines, Iowa. From that time, with the next two centers at Chattanooga, Tennessee, there were established in all sixty-six centers, located in Richmond, Newport News, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Petersburg and Peniman, Virginia; Nitro, West Virginia; Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Williamsport, Germantown, Pennsylvania; San Antonio, Houston and Fort Worth, Texas; St. Louis and Kansas City, Missouri; Washington, D. C.; Winston-



Salem and Charlotte, North Carolina; Youngstown, Dayton, Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio; St. Paul, Minnesota; Orange, Jersey City, Burlington and Montclair, New Jersey; Atlanta and Augusta, Georgia; Brooklyn and New York City; Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina; Detroit, Michigan; Indianapolis, Indiana; Little Rock, Arkansas; Louisville, Kentucky; Chicago, Illinois; with a special industrial worker at Chester, Pennsylvania, in the person of Mrs. Sarah Fernandis, of Baltimore, an experienced social worker.

### **The Circle for Negro War Relief**

Time and time again it was borne in upon the inner consciousness of the women of the race that though the various organizations for war relief were doing all that was humanly possible for the soldiers of both races, they were inadequate for all the needs of the Negro soldier and his family. There were avenues open for more

extensive relief; there were places as yet untouched by any organization; there were programs of direct War Relief and Constructive Relief work which needed to be carried out and some separate organization for this work was an imperative necessity. So the Circle for Negro War Relief came into existence in November, 1917. The leading spirit in this movement was Mrs. Emily Bigelow Hapgood the president, and associated around her were the best minds of the country, white and colored. The Circle was incorporated, and dedicated itself to the purpose of promoting the welfare of Negro soldiers and their dependent families as they might be affected by the emergencies of war.

The success this Circle was immediate and phenomenal. Within a few months, sixty units were formed, extending from New York to Utah, to the far South, throughout the East, and middle West. Each unit dedicated itself in its particular locality to the relief of some vital need either in the Community or in some nearby camp. For instance Ambulance Unit of N. Y. gave a two-thousand dollar ambulance to Camp Upton. Unit No. 29 in St. Helena, South Carolina, not only did the usual war knitting and letter writing, but during the influenza epidemic formed itself into a health committee in coöperation with the Red Cross.

It would be difficult to give a complete report of the work of all the units. It forms a voluminous mass of interesting and illuminating statistics. The activities of the Circle ranged from the making of comfort kits to the furnishing of chewing gum to the soldiers from the supplying of victrolas and records to the introduction of Theodore Roosevelt, Irvin Cobb and Needham Roberts at Carnegie Hall; from the giving of Christmas trees in Harlem to Southern dinners for the home-sick boys in Augusta, Georgia; from contributions of air-cushions from Altoona, Pennsylvania, to the issuing of educational pamphlets on the subject of the Negro soldier.

The Circle of Negro War Relief and the Crispus Attucks Circle organized in Philadelphia in March, 1918, constituted the nearer approach to a Red Cross or other organization of this character through which the colored people cooperated during the war. The Crispus Attucks Circle did for Philadelphia what the Circle of Negro War Relief did for New York. Its name fitly commemorated the first Negro who gave up his life to help make the world safe for democracy. The one great project to which it directed all its

energies was the attempted establishment in Philadelphia of a base hospital for Negro soldiers, in which Negro physicians and Negro nurses should care for their own.

It may be objected and is frequently a source of controversy that separate hospitals are non-essential. Idle and fallacious reasoning! They are needed in some places as schools, churches and social organizations are needed. A moot question, not to be thrashed out here; merely a remark in passing that the Crispus Attuck Circle a need, a vital need, and aimed to fill it. Certainly if every individual in the world saw the vital need in his own particular home circle or community and met that need with joyous service, there would be no more wars. This is what the women of the race have done since April, 1917.

As the Circle of Negro War Relief radiated its influence from New York City and the Crispus Attucks Circle concentrated its efforts in Philadelphia, so all over the United States various independent and private organizations for the relief of the soldier came into being. The Soldiers' Comfort Unit of the War Service Center opened headquarters on Massachusetts Avenue, Boston. It was one of the hundreds of similar organizations made up of women who instinctively got together to work for the great cause, and who, with a small beginning, found

themselves a part of a big work with possibilities only limited by the ability to meet them. In February, 1918, Mrs. H. C. Lewis called together a small group of women who in a Peek's time supplied an urgent need for knitted garments at Newport News. From this beginning, made with a dozen women, the unit grew into an organization of a hundred and seventy-seven women and eventually connected itself with the Circle of Negro War Relief.

In the first days the work was almost exclusively for the comfort of the soldiers, but before many months had passed the scope of organization had widened to a place of entertainment for the soldiers, visits to hospitals, visits to the nearby camp--Devens, with home-made pies and cakes; liberty sings on Sunday afternoons; lectures on social hygiene and special educational lectures; coöperation with Company L auxiliary, and with the Red Cross.

The officers of the Soldiers' Comfort Unit were; President, Miss M. L. Baldwin; first vice-president, Mrs. C. H. Garland; second vice-president, Mrs. Alary E. Rollins; recording secretary, Mrs.

Geo. W. Torbey; financial secretary, Mrs. Wm. L. Reed; treasurer, Mrs. C. Henry Robbins; executive secretary, Mrs. U. A. Ridley.

Executive Committee--Mrs. Lucy Lewis, Chairman; Mrs. Wm. J. Williams, Mrs. Maud Cuney Hare Mrs. Wm. Cromwell, Mrs. Geo. B. Lewis, Mrs. Amos Mason, Mrs. Alice Casneau, Mrs. Jas Hinton, Mrs. Agnes Adams. Chairman Red Cross, A. M. Gilbert; Chairman House Committee, Mrs. Geo. Drummond; Chairman Hospitality Committee, Mrs. Nellie Brown Mitchell.

After a year of work the Soldiers' Comfort Unit found itself facing a still larger field, the returning soldiers coming from scenes of horror and devastation with problems and needs. Like all of the war organizations of the women of the race, they found their work had only just begun.

### **Woman's Auxiliary of the 15th Regiment**

In the early days of the old Fifteenth New York Regiment, when colored men were volunteering as members of the military organization which was to become the first New York State Guard composed of colored men, it occurred to a thoughtful woman of the race, a New Yorker by birth, that earnest colored women banded together could be a potent factor in the life of the regiment.

The idea was carried out, and the Woman's Auxiliary, Fifteenth Regiment, was organized May 2, 1917, with one hundred members. It received its credentials from Colonel William Hayward, May 9. The first definite work undertaken was the investigation of the cases of men whose dependents claimed exemption for them. This was an important factor in the perfect recruiting of the regiment and won commendation from the commanding officer and his official staff.

It is the exclusive privilege of the colored people to adopt the slogan, No Color Line. It would seem a strange commentary on the magnanimity of the American people to note that those who are the first to adopt the policy of no discrimination are the ones against whom that discrimination is most often practiced. We have noted how in every instance where organizations of colored women have been formed for War Relief there is a definite policy of No Color Line. Now and then the fact was proclaimed publicly in sign or in motto, as in Boston and by the Josephine Gray Colored

Lady Knitters of Detroit, Michigan, who knitted for ail American soldiers regardless of race, color, or nationality.

### **Colored Women in the Loan Drives**

But not only in the definite work of relief, in knitting, sewing, care of dependents of soldiers or in the more spectacular forms of war work were the women engaged. The raising of the sinews of War was a problem which the United States faced. Every man, woman, and child in the country needed to be taxed to the utmost. How to make the giving a pleasing privilege rather than a doleful duty devolved upon the women of the country. Five

Liberty Loan drives, six Red Cross drives, the constant Thrift Stamp Drive, and a tremendous United War Camp Drive, wherein uncountable billions were spoken of airily, staggered the average mind both in prospect and retrospect. But Americans learned to think in big figures. Every one got the habit of saving; and the purse-strings of America were permanently opened for the relief of the needs of the nation and to aid needy peoples overseas.

This reaction on the national conscience is of inestimable value. Charity will never again be the perfunctory thing that it was before the Great War. Penury in giving will be frowned down upon as immoral. And this quickening of the national conscience, this loosening of the national purse, is due in no small measure to the fervor and zeal with which the women of the nation threw themselves into the campaigns for filling the war coffers.

As was to be expected, the colored women were foremost in all the financial campaigns. The National Association of Colored Women organized at the very beginning of the war to cooperate in every way with the Woman's Council of Defense. Mrs. Philip North Moore, President of the National Council of Women, says, No women worked harder than the women of the National Association of Colored Women.

Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, President of the National Association of Colored Women, which has a membership of a hundred thousand, is authority for the statement that in the Third Liberty Loan the colored women of the United States raised about five million dollars. Savannah, Georgia, alone raised a quarter of a million dollars. Poor colored women in a tobacco factory of Norfolk, Virginia, subscribed

ninety-one thousand dollars. Macon, Georgia, subscribed about twenty thousand.

The National War Savings Committee appointed colored women to conduct campaigns for the War Savings Committee. One of the most notable of these appointments by the Secretary of the Treasury was that of Mrs. Laura Brown, of Pittsburgh. She maintained an office from which whirlwind campaigns emanated, and set a standard of efficiency of organization not easily equaled.

### **War Work Among Negro Children**

One of the most effective ways of reaching the people of any community is through the children. Hence the work of the colored teachers in reaching the race through the children under their care, has been in the highest degree effectual. Throughout the South, in the middle Atlantic states in which there is a separate school system, in the Middle West, and in the Southwest; in public schools, in endowed institutions, in colleges--in short wherever colored teachers are employed to teach colored children, there was a constant and beneficial influence being exerted in the entire race through its children. This influence made for loyalty, patriotism unquestioning and devoted; and particularly did this influence raise the quota of the race's contribution to the National war chest. Colored schools taught by colored teachers sent in every community a pro rata to the Thrift Stamp, Bed Cross, United War Campaign, and Liberty Loans in considerable excess of the natural percentage. It would have been easy to have failed just here with the children; it was difficult in many communities to overcome the natural obstacles. But they were overcome. The amounts raised in all National drives through the colored women teachers working with their children, are a monumental credit to the women of the race.

### **The Negro Exodus of 1917-18**

Such a move as this was more important than appears on the face of the bald statement of the fact. In the Northern cities directly affected by the exodus of Southern Negroes in 1917 and 1918, a by-product of the war, there was suffering, intense and widespread, among the Negroes suddenly thrust into a climate and conditions for which their life in the South had given them no preparation. Some cities, notably Detroit, met the situation with a whole-hearted

desire on the part of the civic authorities to cope with the condition correctly and humanely. Other cities lamented the influx into their borders, and let the new population shift for itself as best it could, resulting in a pitiful increase of the death rate in pneumonia. The unprecedentedly hard winter of 1917-1918 was trying even to those inured to the rigors of a Northern winter. Some cities drove out the invaders, or made conditions so

uncomfortable that they drifted away, or suffered in silence. In other cases, notably Chester, Pennsylvania, the colored women of the city took the matter in their own hands, and saved as best they could the pitiful stragglers in their search for homes and work.

The tide of migration swept northward, and broke in a huge wave, beginning at Chester, Pennsylvania, in the East, St. Louis and East St. Louis in the Middle West, and Los Angeles in the West, the crest of the wave breaking in Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago. It was a situation which the war had inevitably brought about--the increase in munition plants and shipyards, with their need for more help, and consequent high wages; it was helped by nature--the bollweevil devastating the little which the Southern laborers owned in cotton-field and home; it was fostered by the growing unrest and bitterness due to lack of economic and educational opportunities and to injustice dealt at home. When the true history of the great Negro Exodus of 1917-1918 shall be written, it will prove as fascinating and as peculiar in its psychological ramifications as the story of the Exodus from Egypt.

Not the least interesting and splendid is the part played by the colored women in those cities where the crest of the wave broke. Hunger and privation, even in the face of the big wages paid by the huge war plants, stared the newcomers in the face, for there was not always work enough, and illness laid off many of those who had made places for themselves in the industrial elysium. The housing conditions, or rather the lack of them, constitute one of the blackest chapters in the history of the movement. Here is where the Christian fortitude and love of the colored women who lived in those cities shine forth resplendently. They gave up their own homes to the newcomers; they endured discomforts and inconveniences to help the women thus pitifully thrust into these adverse conditions; they taught the women from the South the art of coping with the northern

climate; they nursed them when the inevitable sickness broke out; they gave them warm clothing and taught them how to spend money to the best advantage in purchasing suitable clothes and proper food; they took women and children into their homes, and helped them in ways that only women understand how to help each other.

### **Maintaining the Negro Morale**

Rumors, many and various, of the disaffection of the Negro, of his lack of patriotism, of the influence upon him of so-called German propaganda, of the need of stimulating his patriotic fervor, swept through the country in the spring and summer of 1918. Just how much of this so-called propaganda was German, and how much American, and how much of it rumors which had their rise in hysterical fear, it is not given us to know. Why there was a loss of patriotic interest in certain localities was not hard to discover. Here and there studied indifference on the part of certain organizations toward the well-meant efforts of the colored women in attempting to help in war relief; labor conditions; the old, old stories of prejudice and growing bitterness in the labor situation; rumors of increased lynching activities--from all these a lukewarmness towards the conduct of the war had grown up in various cities. And it was here again that the women met a difficult problem and helped to solve it.

Again we look to the army of women teachers, and their subtle and pervasive influence over the youth of the race, and through children over their parents. It would be difficult to measure the service of these women in this particular direction.

Here and there, however, there was a more spectacular appeal made to the patriotic emotions of the race through pageants, demonstrations, or mass meetings. In some cases, the schools through school pageants and plays appealed directly to the patriotic emotions; plays written by Negro authors were staged, commencement exercises became rallying grounds of calls to the warmth of the race in its love for the nation.

### **Colored Women in War Industries**

War has a way of forcing expedients. From 1914 until November, 1918, the economic balance of the nation was sadly upset, first by the stopping of the tide of immigration from Europe, second by the exodus of the Negro to the North, third by the

drastic sweep of the draft law. The first opened the door of opportunity to the Negro laborer, the second depleted the fields of the South, the third plunged the colored woman pell-mell into the industrial world--an entirely new place for her.

For generations colored women have been working in the fields of the South. They have been the domestic servants of both the South and the North, accepting the positions of personal service open to them. Hard work and unpleasant work has been their lot, but they have been almost entirely excluded from our shops and factories. Tradition and race prejudice have played the largest part in their exclusion. The tardy development of the South and the failure of the colored woman to demand industrial opportunities have added further values. Clearly, also, two hundred years of slavery and fifty years of industrial boycott in both the North and the South, following the Civil War, have done little to encourage or to develop industrial aptitudes. For these reasons, the colored women have not entered the ranks of the industrial army in the past.

But war expediency, for a time at least, partially opened the door of industry to them. It was an experiment and like all experiments, it fell against problems, and those problems were met by the earnest consideration of several agencies. We have already spoken of the splendid work of this department of the Young Women's Christian Association, under the direction of Miss Mary E. Jackson of Providence, Rhode Island. In June, 1918, a joint committee was formed in New York to study the employment of colored women in that city and its environs. Serving on that committee were representatives from practically all the philanthropic organizations in the city, and the result of its labors through two investigators, Mrs. Gertrude McDougald (colored) and Miss Jesse Clarke (white), were given publicity in an interesting pamphlet, from which the above paragraph was quoted. It is a significant fact that the colored woman in industry in a short time had reached the point where she merited trained investigation.

Come out of the kitchen, Mary, was the slogan of the colored woman in war time. She doffed her cap and apron and donned her overalls. Some States, such as Maryland and Florida, specialized in courses in motor mechanics and automobile driving.

The munition factories took the girls in gladly. Grim statistics prove that their scale of wages was definitely lower than a man's doing the same work, and sad to say a considerable fraction below that of white girls in the same service, although Delaware reports some very high-priced, skilled ammunition testers, averaging seven to twelve dollars a day. The colored girls blossomed out as switch-board operators, stock takers, wrappers, elevator operators, subway porters, ticket choppers, track-walkers, trained signallers, yard-walkers. They went into every possible kind of factory devoted to the production of war materials, from the most dangerous posts in munition plants to the delicate sewing in aeroplane factories. Colored girls and colored women drove motor trucks, unloaded freight cars, dug ditches, handled hardware around ship-ways and hardware houses, packed boxes. They struggled with the discomforts of ice and fertilizing plants. They learned the delicate intricacies of all kinds of machines, and the colored woman running the elevator or speeding a railroad on its way by signals was a common sight.

Just what the effect of this marvelous influx of colored women into the industrial world would have upon the race was a problem viewed with considerable interest. Pessimists predicted a sociological and psychological upheaval in the ranks of the women of the race. A strange thing about it was that there was no perceptible racial disintegration and the colored women bore their changed status and higher economic independence with much more equanimity than white women on a corresponding scale of living. The reason for this may perhaps be found in the fact that the colored woman had a heritage of 300 years of work back of her. Her children were used to being left to shift for themselves; her home was used to being cared for after sundown. The careful supervision of the War Work Council and the Council of Defense over the health and hours of the woman in industry averted the cataclysm of lowered vitality and eventual unfitness for maternity.

The possible economic effect of this entrance into the unknown fields of industry on the part of the colored woman will be that when pre-war conditions return and she is displaced by men and is forced to make her way back into domestic service, the latter will be placed on a strictly business basis and the vocation of

housekeeping and home-making will be raised to the dignity of a profession.

We have touched lightly the Negro woman in the world war. Lightly perforce, because of her innate modesty and reticent carelessness in proclaiming her own good deeds. She emerges from the war more serious-minded, more responsible, with a higher opinion of her own economic importance; with a distinct and definite aim and ambition to devote her life to the furthering of the cause for which her men died on Flanders fields. She has served the Red Cross at home and begged to serve it abroad; she has probed to the depths the real meaning of the word Christianity; she has formed a second line of defense at home; she has learned the real value of community service, and what it means to give of her time, means, and smiles to the weary soldiers passing through her town; she has organized special circles of war relief on her own initiative, and given all that she could afford, from the homely apple and sandwich and cigarette to an ambulance for service overseas.

She has given regally, munificently of her little to help fill the national war chest, and when there was no more in her slender purse she has given her time and persuasiveness to induce others to follow her example. She has endowed and maintained Hostess Houses and helped support the wives and children of the men in service. When disaffection threatened, she fostered patriotism and overcame propaganda with simple splendid loyalty. She gave up ease and clear skies for the dangers and hardships of death-dealing labor. She shut her eyes to past wrongs and present discomforts and future uncertainties. She stood large-hearted, strong-handed, clear-minded, splendidly capable, and did, not her bit, but her best, and the world is better for her work and her worth.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Alice Dunbar Nelson". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long, sweeping tail on the final letter.