When we met a year ago the Susan B. Anthony Amendment had been ratified by naneteen states including our neighbors Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and New York.

Special sessions had been called in four other states. Complete ratification before November seemed certain but we knew that Connecticut might be needed to make up the full number and we knew that to bring Connecticut in would be hard work. We didn't knew quite what hard work it would be.

The object of the campaign before the Association was perfectly clear - it was to get a special session of the Connecticut legislature. The convention in Bridgeport adopted a resolution declaring that since the party in power in the state was the Republican party and since a small but powerful group in that party had been blocking suffrage, the immediate policy of the C.W.S.A should be to concentrate opposition against that small group. The Governor had been petitioned by 103,000 women of the State, and he had been petitioned by a majority of each party and of each house of the legislature, to call a special session. Some other means than those so far tried must be found to move the Governor.

As I look back over the year, the campaign, which never for a moment let up in its intensity, falls into four main divisions:— the fight for ratification by February; a period during which pressure was concentrated upon the Republican state central committee, and upon individuals whom we knew to be our busiest opponents in the state. Second, the campaign to present to the Governor proofs of an emergency justifying the calling of a special session. Third, following ratification by the 35th state, the campaign which had for its slogan "November, 1920". Fourth, after Tennessee's ratification, the campaign to get in Connecticut as the 37th state and to obtain the necoscary legislation to enable women to register and to vote.

The point of attack, it must be remembered, was necessarily the republican party. Indications were very strong that the party in power in Connecticut held independent views on the matter of suffrage from the national republican leaders. For on December 10 the National Committee recommended to Republican legislatures the ratification of the suffrage amendment and urged that special sessions be called in the states

that had not acted, so that ratification might be complete before February 1st.

With the republican state contral committee as the immediate objective, because it appeared to be the immediate obstacle, the association at once launched a campaign both within and without the state. It was necessary to have outside help, both for the sake of external pressure upon leading republicans within the state, for publicity in papers outside the state, and because the leading republicans here were thoroughly acquainted with suffrage arguments and with the Connecticut workers. It was felt that this question had become a sort of family affair between Republicans. And so the services of a group of Republican suffragists, the Phoenix Publicity Bureau of New York, were obtained, and three workers who were at the same time suffragists, republicans, publicists and trained interviewers came into Connecticut. They worked under the direction of the state association and under the advice and suggestions of our local leaders whose work they supplemented. They interviewed leading republican men throughout the state, gaining an insight into the situation and an understanding of the problem that faced us. Whenever possible they obtained the signatures of these men to two petitions - one addressed to the state central committee, urging the members to use their influence in obtaining a special session and the other to the Governor; and through their New York office they brought to bear personal influence of Republicans in their states. In the meantime a steady campaign of publicity was going forward. The state was circularized with fliers setting forth the fact that the eyes of the nation were upon Connecticut, and that national republican leaders such as Will Hays, Mr. Taft, Mr. Hughes, Senator Harding and General Wood all endorsed ratification by means of special session, Miss Hinaman was filling the papers in Connecticut with suffrage maps showing Connecticut linked with the solid south, while the Phoenix Bureau was placing news stories about Connecticut in the New York papers. The rest of the country began to know that Connecticut fuffragists intended to get the vote through the men of their own state.

In the meantime a Republican Men's Ratification Committee was organized, with Mr. Isaac M. Ullman as chairman, Mr. John T. Robinson as Secretary, and with a membership of loyal friends of suffrage. It met first on January 26 inxxx New Haven to discuss

the question of presenting the case for a special session of the legislature. Throughout the winter and spring the committee gave valuable help and advice to the Association.

But by now we had become far too well accustomed to refusals to take them very ceriously. Besides we were far too busy. The spring convention of the state republican party lay just ahead, and the association was laying the ground for the passage of a suffrage resolution by that convention. For, we argued, a suffrage resolution adepted by the national committee and a suffrage resolution passed by the state convention - elected representatives of the party - certainly must help to create the emergency which the governor awaits before calling the legislature into special session.

On Earch 23 the republican convention met in New Haven. We had had printed a legal opinion by Ex-Justice Hughes, and Before the convention met in Music Hall a copy of this opinion was on every seat. We went armed with a second bulletin published by the men's committee, in which leading lawyers of the state took issue on constitutional grounds with Governor Holcomb's latest refusal. Late in the evening we were admitted to the hearing before the resolutions committee, at which Miss Ludington, Mrs. Helena Hall Weed, Mr. Francis Cole and Mr. Charles Treadwey's presented the suffrage case.

After a very animated discussion the resolution was adopted by a vote of 25 to 8. On the following morning the convention, by the adoption of this resolution, respectfully requested the governor of the state to call a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of passing upon the amendment...In this way did the republican party in the state formally go on record.

Since November we had traveled a long way, in breaking down one by one, the opposition's defense. First the Governor had said: "The desire of a few women does not create an emergency." Then he had objected on the ground that suffrage was not an issue when the present legislature was elected - a statement easily refuted by current newspaper reports. On March 15th he had said that he could not change the state constitution otherwise than by the manner specified. Then on March 31st, that persistent appeals do not constitute proof of an emergency. And finally on April 10th, in reply to a letter of Colonel Ullman, the Governor stated that he was ready to receive proofs of an emergency.

The situation, then, at the beginning of May was this:- Early in March West Virginia had ratified quite as dramatically as Tennessee was later to ratify. You will remember that one lone vote in the Senate saved the day for West Virginia and that this vote had to be snatched from the waters of the Pacific Coast and rushed across the continent while the friends of suffrage worked night and day to keep the legislature in session. Washington also ratified on March 22nd making the 35th state, and leaving only one more to be gained. The only apparent possibilities were Vermont and Connecticut - both Republican states, possessing legislatures that stood ready and waiting to ratify. It was clearly the task of the Association, since the Governor had invited proofs, to supply him with proofs of a greater emergency than that of the state - the proof that there was a national emergency. In doing this the Association had an opportunity to put through a brilliant and unique piece of work. The National Association had offered to send into Connecticut z women representing every state in the Union, to join in a concentrated protest against the Governor's refusal to allow the Connecticut legislature to act and so to enfranchise the women of the entire nation. The wools of May 3d was set apart as "emergency week." At times previous to that week we at headquarters felt an emergency at least equal to that of the entire nation, I am sure. It was a gigantic undertaking to plan not only the meetings, but the motor corps, the train schedules, hospitality for each one of the constantly shifting groups, and to supply speakers from our own state for each of the meetings. It was only through the most wonderful cooperation on the part of the women of the state, and on the part of many members of the men's committee, who acted as chairmen and frequently as speakers, that the plan could have gone through so successfully. Its success was also in great part due to the organizing ability of Miss Hutt and her enthusiasm and her untiring work for weeks preceeding the event. Although Miss Hutt was called before emergency week opened, you saw her careful planning in every detail as bit by bit it worked out. And the publicity! Whenever one peered over the screen behind which Miss Hinaman carries on her mysterious deeds, one saw her shuffling photographs - photographs of

carries on her mysterious deeds, one saw her shuffling photographs - photographs of fair women, dark women, thin women and those not so thin. Forty-seven different women and each one with several different kinds of photographs and with at least one

By the end of January, 27 states had ratified, including Rhode Island - and four more states were in sight. Early in February the Republican State Central Committee was to meet, and plans were made for presenting at that time a petition of 478 names, representing men prominent in party affairs in nearly every community in the state. The petition called upon the Committee and its chairman, Mr. Roraback, to use their influence toward the calling of a special session of the legislature; it was presented by a member of the men's ratification committee - and as you know, was ignored.

news story to go with it. Each photograph to go to each of the cities where the individual represented was to speak. I leave this gigantic game of solitaire to your imagination. I am sure that you will saw the results.

You all, I imagine, heard the speakers, also, iso that you do not need to be reminded of the tremendous appeal they made to the audiences in the forty different towns they visited. Or of the luncheon held on their arrival, of of the final hearing before the Governor and the gay parade which preceded it and the mass meeting on the capitol grounds at which Mr. Robinson and Judge Ells of Waterbury spoke. In spite of the appeals made to the Governor by the women of suffrage states where suffrage had been a success, by the women from non-suffrage states whom he by permitting the legislature to meet, might enfranchise; by Republican women who cared for the honor of their party in fulfilling its pledges - still the Governor replied, "These arguments do not prove or tend to prove the existence of the special emergency mentioned in our state constitution, which is the only authority given the governor to call a special session."

There was growing resentment and indignation in the state - but technically we were as far from being voters in November 1920 as we had been in November 1870. Having or-hausted the methods previously tried the Association by a vote of the Executive Board June 3 adopted this logical development of policy - to oppose the Republican party in the state in the coming campaign, with the exception of these men who were the tried and true friends of suffrage and of those who would come out and fork for a special session. For the republican party in the state, while it adopted a resolution urging the governor to call the legislature together, at the same time returned to power the very men who had most bitterly opposed us and who were at that time standing in the way of a special session. We were confirmed in our analysis of the situation by the action of the Republican National Convention which a few days later at the instigation of the Connecticut delegates (so we were informed by the Hartserd Courant) took the teeth out of the suffrage plank, so that the national republican party was placed in the indignified in the suffrage plank, so that the national republican party was placed in the indignified in the suffrage plank, so that the national republican party was placed in the indignified in the suffrage plank, so that the national republican party was placed in the indignified in the suffrage plank, so that the national republican party was placed in the indignified in the suffrage plank, so that the national republican party was placed in the indignified in the suffrage plank, so that the national republican party was placed in the indignified where the suffrage amendment will ratify...."

In conjunction with this work, a sub-committee of the men's ratification committee was appointed to poll the legislature in readiness for any fresh development. A committee of Republican women with Mrs. Austin of Norwich as chairman, drew up a statement which came to be known as the "Mo vote, no money pledge" and which was signed throughout the state by Republican women who pledged themselves not to give money or to work for the Republican party until the thirty-sixth state should ratify.

In the midst of this summer campaign, news came that the legislature of Tennessee would be called in special session. Tennessee had constitutional limitations against the ratification of proposed amendment, which a decision of the Supreme Court on the liquor case had invalidated. But we were urged by the national leaders not for one moment to slacken our fight. It was known that all the forces that had opposed ratification in New Jersey and other states, and which had caused it to fail in Delaware would concentrate upon the last state. And this proved to be the case.

At this point the little northern state of Connecticut entered the fight for suffrage nationally. While pressure within the state continued, three Republican women, iss Mary Olcott, Mrs. James Stokes, and Mrs. W.H. Allee journeyed to Columbus, Ohio, in

order to place before members of the Republican Executive Committee exactly the feelings entertained by women of their own party who questioned the sincerity of that party in fulfilling its pledges to women. On August 7th over thirty members of this association led by Miss Ludington, interviewed the republican chairman, Will H. Hays, in New York, to inquire exactly what was being done to bring about ratification both in Connecticut and in Tennessee. I imagine that his later references to us were tinged with respect though possibly not with flattery. All through the long session in Tennessee, Connecticut women played their part in the struggle, bringing influence to bear both through Democratic and Republican channels.

You are familiar with this recent history and with the history of the special legislation passed by the Connecticut legislature. Those of us who were at the Capitol during the two memorable and humorous sessions all through which Miss Ludington worked with such determination to get the facilities for registering and voting to which the women were entitled, will never forget the moment when word went round that the legislature was going to ratify - and when that legislature was declared to be a law unto itself with full power and authority to act. The whole country knows that one special session wasn't last enough for Connecticut, and that being the/state she had to ratify three times to make it quite safe! The action of Connecticut, while it was superfluous, removed all doubt from even the most skeptical mind that ratification was complete. It was a satisfaction not only to the women, who were let in through the action of their cwn state, but to those members of the legislature who had worked loyally in the past to get us in.

Immediately upon the passage of the new legislation the membership of the Association launched the work of getting the necessary information about registration and voting before the women of the state. The citizenship lectures conducted by Mrs. Kitchelt, who would be worked as woman's forum eenducted by Miss Hinaman and published in Aumber of newspapers, and the town county leaders all shared in the work. In addition, headquarters were kept more than busy answering questions of inconceivable variety that came by mail, by telephone and by work of mouth.

At this time there arose questions of immediate policy which the executive board of the association felt that it could not act upon without a mandate from the association. V

On September 24th a business meeting was held in Hartford, to which delegates were sent by the leagues and by counties .- In addition, all members of the Association were urged to come and chare in the fullest discussion of the issues. The meeting was called in order to take a sized up the question among others of the relation of women to the parties, and of whether or not to take a stand on candidates. The prtion was the decision by a unanimous vote of the meeting that the Association should oppose the re-election of Senator Brandegee because of his 15-years' record in the Seapte, in which time he had opposed consistently the measures and the principles of human welfare for which women are peculiarly responsible. Certain members of the Association believing that loyalty to party was their first duty felt that they could not conscientiously follow this ac-The association always stood for freedom of minorities. It is not necessary to repeat the history of so recent a campaign. The result was that on November 2nd Senator Brandegee ran so far behind his ticket that he would probably have been defeated in any normal year. But that result is of mimor importance except for its demonstration that there is in the state a large group of men and wemen who, if their party's candidates do not measure up to what they believe to be a proper standard, will cast their votes against those candidates. That demonstration is bound to influence future nominations.

Finally, the Association demonstrated once more its adherence to principle - and when you are fighting for principle you can never be defeated, just as in the fight for suffrage we have never known defeat. None of our effort throughout the year has been wasted, because it has always been educational, both to ourselves and to our opponents, who have learned that women are a force to be counted with. Who can say what part of cur campaign brought us the vote by November, 1920? All we know is that if we had stopped, Connecticut would not have been the 37th, and Tennesses very possibly would not even have been the 36th.

I do not need to tell you, who have known Hiss Ludington longer that I, that it has been her leadership and her planning and her care even for the most wearisomedetails that ham but through this year's work. She know better than anyone I can think of how to make play out of work - with her it is a great game.

Now what has it all been for? I Do you think that Miss Ludington and that those who led in the work before her could have carried it on with such indominitable spirit only in order that women might go to the polls once a year and drop their ballots in a box?

Do you think they could have done it if they had not believed that women would use their votes to wipe out the injustices in the world— the injustices between man and man kekwaan maximum and between women and man — to lift intolerable burdens from motherhood and childhood?

Even if we wanted to, could we possibly escape the responsibility of victory?

Eiss Helen Todd of California has been selected as the speaker for the meeting to be held at cvening, February , under the suspices of the committee on Franchise League. Mrs. is chairman of the Committee on arrangements and announces that Mr. will act as Chairman of the meeting. Almission will be free and the public is cordially invited to attend.

Miss Todd is very well known throughout the wester part of the United States for her work along social and She is a graduate of the Kirkland School, Chicago, has done pos graduate work at the Universities of Chicago and Wisconsin and spen three years of study in Sweden, Paris and Berlin. On her return to America she became a member of the Faculty of Tome Institute, Maryland worked under Jane Addams at Hull House and was appointed state Factory Inspector of Illinois by Governor Deneen of Illinois. Returned to California in 1911 to campaign for suffrage, and was said to be the best "vote getter" in California. After the vote was won in California Miss. Todd became Chairman of the Civic Center of San Francisco, the largest woman's civic organization in California. She was offered the position of State Factory Inspector of California by Governor Johnson but declinel as she wished to devote her time to legislative work. It was through Miss Todd's efforts that the bill creating an industrial commission with nower to fix minimum wage rates for women was introd sed in the legislature of 1912, -- when it was passed and became a law, Mics Tall was also one of a committee of three largely responsible for the three years of suceconful ingistative work Miss Todd has come East to help the Fastern women by bringing the message of the success of the womens' vote in

Miss Helen Todd, who is to be the speaker on evening, is peculiarly well fitted to make an appeal on behalf of Votes for Women. She can tell not only how woman suffrage works, from her own experience in Caliornia, but she also can draw a vivid picture of the need of woman suffrage for working women of the country. Miss Todd is now a resident of California, and a voter in that state. But before she went to California, in response to a call for help in the campaign of 1911, when the women of that state won the right to vote, she was for five years State Factory Inspector in Illinois. Illinois is one of the great industrial states, and in Illinois as in Connecticut, there was then much need for protective laws and also for the proper enforcement of the laws that were on the statute book. While Miss Todd was Factory Inspector she gained an insight into the working conditions of women and children in Illinois that serves her well in regard to most of the other states in the Union, and every day she served in that capacity strengthened her conviction that women qught to possess political power and be able to protect themselves by means of their votes.

paration for suffrage work. For six years she was at Hull House,
closely associated with Miss Jane Addams, Miss Mary McDowell and the
other eminent Chicago women who have pioneered the way in settlement
work. It was after this long service in Illinois that she was called to
California; and all through the summer of 1911 she worked to the utmost
of her powers, speaking and campaigning for woman suffrage. After the
vote was won she was selected to organize the women into civic leagues,
in order that they might make effective use of their new tool. The
results of this part of Miss Todd's work are to be seen on the California.
Statute Book. In 1913 California put through the most remarkable pro-

gramme of legislation ever passed in one session by any state. Laws protecting women in their property rights, in their motherhood rights, and their human rights were passed along with better protective laws for women and child workers. The age of consent for girls was raised to 18, and commercialized vice was checked by the Red Light Injunction and attement law. Further legislation was passed in 1915, and in these two years California has forged ahead until it now ranks first among the states in regard to its legislation on behalf of the home, the mother, the children and the women workers. For much of this legislation was Todd is responsible and it is well worth while to hear a woman who has accomplished all these things.

#### DUDLEY FIELD MALONE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1918.

Speaker at the Parsons The ater This Afternoon.

Pudley Field Malone, champion of the national woman's party, with the chief apeaker at a meetir at the Parsons Theater this after noon at 3 octock. Mr. Malone will be remembered, resigned he position recently an collector of the port of New York because of hillnerence with President Wilson.

5 4 Not only does her being a woman voter and her experience in Child Labor and Women in Industry, which is contributed Markham said of Miss Todd's article on Child Labor in McClures' maga zine, that "It was one of the most valuable contributions ever made Bdnin but hay her work as State Factory Inspector, together with her settlerent experience, makes her a most vital and interesting speaker. the vote carry interest and convicting, study of Child Labor". Sulling and using knowledge of the

'She eagerly and frankly answers all questions asked regarding the vote in the West, and her lecture is one which all tho interested in modern subjects should hear.

Jon 10, 1918

Emplimed 1707, VOL (Service), Exposit

## WASON COMES OUT FOR SUFFRACE AMENDMENT

President Throws Support to Manuere on Eve of Vote in Rices—Advison Delogation to Vote in Paret As Act of Justice to Women of Country and World— Advocates of Amendment Predict Victory in Yote Today.

# ACTION COMES AS COMPLETE SURPRISE

Washington, Jan. 9.—President: Wilson, tonight threw his support to the federal amendment for woman suffrage

On the eve of a veta on suffrage in the House, twelve democratic in the House, twelve democratic interest of the House with word that many of their collection wanted advice from the head of their party as to the position they about take. There was a conference of forty minutes, the result of which was described in this statemant, dictated by the President himself, and made public by the delegation:—

President had not felt at ilberty to relaxable his advice to members to Congress in this imperiant matter but when we sought his advice, he way, frankly and carnetly advice, he way, frankly and carnetly advance us to vote for the amendment as an act or right and junice to the woman of the country and of the world.

"Suffe" See Victory.

In these few lines, suffrage champions saw certain victory where a few days ago, most of them privately were concoding defeat. A large majority of the republicans in the House have been counted upon to support the amendment and enough democrata are committed to assure a close year. With the weight of the President's influence to swing doubtful damocrata. Representative Raker, dhairman of the suffrage committee, gabiliastity predicted tonight that the necessary two-thirds would be expected by fifteen set treasty votes. Opponents of suffrage were claiming a safe margin against the amendment during the day, in spile of intimations from the suffrageist that a trump card yet was to be played. There were no format predictations from the opposents tonight, but a

Complete Surprise.
The news of the President's action same as a complete surprise to nearly averybody in the Capitol, though ome of the suffrage isaders have insted for a long time that the President was with them and would tell hybridy who saked him. Until news of a great surprise was a streament the President of the President

types the White finite tonight to sapain his present fixed. However, of Congress who, purisopated in the conference, however, and the Frederic told them he said believed that he proper and probetly way of Sealing with the alwanton was to permit such estate to take its own action, but in view of conditions now making in the United States and the rest diseased in the Tederal ampachases when but its of a freeril ampachases.

In emphasizing this view, he is said to have declared that the United leader as a leader in the great family of inties cannot discoverint from the front termity and campe, be contienary on any great world questionary on any great world questionary on the called a like of the collect asked of the have tall them he idd need in the complete the structure were a part of the complete the structure of all; that outrace were a paid and not a principle. He point of the collection of the feederal constitution and prescribes the qualifications of these sessitied in vote for

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Committee Surprise.
The news of the President's action save as a complete surprise to nearly averybody in the Capitel, though one of the suffrage leaders have installed to a long time that the President was with them and would tell highly who select alies. Until news the president was with them and would tell highly who select alies. Until news the president was with them and would tell highly who select alies. Until news the president was a lease of the president and the pre

Well maximized was northoused tripus the White House testical is aspain, his present stand. Mean her of Congress whee participated in the conference, however, mid the Free ident told them he sail believed that he proper and orderly way of feating with the question, was to permit each state to take its own; so tion, but is view of conditions now existing in the United States and the world generally he falt free to advise subsalation of a federal amendment to the states.

In emphasizing this view, he is not to have declared that the United States as a leafar in the great farmily of maless among dissercials it self-from the family and casses, he readenay on any great world declared. When he caller talked of the sale rights seem, the President is sale rights seem, the President is said to have told them he did not self-declared the significant at all; that seyfrage war a pointy and not a principle. He pointy do out that the cheeral countilistics and out that the desiral countilistics are declared and prescribes the qualifications of features and prescribes the qualification of these matters to vote for

All of the mannhers who want to the White House were demotrate and most of them, supporters of the measurement, but there were source incomment to the designation bund. Enker of Chifernia. Taylor of Chicada., Barshey, and Cashell of Encircles, Enydon of Arlana. Green and Jones of Tunns. Green and Jones of Tunns. Green and Jones of Tunns. Arves of Europe present of Arlana. Hayes of Ulah,

definition of the call such member lead and appeared on the citization in its second of the citization in its second of the president's and first would aid him in determining the question and that many other members were similarly situated.

The President in most to have replied that while he had felt it was not proper to send for members on a volunteer his advice, he was gize of the opportunity that the widt of the opportunity that the widt of the delegation gave him. He indicated that he had not felt at indexity to be beyond the party platform which

Representative Paylor spoke of the Ling of Beigning's advessor, of We had seeing to the Ling of Beigning's Advessor, of We had seeing to it and present was teated to it and present with the Everyon of Canada, who had businesses with the state of Canada, who had businesses with the complex was seeing to have woman pullyans.

Jun 10, 1918

### HARTFURD BAILY

(Continue)

train Advance American Women Suffrage Americation, and the President's attenues. Most of all de we appreciate he has extended at the suffrage at the suffrage at the time to the ward. The President's making to the world. The President's instantant is the under the suffrage quantum has been per make the most important between the most important between and country when it does reached and remains after with the suffrage quantum and remains after with the suffrage of the propriet of Camera and another propriet another propriet and another propriet another p

Miss Alice Fuel hear of the we man's party, who wish others served jail tentionces and wat we a hunge strike for so-calling relating of the White House in behalf of the

fication at the President's search for four years we have strives to securities support for the mineral amount for we know that this and perhaps it alone would income us success.

Vote The Actoring

on the Raker resolutes for submission of the Senas R. Asthony seasttutional amendment in the states, and der an arrestment to the states, and for an arrestment to end pureri delate at I values in the atterneou. A note probably will be reached early in the evenion.

### POPULAR IN PRANCI

On Alexander

President Wissen's address to Green and reached Paris, by ways of Econders, up to soon today. The Temper says it is awaising the arrival of the full taxt of President Wilson's declarations between one menting on his peace program, as a whole. Meanwhile, however, it may of the passage in the President address dealing with Alexa-Lowenheid "It is the first time the President of the United States has declared himself on the Alexa-Lovenheid inc. We had no doubts as to like wentings but we are presonated the minimals but we are presonated has allowed to place and the peakers of Alexan-Lovenheid he may true ground, in presenting he may true ground, in presenting he make the peakers of Alexan-Lovenheid for a second of the peakers and the first freeze and the second of the second of the peakers and the first freeze and the second of the second of the second of the first freeze and the second of the second of the first freeze and the second of the second of the first freeze and the second of the first freeze and the second of the first freeze and the fi

has been added to the so many noble and generous pages from the President's pen," and then analyses the address briefly.