

with a representative of Governor Coolidge, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch and Dudley Field Malone as speakers.

Colorado has raised over \$1,000. Mrs. Bertha Fowler, State chairman, is heading the finance committee, with Dr. Margaret Long and Mrs. Horton Pope assisting in Denver. Mrs. Verner Reed and Mrs. Frank Woodward, both of Denver, have each contributed \$500.

In lower California, the work is in charge of Miss Anne Murray, treasurer of the Los Angeles Committee, assisted by Mrs. Estelle Eylward.

Kentucky and Rhode Island promptly on the ratifica-

tion by their legislatures on January 6, began their work for the drive. Miss Paul spoke at a Providence meeting at the home of Mrs. Mary Nicholson, on the 20th, at which over a thousand was pledged. In Louisville, Miss Louise P. Jones, Miss Lila Rowell and Miss Sophie Hill Preston, are holding sales and appealing to people of the State through letters.

The Liberty Drive, in addition to the funds which it has brought into the suffrage treasury, has kept alive throughout the country the fact that the liberty of American women is not yet attained.

Has Ratification Been Easy?

RATIFICATION has not been easy. It has proved a long, taxing struggle with forces necessarily scattered, with no single point of attack. Women have been forced to overcome many kinds of opposition—opposition which embodied, not only new political elements, but old enemies, prejudices and antagonisms too readily thought dead. Every ratification with the exception of four has meant a campaign, in many cases prolonged and difficult, against either the governor, the legislature or both.

Even in states where women are already voters and where the politicians are supposedly best persuaded as to the value of women, the matter of their enfranchisement has not been considered "worth the expense" of a special session; the convenience of political groups desiring to avoid such local issues as school-code fights and food-control legislation has been held of "more concern" than the freedom of women; crops have been declared too important to leave for a day for the sake of giving votes to women. In other states anti-suffrage governors have deliberately refused to call into session legislatures which they knew held a majority desiring to do their share for the enfranchisement of women.

Before the vote was taken in the Senate on June 4, so soon in fact as it was assured, organizers of the Woman's Party were in the field assisting State chairmen and their committees to prepare for ratification. Alice Paul, on the day the vote was cast, was in the Middle West touring the country on behalf of prompt State action.

The First Month

In the first month after the passage of the amendment by Congress, nine States ratified, Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, Ohio, New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Texas.

The three states which ratified within a few hours of each other on June 10, Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan, fought for the honor of first place on the ratification rolls.

Michigan and Illinois, however, both required campaigns. The governor had already sent his message to the legislature when the amendment was passed, and at first refused to add suffrage to the questions which he had specified were to be considered.

Word that the Illinois vote was taken reached the Wisconsin legislature just thirty minutes before the measure was

brought up in that body, but still determined to be first, Wisconsin, within the hour that its vote was cast, dispatched a special messenger, David D. James, an ex-member of the legislature, and father of Miss Ada James, Wisconsin State chairman of the Woman's Party, to Washington to deposit the certified copy with the State Department.

Kansas, the first full suffrage State to act, set a new record on June 16. The members of its legislature, at their own suggestion, paid their expenses and met without salary in a special one-day session. New York was the second State to meet especially for this purpose, and then Texas, desiring to be the first Southern State to act, met in special session on June 28.

Difficulties South, West and East

Ratification by Texas was a special triumph for suffragists, and the result of a state-wide campaign led by Mrs. Clara Snell Wolf, state legislative chairman. The situation in the state was peculiarly difficult because of the fact that there had just been held a state referendum in which state suffrage was defeated.

Of all the victories of this month perhaps those most prized were Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, strongholds of anti-sentiment.

In Pennsylvania the situation at first seemed hopeless, but after a vigorous six weeks' campaign by Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, chairman of the ratification committee, who won the support of Governor Sproul and finally of Senator Penrose himself, the amendment was passed and on the day of the vote the legislative halls were decorated with the banners of the National Woman's Party.

In Massachusetts where most people did not believe ratification could be secured, a campaign pressed by Mrs. Agnes Morey, state chairman, in all parts of the state and interviews with all legislators secured a favorable vote.

At about this point women were forced to realize sharply the difficulties still between them and complete success. The full suffrage States of the far West which they had justly hoped would ratify with a promptness that would give momentum to the whole campaign, continued to hesitate, offer excuses, and in more than one case refused flatly to call the special sessions necessary.

In July only four states met in special session to ratify the amendment, Iowa on the second, Missouri on the third,

Arkansas on the twentieth and Montana on the thirtieth. August was the least productive of any month. Nebraska, which voted on the second, was the only state to act. More than a month of vigorous campaigning then elapsed before another success could be counted. On September 8, with suffrage flags decorating the State capitol, with bands playing and galleries cheering, Minnesota ratified the amendment in special session. On September 10, came New Hampshire. In both of these states campaigns had been launched the day the amendment passed Congress, and from that time forth the governors had been unceasingly besought to call special sessions. By the end of September, when Utah took favorable action in a legislative session convened for the purpose, only one State seal was lacking to have made ratification just half complete.

The Half Way Mark

The half mark was passed by the ratification on November 1, of California. In an exaggerated fashion, California is typical of all the more difficult States. The opposition encountered was opposition not to suffrage, but to a special session. The campaign began in June and lasted without interruption until November. Governor Stephens was unquestionably the stumbling block, and the storm centered about him. He was favored with miles of signed petitions, he was besieged with innumerable personal requests from influential individuals, he was attacked editorially and otherwise in the press the length of the big State, and yet this avalanche of public opinion appeared not to move him one inch from his chosen position. But in the end it did. It only meant each month a little harder work, a little stronger pressure, more newspaper publicity, larger and larger ratification committees, and ever-increasing insistence. The time came when the real desires of the State were so thoroughly organized that they could be no longer be ignored.

The governor did not want the session called because of other political issues which he did not wish raised. He could have called the session and limited it to suffrage, but he did not even want the public's attention called to these issues by their conspicuous omission. The task was then to penetrate to the men in the governor's immediate political circle, win them individually, make them see the necessity of California's action. And this took time and personal care. Meanwhile the political aspect of the continued opposition was thoroughly aired through a press campaign and widespread meetings. At last came capitulation. The governor asked other Western States to join California in making women "a Thanksgiving gift of ratification," and set the date for a special session. The California legislature, once convened, ratified the amendment unanimously. The triumphant California campaign was the work of Mrs. Genevieve Allen, state chairman of the Party, Mrs. William Kent, chairman of the California ratification committee, Miss Vivian Pierce, national organizer of the Woman's Party, and Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, national political chairman, and local members in all parts of the state.

The Maine ratification, which came on November 5, was uncertain up to the end, but there the opposition encountered was real anti-suffrage animus and disaster was avoided after a difficult fight by the narrow margin of two

votes. Supplementing the work of Mrs. Robert Whitehouse, state chairman, and her committee, Alice Paul, national chairman, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of the national executive committee, were on the ground to help stave off defeat. Resolutions were secured from the national political, labor and farmers' organizations to the legislators to offset the effect of local antisuffrage leaders in these movements. A statement issued by local labor leaders declaring state organization to be against ratification was finally withdrawn by the state president, who was forced to acknowledge the statement had been unauthorized by the federation.

Not until December were any more ratifications secured, when North Dakota, South Dakota and Colorado fell in line during the last month of the year. Colorado, like California, because of local political complications, required a prolonged campaign which was conducted by Mrs. Bertha Fowler, state chairman, Dr. Caroline Spencer, state secretary, and Dr. Margaret Long, Congressional District Chairman of the Woman's Party, and other members of the Colorado Committee, for many months before it was finally rewarded on December 12.

No one can be sure when it will come, but the ultimate success of the ratification campaign will mark another tribute to the patience, the insight and the energy of a nation of women wanting to be free.—Elizabeth Green Kalb.

Mexican Women to the Front

MEXICO is joining in the world movement of women toward freedom. A copy, recently received, of a woman's program of economic, social and political action, shows a vigorous and efficient plan of organization being applied throughout the country. The Consejo Feminista Mexicano, a national council designed to knit together the women of all states and stations into a firm, working unit for emancipation and reconstruction, is the instrument which is effecting this coordination. Its immediate aim is a National Woman's Congress—the outcome of its state by state organization—which will determine upon a platform and a permanent executive committee. Of its later aims, Senorita Elena Torres, general secretary of the council, writes to the chairman of the National Woman's Party of this country:

"As the movement is still young, we are anxious to put ourselves in contact with the woman's movements of other countries, and provide for international affiliations. We are confident that with a better understanding between women the difficulties that arise from time to time in international relations will be more easily resolved."

Their present program includes:

The economic emancipation of women, with the old, old slogans of "equal pay for equal work," hygienic conditions of labor, protective laws;

The social and educational emancipation of women, with equal opportunities for intellectual and physical development now denied them;

Political emancipation, which means, in Mexico, a recognition of the rights actually conceded by the constitution, a campaign of education among women.

Further plans go beyond into the fields of civic and national reform where woman's help is most needed.