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SIDE LIGHTS ON ILLINOIS SUFFRAGE HISTORY.

By Grace Wilbur Trout.

When we look back to the early fifties of the last century and contemplate the beginning of equal suffrage work in Illinois, we realize the marvelous change in public sentiment that has taken place since that time. A married woman in those days had no jurisdiction over her own children, she could not lay claim to her own wardrobe—about all that she could call her own in those days was her soul, and some man usually had a claim on that, although it had been solemnly declared during a previous century by a learned council of men that women really did possess souls.

The first local suffrage club in Illinois was organized over a half century ago in Earlville in the early sixties, and a few years later the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association was founded in Chicago (in 1869). It was founded the same year that the National American Woman Suffrage Association was organized, and with which it has always been affiliated.

The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association was organized by men as well as women. One of the early founders of the Association was Judge Charles B. Waite, who was appointed Associate Justice of Utah Territory by Abraham Lincoln. His wife, Mrs. Catherine Van Valkenberg-Waite, was also one of that first group that started the state suffrage movement in Illinois, and associated with them were a number of other eminent men and women. The work during those early years was slow, educational work, the Association patiently and persistently plodding forward toward its ultimate goal—full political freedom for the women of Illinois.

My first active participation in suffrage work was as President of the Chicago Political Equality League, to which office I was elected in May, 1910.
The first active work undertaken under my administration as League President was to secure permission to have a Suffrage Float in the Sane Fourth Parade to be held in Chicago. There was some hesitation on the part of the men's committee having this in charge as to whether an innovation of this kind would be proper. Finally however, permission was granted, with the understanding that we were to pay the committee $250.00 for the construction of the float. We had no funds in the treasury for this purpose, so money had to be raised—mostly by soliciting contributions from our friends and neighbors in Oak Park. It was difficult also to secure young ladies whose mothers would permit them to ride on a Suffrage Float. All obstacles were finally overcome and the Suffrage Float received more cheering in the procession than any other feature of the parade, with the single exception of the G. A. R. Veterans, with whom it shared equal honors. The Suffrage Float aroused interest in suffrage among people who had never before considered the question seriously.

While planning for the Suffrage Float, preparations were also being made for the first organized Suffrage Automobile Tour ever undertaken in Illinois. As League President I was asked by the State Board of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, to take charge of this experimental tour, which required about six weeks of preparatory work to insure its success.

I visited the newspaper offices and was fortunate in securing the co-operation of the press. The tour started on Monday, July 11th, and the Sunday edition of the Chicago Tribune the day before contained a full colored page of the women in the autos, and nearly a half page more of reading material about the tour. The Tribune sent two reporters along on the trip, who rode with us in our auto, one to report for the daily paper and one to report for the Sunday edition. Other Chicago newspapers, the Examiner, Record Herald, Post, and Journal, sent reporters by railroad and trolley, who joined us at our various stopping places.

Through the kindness of one of our Oak Park neighbors, Mr. Charles W. Stiger, the Winton Motor Company donated
the use of one of their finest seven passenger autos to carry us as far as Woodstock, furnishing also an expert chauffeur. There we were met by an equally fine Stoddard Dayton car which carried us to Naperville where Mr. Stiger's own car was waiting to take us back to Chicago. At the meetings during this week's tour, contributions were taken and enough money was raised to pay all expenses of the trip and a balance of over $100.00 was turned into the state treasury.

We spoke usually from the automobile, driving up into some square or stopping on a prominent street corner which had previously been advertised in the local papers and arranged for by the local committees in the various towns visited. It had been difficult, however, in many towns to secure women who were willing to serve on these local committees, the excuse usually given was that the people in their respective towns were not interested and did not care to hear about suffrage.

I selected as speakers for the tour, Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, who spoke on suffrage from the legal standpoint, Miss S. Grace Nicholes, a settlement worker, who spoke from the laboring woman's standpoint, and Ella S. Stewart, State President, who treated the subject from an international aspect. I made the opening address at each meeting, covering the subject in a general way, and introduced the speakers. I, in turn, was presented to the various crowds by some prominent local woman or man, and on several occasions by the mayor of the town.

The towns visited were: Evanston, Highland Park, Lake Forest, Waukegan, Grays Lake, McHenry, Woodstock, Marengo, Belvidere, Sycamore, DeKalb, Geneva, Elgin, Aurora, Naperville and Wheaton. In every one of these towns the local newspapers gave front page stories about the Suffrage Automobile Tour, which helped greatly in arousing interest. The following comments of the Chicago Tribune show the success of the trip: 'Suffragists' tour ends in triumph . . . With mud-bespattered 'Votes for Women' still flying, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, leader of the Suffrage automobile crusade, and her party of orators, returned late
yesterday afternoon. . . . Men and women cheered the suffragists all the way in from their last stop at Wheaton to the Fine Arts Building headquarters.” The success of this tour encouraged the Illinois Suffrage Association to go on with this new phase of suffrage work, and similar tours were conducted in other parts of the state.

The Chicago Political Equality League had been organized by the Chicago Woman’s Club in 1894, and in May, 1910, had only 143 members. We realized that for sixteen years work this was too slow a growth in membership to bring speedy success to the suffrage movement. As a consequence in the summer of 1910 a strenuous campaign for new members was instituted, and in the League Year Book published in the fall, we had added 245 new names, nearly trebling our membership.

The League had previously held its meetings in the rooms of the Chicago Woman’s Club, but in 1911 it had grown to such proportions that more spacious quarters were needed, and the Music Hall of the Fine Arts Building was secured as a meeting place. On account of the League’s increased activities it was voted at the annual meeting on May 6, 1911, to organize the Legislative, Propaganda, and Study Sections for the purpose of carrying on different phases of the work, and it was decided also to hold meetings four times a month instead of once as heretofore.

My term of office as League President expired in May, 1912, and through the splendid co-operation of the League members we had succeeded in raising our membership to over 1,000 members.

On October 2, 1912, at the State Convention held at Galesburg, Illinois, I was elected State President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. In addition to my League work I had been serving as a member of the State Board of this Association since October, 1910. Thus having had several years of strenuous experience in suffrage work I desired above all things to retire to private life, and in spite of the urging of many suffragists, would not have accepted the state presidency had it not been for the arguments advanced by one
of my sons. This son had been out in California during the 1911 suffrage campaign when the California women won their liberty. He had seen every vicious interest lined up against the women and had become convinced of the righteousness of the cause. He said to me: “Mother, you ought to be willing to do this work—to make any sacrifice if necessary. This is not a work simply for women, but for humanity,” and he added, “you can do a work that no one else can do.” He had that blind faith that sons always have in their mothers—and I listened to his advice.

This son, who had just reached his majority, had met with a severe accident some years before, from which we thought he had completely recovered, but just three weeks after my election an unexpected summons came to him and he passed on into that far country where the principles of equality and justice are forever established. So our work sometimes comes toward us out of the sunshine of life, sometimes it comes toward us out of life’s shadows, and all that we do is not only for those who are here, and those who are coming after us, but is in memory of those who have gone on before.

Immediately after my election to the presidency we realized the necessity of strengthening the organization work, for in spite of all of the previous organization work, there were many Senatorial districts in which there was no suffrage organization of any kind, and as the time was short, competent women were immediately appointed in such districts to see that their respective legislators were properly interviewed, and to be ready to have letters and telegrams sent to Springfield when called for.

All of this work was difficult to accomplish without funds. Our Board found the Association about $100.00 in debt, and immediate solicitation of the friends of suffrage was begun for the purpose of raising funds. After legislative work began, however, this work was of paramount importance and I had to call often upon Mr. Trout for funds with which to finance the Springfield campaign.

During the previous session of the Springfield Legislature (in 1911) I had accompanied Mrs. McCulloch, who had
been in charge there of the suffrage legislative work for over twenty years. At that time I was indignant at the way the suffrage committee was treated. Some men who had always believed in suffrage, were exceedingly kind, but no one regarded the matter as a serious legislative question which had the slightest possibility of becoming a law. Mr. Homer Tice had charge of the suffrage bill in 1911 in the House, and he said that in consequence he became so unpopular that every other bill he introduced in the Legislature during that session, was also killed. It certainly required moral courage for an Illinois Legislator to be an active suffragist at that time.

Having had this experience, as soon as I was elected to the presidency of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association I sent for Mrs. Elizabeth K. Booth of Glencoe, the newly elected Legislative Chairman, and we agreed upon a legislative policy. This included a campaign without special trains, special hearings, or spectacular activities of any kind at Springfield, as too much publicity during a legislative year is liable to arouse also the activity of every opponent. It was decided to initiate a quiet, educational campaign, and not to attack or criticise those opposed to suffrage, because the only possible way to succeed and secure sufficient votes to pass the measure was to convert some of these so-called "opponents" into friends. We agreed also that a card index, giving information about every member of the Legislature, should be compiled. This plan of procedure was submitted to the State Board at its regular meeting on November 8, 1912, and the plan of campaign as outlined was approved and adopted by the Board. The following women served on the State Board at this time:

**Officers:**

President......................Grace Wilbur Trout
First Vice-President..........Miss Jane Addams
Second Vice-President......Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen
Recording Secretary........Miss Virginia Brooks
Corresponding Secretary...Mrs. Bertram W. Sippy
Treasurer.....................Miss Jennie F. W. Johnson
Auditor.......................Mrs. J. W. McGraw
HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS:

Organization .................. Mrs. Mary R. Plummer
Press ......................... Miss Margaret Dobyne
Literature ..................... Dr. Anna E. Blount
Publicity ..................... Mrs. George S. Welles
Legislative .................... Mrs. Sherman M. Booth
Church ........................ Mrs. H. M. Brown
Lecture ........................ Miss S. Grace Nicholes
Industrial ..................... Miss Mary McDowell
Woman's Journal .............. Mrs. Lillian N. Brown

DIRECTORS:

Officers, Heads of Departments
Mrs. Elvira Downey  Mrs. Charles A. Webster
Mrs. Ella S. Stewart

On December 19th a suffrage mass meeting was held in Orchestra Hall in honor of the Board of Managers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association which at that time was holding a Board meeting in Chicago. The mass meeting was given especially in honor of Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, who had both been elected to the National Board at the National Convention held in November. Miss Addams and Mrs. Bowen were also respectively First and Second Vice-Presidents of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. As State President I presided over this meeting, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and other members of the National Board addressed the audience.

As soon as the Legislature convened in January, 1913, an immediate struggle developed over the speakership in the House. There was a long and bitter deadlock before William McKinley, a young Democrat from Chicago, was finally elected Speaker. Then another struggle ensued over who should represent Illinois in the United States Senate. During these weeks of turmoil little could be accomplished in the way of securing votes for the suffrage bill.

Before the Legislature had convened the Progressive party had made plans to introduce as a party measure a care-
fully drafted woman’s suffrage bill. Hearing about this Mrs. Booth and I at once consulted with the Progressive leaders and suggested that it would be far better to let the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association introduce this measure than to have it presented by any political party. The Progressives realized the force of this suggestion and finally very kindly agreed to let the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association take their carefully drafted bill and have it introduced as an absolutely non-partisan measure.

In the meantime, on February 10th, Mrs. Booth as Legislative Chairman, was sent to Springfield to study the plats and learn to recognize and call by name each member of the Legislature. Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch—who had declined to serve as Legislative Chairman this year on account of family duties—volunteered on this occasion to accompany Mrs. Booth to Springfield. As this was Mrs. Booth’s first trip no action had as yet been taken to introduce the Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill which had been drafted by the Progressives and which we were to introduce. Mrs. McCulloch, however, took with her a suffrage bill which she had drafted and which she insisted upon having introduced without one word being changed, which was done. It contained however, in its second section, no blanket clause, but specifically named the officers for whom women should be allowed to vote, instead of being worded like the Progressive draft which said: "Women shall be allowed to vote at such elections for all offices and upon all questions and propositions submitted to a vote of the electors, except where the Constitution provides as a qualification that the elector shall be a male citizen of the United States." Mrs. Booth being inexperienced in legislative work, and as Mrs. McCulloch was a lawyer, she believed this bill to be regular in form and to cover the subject fully. When Mrs. Booth returned and reported what had been done we were all very much distressed that the plan agreed upon with the Progressives had not been carried out and their bill introduced. In the interests of harmony, and out of deference to Mrs. McCulloch’s long years of service as Legislative Chairman, and some of us not being
so well versed in constitutional law then as we became later, the matter was allowed to stand.

We having failed to introduce the form of bill agreed upon with the Progressives, they proceeded to introduce their bill in both the House and Senate. This complicated matters and made confusion but finally the Progressives in order to help the suffrage cause, very graciously withdrew their bill. Medill McCormick, one of the leading Progressives in the Legislature, helped greatly in straightening out this tangle. He was our faithful ally and rendered invaluable service during the entire session. Other Progressives in the House who also rendered important service were: John M. Curran and Emil N. Zolla, both of Chicago, J. H. Jayne of Monmouth, Charles H. Carmon of Forrest and Fayette S. Munro of Highland Park.

While the State Legislative work was being taken care of at Springfield we did everything possible to co-operate with the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its national work. On March 3rd, the day preceding President Wilson's first inauguration at Washington, suffragists of the various states were called to come to the National Capital and take part in a suffrage parade. I was very proud to conduct 83 Illinois women to Washington. We left Chicago by special train on March 1, 1913, and were extended every courtesy by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. An elaborate banquet was served on the train including fresh strawberries, and every other delicacy, at only $1.00 a plate, and special maids were provided to wait upon the suffragists.

This Washington parade and the brutal treatment accorded the women along the line of march aroused the indignation of the whole nation and converted many men to the suffrage cause. It was openly asserted that if law-abiding women, who had been given an official permit to have the parade, could be so ill treated on the streets of the National Capital, it was time that the legal status of women was changed and women accorded the respect to which every loyal American citizen is entitled. The police claimed they could not control the jeering mob, who spat upon the women and
roughly handled many of them, but the next day the Inauguration Parade down the same streets was a manifestation of perfect law and order and was in marked contrast to the disgraceful procedure of the day before. The Illinois women wore a uniform regalia of cap and baldric and were headed by a large band led by Mrs. George S. Welles as Drum Major. We had a woman outrider, a young Mrs. Stewart recently converted to the cause, who on a spirited horse helped keep back the mob from our group. I led, carrying an American flag, and our Illinois banner, too heavy for a woman, was carried by Mr. Royal N. Allen, an ardent suffragist and one of the railroad officials, who had our special suffrage train in charge. Our women had been drilled to march and keep time, and the discipline manifested seemed to affect the hoodlums and our women were treated with more respect than the majority of the marchers. In fact, the newspapers particularly commended the order and system manifested by the Illinois Division.

On March 10th I went to Springfield to consult with Governor Edward F. Dunne, and secure if possible, his support of the Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill. He agreed to support this statutory suffrage bill if we would promise not to introduce a suffrage measure which provided for a constitutional amendment, as but one constitutional amendment (according to Illinois law) could be introduced during a legislative session, and this if introduced, would interfere with the Initiative and Referendum Constitutional Amendment upon which the Administration was concentrating its efforts. We assured the Governor that we would not introduce a resolution for a constitutional suffrage amendment because we knew we had no chance to pass such a resolution and we also wished not to interfere with the Administration's legislative plans. I remained in Springfield during the rest of the week to size up the legislative situation.

The next week I went again to Springfield to attend the meeting of the Senate Committee to which our suffrage bill had been referred. Senator W. Duff Piercy was Chairman and had offered to arrange a suffrage hearing if we wished it.
As we ascertained that a majority on this Committee were friendly it seemed wiser not to arouse antagonism by having public discussion on the suffrage question at this time, so there was no hearing.

During the next two weeks I spent my time in visiting the districts having Legislators not as yet converted to the suffrage cause. Mass meetings were held in some towns and arranged for in many others.

The first week of April the Mississippi Valley Conference of Suffragists was held at St. Louis and it seemed imperative for me to attend. This large gathering of suffragists would have been helpful to our legislative work in Springfield if a prominent Illinois suffragist in her speech at the Conference, had not attacked the lawyers in the Illinois Legislature, saying they were either crooks or failures in their profession, or words to that effect. As there were many lawyers in both the House and Senate whose votes we had to secure in order to pass the suffrage measure, such attacks were most unfortunate and made the work exceedingly difficult.

Another shock was in store for us, for on April 2nd, at the request of a well-known suffragist, a resolution providing for a constitutional amendment was introduced. It had been thoroughly explained to her that this was against the wishes of the Governor and would be construed as a breach of faith on our part, especially as she had been identified for so many years with the suffrage legislative work. It was hard for the Legislators and for the Governor to realize that any suffragist, not a member of the lobby, nor a member of the State Board, would proceed entirely on her own judgment. At our State Board meeting held on April 8th Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, our First Vice-President, introduced a resolution which was afterwards sent to Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, asking her, in the interest of the equal suffrage movement in Illinois, to have this resolution withdrawn. It was not withdrawn, however, but was afterwards killed in Committee.

The work at Springfield became more and more difficult and at times it seemed hopeless. No politician believed that
we had the slightest chance to pass the suffrage measure. On April 7th I began attending the sessions of the Legislature regularly.

During all of our work at Springfield we had splendid co-operation from the press. Nearly every week end when we returned to Chicago I made it a point to see one or more managers of the newspapers and explain to them the difficulties we were encountering, and asked them to publish an editorial that would be helpful to the situation. By not appealing too often to any one newspaper helpful articles were kept coming along in some newspaper nearly every week. We had these various newspapers containing suffrage propaganda folded so that the editorial (blue penciled) came on the outside. They were then placed on each Legislator’s desk by a boy engaged for that purpose. These editorials were a surprise to the representatives of these various Chicago newspapers who were at Springfield, for it seemed best to make it appear that these editorials were spontaneous expressions of sentiment. I remember one of the Legislators, unfriendly to suffrage, who had tried a little parliamentary trick which was indirectly referred to in an editorial, growling about those Chicago newspapers that attend to everybody’s business but their own. He even complained to the Springfield representative of the newspaper, who of course declared his innocence, because he knew nothing about it.

The Springfield papers also became exceedingly friendly and published suffrage articles and editorials when we asked for them.

Among the Chicago newspaper men whom I remember with special gratitude at this time were: Mr. Keeley and Mr. Beck of the Tribune, Mr. Chamberlain of the Record Herald, Mr. Eastman and Mr. Finnegan of the Journal, Mr. Andrew Lawrence and Mr. Victor Polachek of the Examiner, Mr. Curley of the American, Mr. Shafer and Mr. Mason of the Post and Mr. Frank Armstrong of the Daily News.

We were deeply indebted at this time for the help given us by Mr. Andrew J. Redmond, a Chicago lawyer and Grand Commander of the Knights Templar. I remember one in-
stance in particular when much pressure was being brought to bear on Governor Dunne to prejudice him against the suffrage bill—I wished Mr. Redmond, who was a personal friend of the Governor, to go down to Springfield and help counteract this harmful influence. Mr. Redmond was a next door neighbor of ours in Oak Park, and he had an important law suit on that week, and in talking the matter over with Mr. Trout we both decided it would be imposing upon the kindness of a friend to ask him to leave his business and go at that time. Mrs. Redmond, however, called me up by phone to ask how things were going. She and her husband were both deeply interested in having us win the fight. I told her the facts but told her I was not going to ask Mr. Redmond, much as we needed him, to go down the coming week on account of his business. When Mr. Trout took me to the Springfield train, where I met Mrs. Booth, there on the platform with his grip in hand, stood Mr. Redmond. My husband said at once "why, I thought you were not going to ask him to go this week." I explained that I hadn't, but told about my conversation with Mrs. Redmond, and of course if his wife wished to interfere with his business and send him to Springfield, I was not responsible. Mr. Redmond not only called upon the Governor, but saw several down state Legislators whom he knew well, and through his influence several very important votes were secured.

I discovered at Springfield that we had just four classes of Legislators—"wets" and "drys" and "dry-wets" and "wet-drys." The "dry-wets" were men who voted for the wet measures but never drank, themselves. The "wet-drys" were those who voted for dry measures but imbibed freely themselves. The "drys" warned us not to trust a single "wet" and the "wets" on the other hand counseled us to take no stock in those hypocritical "drys." As the measure could not be passed without "wet" votes, our scheme of education necessarily had to include "wets" as well as "drys."

I well remember of asking a certain "wet" Legislator from a foreign section in Chicago if he would vote for the suffrage bill. He looked surprised and said, "Don't you think the women would vote out all of the saloons?" I answered
that I hoped so. He seemed dumfounded by such frankness and sort of gasped, "yet you ask me, a 'wet,' to vote for the bill?" I then explained as best I could, that I supposed all honest "wets" as well as "drys" felt the same way about the saloons, that while we might differ on how to settle the temperance question, still we all really hoped that those places where men wasted their money and where boys and girls were frequently lured to destruction, were done away with. He looked a little dazed and said nothing. I of course thought we had lost his vote, and was happily surprised the next morning when this same man came to me with a very sober face and said: "I thought and thought about what you said all night, and I guess you are right—you can count my vote," and he kept his word.

The Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill was introduced in the House by Representative Charles L. Scott (Dem.) and in the Senate by Senator Hugh S. Magill (Rep.). It was decided however, to let the suffrage bill lie quiescent in the House and secure its passage first through the Senate.

After nearly three months of strenuous effort the bill finally passed the Senate on May 7th by a vote of 29 yeas (3 more than the required majority) to 15 nays.

It is doubtful whether we could have secured this favorable action had it not been for the good judgment and diplomacy of Senator Hugh S. Magill, who had charge of the bill in the Senate. We also had the assistance on each and every occasion of the Democratic Lieutenant Governor, Barratt O'Hara, and among other Senators who helped and who deserve mention were: Martin B. Bailey, Albert C. Clark, Michael H. Cleary, William A. Compton, Edward C. Curtis, Samuel A. Ettelson, Logan Hay, George W. Harris, Walter Clyde Jones, Kent E. Keller, Walter I. Manny and W. Duff Piercy.

The day the bill passed the Senate I left Springfield immediately to address a suffrage meeting to be held in Galesburg that evening, and the next day went to Monmouth where another meeting was held. In both of these towns there was a member of the House who was marked on the card index as
"doubtful." Both of these Legislators however, afterwards through the influence of their respective constituents voted for the suffrage measure. We soon discovered that there was no class of people for whom a politician had so tender and respectful a regard as for his voting constituents.

After I left Springfield that week Mrs. Booth remained to see that the Suffrage Measure got safely over to the House. In the meantime there was a mix-up and the suffrage bill was taken by mistake directly to the Committee on Elections without first being recommended to that Committee by the Speaker of the House. There was an immediate outcry on the part of the opponents of the measure at such irregular procedure. It was very amusing to find that other Senate bills had been put through in this way and no objections had been raised, but it aroused fierce indignation with the suffrage bill, for the men at Springfield said there had never been such opposition to any other bill.

When I returned to Springfield the following week after this mistake had been made, I learned a lesson about the inadvisability of talking on elevators. I was on an elevator at the Capitol when some of our legislative opponents, who were in a facetious mood, got on, and one of them remarked, with a sidelong glance at me, "How surprised some folks will be later on," and laughed so jubilantly as I got off the elevator that it made me thoughtful. After some meditation I decided that there was an intention to put the suffrage bill into the wrong Committee, and this surmise was afterwards proven correct. We wished it to go into the Elections Committee, where we had already ascertained we had sufficient votes to get it out with a favorable recommendation, however, if it was ordered into the Judiciary Committee, it would fall into the hands of the enemy and be killed forever. We worked into the small hours of the night carefully making our plans for the next day. In the meantime James A. Watson, one of our faithful friends and Chairman of the Elections Committee, had returned the suffrage bill to Speaker McKinley, and arrangements were made so that the Speaker could properly turn it over to the Elections Committee. When the morn-
ing session opened the bill was ordered to the Elections Committee before our opponents realized their little plot had been frustrated. We were not surprised, but they were.

It is doubtful whether we could have secured this favorable action without the powerful assistance of David E. Shanahan. The latter on account of being from a foreign district in Chicago, felt he could not vote for the suffrage bill, but he gave us the benefit of his wise counsel. In fact to overcome the pitfalls, which surround the passage of every bill upon which there is a violent difference of opinion, I appealed to the enemies of the measure to give the women of Illinois a square deal. On account of his great influence with other members I especially appealed to Mr. Lee O'Neil Browne, a powerful Democratic leader and one of the best parliamentarians in the House. Mr. Browne had always opposed suffrage legislation but he finally consented to let the bill, so far as he was concerned, come up to Third Reading, so that it could come out in the open and be voted up or down on its merits, stating frankly that he would try to defeat the bill on the floor of the House. It was this spirit of fair play among the opponents of the measure as well as the loyalty of its friends, that afterwards made possible the great victory of 1913.

During this time Mrs. Booth and I worked alone at Springfield, but now we sent for Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Chicago, who had been an active worker in the Progressive Party, to come to Springfield and she arrived on May 13th. Mrs. Funk was a lawyer, and her legal experience made her services at this time very valuable. A week later, on May 20th, Mrs. Medill McCormick, with her new baby girl, moved from Chicago to Springfield and we immediately enlisted her services. Mrs. McCormick, as the daughter of the late Mark Hanna, had inherited much of her father's keen interest in politics and she was a welcome and most valuable addition to our forces.

The suffrage bill was called up for Second Reading on June 3rd. There was a most desperate attempt at this time to amend, and if possible kill the measure, but it finally passed
on to Third Reading without any changes—just as it had come over from the Senate. During this period we found that we were being shadowed by detectives, and we were on our guard constantly and never talked over any plans when we were in any public place.

The hope of the opposition now was to influence Speaker McKinley and prevent the bill from coming up, and let it die, as so many bills do die, on Third Reading. Sometimes bills come up that many Legislators do not favor but to preserve their good records they feel obliged to vote for, then afterwards these Legislators appeal to the Speaker of the House and ask him to save them by preventing it from ever coming to a final vote. If he is adroit, this can be done without the people as a whole knowing what has happened to some of their favorite measures. Mr. Edward D. Shurtleff said this was done session after session when he was Speaker of the House by the men who had promised to vote for the suffrage bill but never wanted it under any circumstances to pass. The young Speaker of the House looked worn and haggard during these trying days—he told me he had not been allowed to sleep for many nights—that hundreds of men from Chicago and from other parts of Illinois had come down and begged him to never let the suffrage bill come up for the final vote, and threatened him with political oblivion if he did. He implored me to let him know if there was any suffrage sentiment in Illinois.

I immediately telephoned to Chicago to Margaret Dobyne, our faithful Press Chairman, to send the call out for help all over the State, asking for telegrams and letters to be sent at once to Speaker McKinley asking him to bring up the suffrage measure and have it voted upon. She called in Jennie F. W. Johnson, the State Treasurer, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, and other members of the Board and secured the assistance of Mrs. Judith W. Loewenthal, Mrs. Charles L. Nagely, Mrs. L. Brackett Bishop and other active suffragists to help in this work, and wherever possible they reached nearby towns by telephone.
In the meantime I also phoned Mrs. Harriette Taylor Treadwell, President of the Chicago Political Equality League, to have Speaker McKinley called up by phone and interviewed when he returned to Chicago that week, and to also have letters and telegrams waiting for him when he returned to Springfield. She organized the novel, and now famous, telephone brigade, by means of which Speaker McKinley was called up every 15 minutes by leading men as well as women, both at his home and at his office from early Saturday morning until Monday evening, the days he spent in Chicago. His mother, whom we entertained at a luncheon after the bill had passed, said that it was simply one continuous ring at their house and that someone had to sit right by the phone to answer the calls. Mrs. Treadwell was ably assisted in this work by Mrs. James W. Morrison, President of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. Jeane Wallace Butler, a well known manufacturer and exporter, who appealed to business women, Mrs. Edward L. Stillman, an active suffragist in the Rogers Park Woman's Club, Miss Florence King, President of the Woman’s Association of Commerce, Miss Mary Miller, President of Chicago Human Rights Association, Mrs. Charlotte Rhodus, President of the Woman’s Party of Cook County, Miss Belle Squire, President of the No-Vote No-Tax League, and others.

When the Speaker reached Springfield Tuesday morning there were thousands of letters and telegrams waiting for him from every section of Illinois. He needed no further proof that there was suffrage sentiment in Illinois, and acted accordingly. He announced that the suffrage bill would be brought up for the final vote on June 11th. We immediately got busy. We divided up our friends among the Legislators and each man was personally interviewed by either Mrs. Booth, Mrs. Funk, Mrs. McCormick, or myself.

As soon as the bill had passed the Senate we had realized that with 153 members in the House, we would need help in rounding up the “votes,” so we immediately selected sixteen House members whom we appointed as Captains, each Captain was given so many men to look after and see that these men were in their seats whenever the suffrage bill came up

The latter part of the week before the bill was to be voted upon I sent telegrams to every man who had promised to vote for the bill in the House, asking him to be present if possible on Tuesday morning as the suffrage bill was to be voted upon Wednesday, June 11th, and we would feel safer to have our friends on hand early.

When the morning of June 11th came there was suppressed excitement at the Capitol. The Captains previously requested to be on hand were there rounding up their men and reporting if any were missing. We immediately called up those who were not there, and if necessary, sent a cab after them, which we had engaged for the day to be ready for any emergency. There was one young man who was especially efficient in the telephone booth so we engaged him to stay at his post all day, so that we could secure quick telephone service when needed.

We all wanted to be in the gallery where we could see that last dramatic struggle, but it seemed to me wiser to have the entrance of the House guarded to prevent any friendly Legislators from leaving during roll call, and to prevent any of our opponents from violating the law and entering the House during the session. The husky door-keeper, who was opposed to suffrage, could not be counted upon to keep out anti-suffrage lobbyists if they desired to enter, consequently I took up my post near the House door, which was the only entrance left open that day, and was furnished a chair by the man who conducted a cigar stand near the entrance. Mrs. Booth and Mrs. McCormick sat in the gallery and checked off the votes, and Mrs. Funk carried messages and instructions and kept me advised of the developments in the House. Shortly after the session opened the before mentioned door-
keeper came and very brusquely ordered me to go to the gallery. Around the rotunda rail lounged a number of our opponents, so I said I preferred to remain where I was. He scowled his disapproval, and presently returned and said that one of the House members who was an active opponent of our measure, said if I did not go to the gallery at once he would introduce and pass a resolution forcing me to do so. I answered politely saying that of course the member was privileged to introduce any resolution he desired, but in the meantime I would remain where I was. The men around the rotunda rail were watching the whole procedure and when I still remained in spite of this warning they regarded me with unfriendly eyes. There was a lawyer among them who longed to get inside that day, but he did not like, even with the backing of a friendly door-keeper, to violate the law—that forbade any lobbyist to enter the House after the session had convened—in my presence. The door-keeper in reporting the incident afterwards said “I did not dare touch her and march her up into the gallery where she belonged.” As a matter of fact any citizen of Illinois had a legal right to be where I was, if he so desired. In the meantime several friends becoming tired with the long discussions and frequent roll calls, started to leave, but I persuaded them in the interest of a great cause, to return. So while I could only hear the sound of voices and from Mrs. Funk’s reports get some idea of the fight that was raging inside, I was glad that I had remained as guardian of the door, for the main all-important object after all was to pass the bill.

During this time a House member came rushing out and said “We have lost.” I immediately sent the boy, whom we had engaged for this purpose, for Mrs. Funk and told her I knew there was a mistake for we had the votes and no men had left the House. Shortly afterwards there was a deafening roar and several men rushed out and exclaimed “We have won. The bill has passed.” I remember of turning my face to the wall and shedding a few quiet tears and when I looked around there were about ten men who were all surreptitiously wiping their eyes. The Presidential and Municipal
Suffrage Bill passed the House by the following vote: Yeas 83 (6 more than the required majority) to Nays 58.

It was a great victory. It was claimed there was plenty of money at Springfield—a million dollars or more—ready to be used to defeat the law, but not one Illinois Legislator could be influenced to break his word. The bill was passed through the co-operation and voting together of men from all political parties, men of different religious faiths, and it was dramatic on the floor of the House to have the fight for our bill led by Edward D. Shurtleff, at that time leader of the "wets" and George H. Wilson, leader of the "drys." It was clearly demonstrated that we may as a people, differ on questions of creed, and honestly differ on questions of policy—these differences of opinion are after all, purely matters of birth and environment—but there are great fundamental principles of right which touch human happiness and human life upon which we all stand together.

In fact the men who voted for the suffrage bill at Springfield had become convinced that the suffrage bill was basic in its nature and stood back of, and took precedence over all other measures for philanthropy and reform. They realized also that no state would even be approaching permanent better conditions with a fundamental wrong at the core of its Government, and that "in a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—"people" could be interpreted only as meaning women as well as men.

The Illinois Legislators in voting for the suffrage measure made themselves forever great—they gave Illinois a place in history no other State can ever fill, for Illinois was the first State east of the Mississippi and the first State even bordering the great father of waters, to break down the conservatism of the great Middle West and give suffrage to its women. It was claimed that there had been no event since the Civil War of such far reaching national significance as the passage of the suffrage bill in Illinois. This seemed like a prophecy, for since that time Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, said that New York women never could have won their great suffrage
victory in 1917 if Illinois had not first opened the door in 1913, and the winning of suffrage in New York so added to the political strength of the suffrage movement in Congress that it made possible the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in 1919, so the work in Illinois was fundamental and as vitally important to the women of the whole nation as it was to the women of Illinois.

We were especially grateful when we had secured the vote of Mr. Edward D. Shurtleff, always before opposed to suffrage. He had been for years Speaker of the House, and was acknowledged to be one of the most astute and ablest men in Springfield. We went to him frequently for counsel, and his practical knowledge of legislative procedure tided us over many difficulties.

Charles L. Scott, who introduced the bill in the House, deserves especial mention. Mr. Scott was liked by all of the Legislators and he refused to introduce any other bills during this session so that he could be free to devote all of his time and energy in working for the passage of the suffrage bill. Other men who helped, and some of whom stood out against strong pressure of our opponents, were: John A. Atwood, Joseph C. Blaha, Randolph Boyd, Lucas I. Butts, Thomas Campbell, Franklin S. Callin, John M. Curran, Israel Dudgeon, Thomas H. Hollister, John Houston, F. E. J. Lloyd, Thomas E. Lyon, William R. McCabe, Frank J. Ryan, James A. Watson, and others.

Immediately after the passage of the suffrage bill terrific pressure was brought to bear on Governor Dunne to get him if possible to veto the measure. Our opponents tried to get Attorney General Patrick J. Lucey, to declare the law unconstitutional. We were given great assistance at this time by Hiram Gilbert, a constitutional lawyer—a prominent Democrat and powerful with the Administration, who declared the suffrage law was constitutional.

We gave a banquet in the name of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, to the Illinois Legislators and their wives, at the Leland Hotel on June 13th, and I remember at that
time some of the lobby objected to inviting those who had voted against the measure, but this would have been bad policy and it was finally decided that all must be invited, opponents as well as friends, and telegrams were sent to suffragists throughout the State, urging them to be present, and many came. I asked Mrs. McCormick to take charge of this banquet, which was a brilliant success. She had printed a roll of honor which we asked all of the men who had voted for the suffrage bill to sign. Governor Dunne was given an ovation when he entered the banquet hall and he also signed the roll of honor.

Immediately after the banquet Mrs. McCormick was sent to Chicago to secure favorable opinions from able lawyers on the constitutionality of the suffrage bill. These opinions she forwarded to me and I delivered them personally to the Governor. Mr. William L. O’Connell, a personal friend of Governor Dunne, and a prominent Chicago Democrat was in Springfield at this time and helped to counteract the work being done by the enemies of suffrage. Margaret Haley was also in Springfield and made many calls upon the Governor at this time, urging him to sign the suffrage bill. The Governor stood out against all opposition and signed the suffrage bill on June 26th, and by so doing earned the everlasting gratitude of every man and woman in Illinois who stands for human liberty. After the bill was signed the good news was telegraphed all over the State and by previous arrangement flags were raised simultaneously all over Illinois.

As there had been no time during this strenuous period to raise funds, when we returned to Chicago we found the State Treasury empty although the entire cost of the Springfield campaign, which lasted for over six months and included railroad fare for the lobbyists to and from Springfield, innumerable telegrams, and long distance telephone calls, postage, stationery, printing, stenographic help, hotel bills and incidentals, was only $1,567.26. We therefore very gratefully accepted the offer of the Chicago Examiner to publish a suffrage edition of that paper, and netted as a result, about $15,000, for the suffrage cause, which included over $4,000 which
we paid out to local organizations that had secured advertisements for the paper on a commission basis, as well as several thousand dollars worth of furniture with which we beautifully furnished the new suffrage headquarters which were rented that fall in the Tower Building, Chicago.

I was again elected President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association at the Convention held in Peoria in October, 1913.

The enemies of suffrage were beginning to attack the constitutionality of the bill simultaneously in different towns throughout the State, and finally suit was brought against the Election Commissioners of Chicago which involved the constitutionality of the suffrage law. We secured as our counsel John J. Herrick, a recognized authority on constitutional law, and Judge Charles S. Cutting. These two men by agreement with the Election Commissioners took charge of the fight. They consulted, however, with Mr. Charles H. Mitchell, their regular counsel as well as with Judge Willard McEwen whom the Commissioners engaged as special counsel on the case. They also entered into counsel with Judge Isaiah T. Greenacre, regular counsel for the Teachers' Federation and Joel F. Longnecker, a young lawyer active in the Progressive Party, both of whom donated their services. There was a hot fight in the Supreme Court which lasted for many months, the case being carried over from one term of the Supreme Court to the next without being decided.

During this time it was vitally necessary to demonstrate public sentiment by getting as many women as possible to vote at the municipal elections in April, so Civic Leagues were organized in every city ward. Splendid work was done by Mrs. Ida Darling Engelke, Ward Chairman for the Chicago Political Equality League, and all of the city work was directed by Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, Chairman of organization work for the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. They called upon all other organizations to help, and as a result over 200,000 women registered in Chicago alone, and thousands more down state.
On May 2nd of this year (1914) we held the first large suffrage parade ever given in Chicago. Governor Edward F. Dunne with Carter H. Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, reviewed the procession and over 15,000 women marched down Michigan Boulevard with hundreds of thousands of people lining both sides of the way for over a mile and a half.

The General Federation was also going to hold its Biennial Convention in Chicago in June and we realized, with our suffrage bill hanging in the balance in the Supreme Court, that it was most important to secure the passage of a suffrage resolution by the Federation.

I was appointed by the State Board to look after this work, and through the help of local suffragists as well as through the co-operation of the General Federation Board we succeeded in securing the adoption of a suffrage resolution on June 13th, and by an extraordinary coincidence on this same day the Supreme Court of Illinois pronounced the suffrage law constitutional. A banquet had already been planned by the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association for that evening to be held in the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel in honor of the General Federation. All of these events came at an opportune moment and this great banquet became historic in its significance and was transformed into a banquet of thanksgiving where over a thousand women gave expression to their joy over these two great victories. This banquet was ably managed by Mrs. George A. Soden, assisted by Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, Mrs. Charles A. Nagely, Mrs. Judith W. Loewenthal, Mrs. Albert H. Schweizer, as well as many others.

It was demonstrated that all of these events had changed public sentiment in regard to the suffrage question. Congress was in session this summer and Congressmen were unable to fill their Chautauqua dates and I was asked to make suffrage speeches at fifty Chautauquas covering nine states, filling dates for a Democrat, the Honorable Champ Clark and for a Republican, Senator Robert LaFollette, and afterwards filled dates for William Jennings Bryan.
The State Equal Suffrage Convention was held in Chicago in 1914 and I was again re-elected President.

When the Legislature convened in January, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, the newly elected Legislative Chairman, and I went to Springfield and attended every session of the Legislature from January until it closed in June. A resolution was introduced to repeal the suffrage law and several measures were introduced to amend the law to give the women the right to vote for some minor offices. We were advised by our lawyers to never amend the law, because to do so would involve the whole question and bring on a fresh fight in the Supreme Court in regard to the constitutionality of the law. We employed all the tactics used in 1913 and finally succeeded in killing the repeal resolution in Committee and the other bills during various stages of their progress. The Illinois suffragists fully realized the importance of preserving intact the Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill passed by the Illinois Legislature in 1913, because it was the first bill of the kind ever passed in the United States, and established the precedent which enabled many other states afterwards to pass similar bills and the Presidential and Municipal Suffrage Bill is called in other states "The Illinois Law." We were assisted greatly during this session by Mr. Randolph Boyd in the House and Senators Richard Barr and Edward Curtis in the Senate, and by Harriet Stokes Thompson, President of the Chicago Political Equality League, who rendered invaluable assistance by helping to counteract the wrong kind of propaganda that was being carried on at this time and which was most detrimental to our work at Springfield. It was hard for some women, even suffragists, who did not understand the political situation and the dangers that threatened the suffrage law, to comprehend why the suffrage law could not be amended any time, if by so doing, they could secure the right to vote for even one more minor office. They did not realize that in grasping for more we would be imperiling all.

In the fall of 1915 I positively declined the presidency and Mrs. Harrison Monroe Brown of Peoria was elected President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, and I went to our home in Florida for a much needed rest.
I returned the following spring in time to raise some money for the depleted treasury of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, and to help a little in what is now known as the famous "rainy day suffrage parade" which was held while the National Republican Convention was in session in Chicago in June, 1916. On this memorable occasion 5,000 women marched through the pouring rain over a mile down Michigan Boulevard and from there to the Coliseum where the National Republican Convention was being held. I was one of a committee of four representing every section of the country whom Mrs. Catt selected to address the Platform Committee of which Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts was Chairman, and request that an equal suffrage plank be incorporated into the National Platform of the Republican Party. Just as we finished our plea the rain drenched marchers made a dramatic climax by marching into the Coliseum where the hearing was being held, and in spite of the opposition of Senator Lodge, a full suffrage plank was put in the National Platform of the Republican Party. Among the women who assisted in organizing this parade were: Mrs. James Morrison, Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, Mrs. Harriette Taylor Treadwell, Miss Dora Earle, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, Mrs. Edward L. Stewart, Mrs. Charles E. Nagely, Mrs. Judith Weil Loewenthal, Mrs. George A. Soden and other members of the State Board.

As there was much important legislative work to be done at the next session of the Legislature I was persuaded to again accept the presidency of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. There were delegates present at this Convention from every section of Illinois, and after a thorough discussion the suffrage policy of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association for the ensuing year was adopted. The consensus of opinion was that owing to the iron bound Constitution of Illinois next to impossible to amend, the only practical way to secure full suffrage for Illinois women by state action was through the medium of a new Constitution.

The Citizens' Association, composed of some of the leading men of Chicago and of the State, had been working to
secure a new Constitution for over thirty years. They sent Mr. Shelby M. Singleton, Secretary of the Association, to consult with us about the work to be done at Springfield, and asked us to take charge of the legislative work, as they said our Association was the only Association in the State powerful enough and which all men trusted, to secure its adoption.

Mrs. McGraw and I went to Springfield at the beginning of the 1916 session, and after a struggle that lasted over 10 weeks the Constitutional Convention Resolution was finally passed. It would have been impossible to have passed the resolution without the powerful support of Governor Lowden, Lieutenant Governor Oglesby, Attorney General Brundage, and other State officers as well as Senator Edward Curtis in the Senate and Randolph Boyd in the House who rendered especially efficient service, and at the last moment Roger Sullivan of Chicago threw his powerful influence in favor of the resolution.

While this work was going on Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, who disagreed with the policy of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, organized what she called the "Suffrage Amendment Alliance" and sent lobbyists to Springfield to work for a direct suffrage amendment to the Constitution. She had such an amendment introduced and it was defeated in the Senate where it received only 6 votes and in the House it was defeated by a vote of 100 Nays to 18 Yeas. This action showed moral courage on the part of the Legislators because many of those who voted against the measure had been the loyal, valiant friends of suffrage for years. They believed as we all believed—that a suffrage amendment, under the difficult-to-be-amended Constitution of Illinois, would be doomed to certain defeat if submitted to the men voters of the State, and furthermore that a resolution calling for a Constitutional Convention had already passed and would adequately take care of the suffrage question. In urging Mrs. McCulloch to withdraw this amendment, Governor Lowden and other prominent suffragists pointed out to her that the defeat of the suffrage amendment at the polls would mean that a suffrage article would not be incorporated in a new
Constitution, for the members of the Constitutional Convention would feel dubious about incorporating an article in a new Constitution that had just been defeated at the polls.

After the close of the Legislature the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association realized that a state wide campaign of education would have to be instituted at once to insure a favorable vote at the polls, so the Woman’s Emergency League was formed to raise a fund sufficient to establish educational centers in every one of the 102 counties in Illinois. Just as all plans were laid for this campaign the United States entered the great world war, and immediately we women were thrust into the rush of war work. I was appointed a member of the Executive Committee of the Woman’s Committee of the State Council of National Defense, and every member of our Board was immediately busy with Liberty Loan, Red Cross and other war work.

While doing our war work we went on with the work of the Woman’s Emergency League. Held over a thousand meetings that summer, arousing the people to a realization that they must manifest not only national patriotism but State patriotism by voting for a new Constitution in Illinois. On account of the numerous Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives we raised only about $15,000 but the educational work carried on this summer was an important factor in later on winning success at the polls. The money raised helped us to publish large quantities of literature and to send many speakers out into the State.

Among the women who rendered valuable service in the Woman’s Emergency League were: Mrs. George A. Soden, First Vice-President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, who rendered most efficient service as its Treasurer; Mrs. Stella S. Jannotta, President of the Chicago Political Equality League; Mrs. Albert Schweizer, Mrs. George S. Haskell, Mrs. Julius Loeb, Mrs. Lyman A. Walton, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, Mrs. Charles E. Nagely, Mrs. Judith W. Loewenthal, Mrs. Mable Gilmore Reinecke, Mrs. Harriet Stokes Thompson, Mrs. Anna Wallace Hunt, Mrs. Jeane Wallace Butler, Miss Nellie Carlin, Mrs. Thomas McClelland, Mrs. Edward L.
Stewart, Mrs. Samuel Slade of Highland Park, Mrs. Charles Wilmot and Mrs. Louis E. Yager, both of Oak Park, Miss Catherine K. Porter of Freeport, Mrs. Blanche B. West of Bushnell, Mrs. Mary E. Sykes of Monmouth, Mrs. E. B. Cool-ley of Danville, Mrs. O. P. Bourland of Pontiac, Mrs. William Aleshire of Plymouth, Dr. Lucy Waite of Parkridge, Mrs. Mary B. Busey of Urbana, Mrs. E. B. Griffin of Grant Park, Dr. M. D. Brown of DeKalb, Mrs. George Thomas Palmer of Springfield and Mrs. Elizabeth Murray Shepherd of Elgin.

During this period of strenuous activity another attack was made by the liquor interests on the constitutionality of the suffrage law, and the case brought before the Supreme Court. We engaged Mr. James G. Skinner, an able lawyer who had acted as Assistant Corporation Counsel under a previous city administration. He prepared an elaborate brief covering all disputed points and won the case, and the woman's suffrage law was again pronounced constitutional in December, 1917.

At the State Convention held in Danville I was again re-elected President. The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association now had organizations in every Senatorial and Congressional district with an affiliated membership of over 200,000 women.

After this election I was soon called to Washington by Mrs. Catt to work for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and spent many months in Washington during this year. I was very fortunate while there to have a personal interview with President Wilson which lasted for fifty-five minutes and added my plea to all of the other pleas that had been made, urging him to personally address the Senate on the question of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In the meantime Mrs. J. W. McGraw ably directed the educational and organization work of the Association. We were working to secure the adoption of the Constitutional Convention Resolution at the polls and Mrs. McGraw secured the co-operation of Mrs. Reed, Legislative Chairman of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, and they together ap-
pointed two women in each Congressional district to organize the educational work in their respective districts.

During this time Mrs. McGraw and I prepared and published a leaflet entitled ‘Why Illinois Needs a New Constitution’ which was widely circulated among men’s as well as women’s organizations.

In the spring of 1918 Governor Lowden appointed Judge Orrin N. Carter of the Supreme Court as Chairman of a state wide committee that worked in co-operation with the state wide committee of women we had already appointed.

In 1918 the State Equal Suffrage Convention was held in the latter part of October in Chicago and I was re-elected President. This Convention was planned as a climax to the 10 day whirlwind campaign for the Constitutional Convention Resolution that was being held throughout the State. A feature of this campaign was the Constitutional Convention Tag Day. This tag day did not include the payment of any money for the privilege of being tagged, and consequently was a pleasant surprise to the people. Each man was given a tag who promised to vote for the Constitutional Convention Resolution. Mrs. Albert H. Schweizer was in charge of the Tag Day in Chicago, as well as the rest of the city campaign.

As a result of all of this labor the Constitutional Convention Resolution was passed at the general election on November 4th. Total vote cast 975,545. In favor of Constitution 562,012. Majority of all votes cast at the election for a new Constitution 74,239.

In 1919 the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were elected and it convened at Springfield in January, 1920. One of its first acts was to adopt an article giving full suffrage to Illinois women to be incorporated in the new Constitution.

I was again called to Washington in the early part of 1919 to help round up votes for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. When it finally passed the Senate in June, 1919, word
was telegraphed to me while I was in Peoria where I had gone to address the State Convention of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs. Wild enthusiasm prevailed among the women when they learned the news. I was literally showered with peonies from the banquet tables and the women acted as though it was a suffrage jubilee convention.

Mrs. McGraw and I now immediately hurried to Springfield where we had already made arrangements for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and the Illinois Legislature ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment on June 10th. The vote in the Senate was as follows: Ayes 46, and no votes against the measure. The vote in the House was ayes 135, nays 3.

A minor mistake was made in the first certified resolution sent from the Secretary of State's office at Washington to the Governor of Illinois. To prevent the possibility of any legal quibbling, Governor Lowden telegraphed the Secretary of State at Washington to send on at once a corrected certified copy of the resolution. This was done and the ratification was reaffirmed by the Illinois Legislature on June 17th, the vote in the Senate then being: Ayes 49, nays none, and the vote in the House was ayes 134, nays 4.

Owing to a misunderstanding of the facts in the case for a short time there was some controversy as to whether Illinois was entitled to first place as being the first state to ratify the Federal amendment. An exhaustive study of the case was made by Attorney General Brundage and a brief prepared showing that the mistake in the first certified papers did not affect the legality of the ratification on June 10th, as the mistake was made in copying the introductory resolution, and not in the law itself. The opinion of the Attorney General was afterwards accepted by the Secretary of State's office at Washington. So Illinois, the first State east of the Mississippi to grant suffrage to its women, was also the first State to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In celebration of this great Illinois victory a Jubilee Banquet was held on June 24th at the Hotel LaSalle. I presided
over the banquet and the guests of honor were Governor and Mrs. Lowden. Among the speakers were the leading suffragists of the State as well as the Governor, Lieutenant Governor Oglesby, and prominent members of the State Legislature.

In October, 1919, the State Equal Suffrage Convention was held in Chicago and I was re-elected President for the seventh time. Women were present from every section of Illinois. It was voted at this Convention to continue the work for the speedy ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and if this failed to succeed in 1920, to work for a full suffrage article in the new Illinois Constitution when it was submitted to the men voters of the State.

At the National Convention held in St. Louis the early part of 1919 I had invited, in the name of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, the National American Woman Suffrage Association to hold its next Annual Convention in Chicago. This invitation was accepted and the National Convention was to convene in February, 1920. Immediately after the State Convention, plans were formulated by our State Board to take care of this Convention. We called together representatives of the Chicago Political Equality League, Chicago Equal Suffrage Association, Seventh Ward Auxiliary of the State Association, The Evanston Political Equality League, The Federation of Chicago Women’s Clubs, The North End Woman’s Club, Chicago Woman’s Club, The Oak Park Suffrage Club and other local organizations. I was elected Chairman and Mrs. McGraw Vice-Chairman of the Committee having this Convention in charge. Different organizations were appointed to take charge of different days of the Convention and different phases of the work. In addition to the work necessary for the preparation of the Convention proper, there were also five Conferences to be held of the different departments of the League of Woman Voters which had been tentatively organized at St. Louis the year before. We engaged the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel for the General Convention Hall and the Elizabethan Room was engaged also for the entire Convention, as well as many other rooms to be used for committee meetings, press and conference rooms.
Mrs. McGraw watched every detail and rendered especially valuable service. The Chairman of the Finance Committee, Mrs. Samuel Slade, also deserves especial mention, for she, with the help of her Committee raised the funds with which to defray all expenses of the Convention.

The ratification by the States of the Federal Suffrage Amendment was progressing so rapidly that this Convention was called the "Jubilee Convention," and the National American Woman Suffrage Association having practically completed its work—the full enfranchisement of the women of the United States—disbanded, and its members united with the League of Woman Voters formerly organized at this Convention. In the meantime it was voted that the Board of Directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association remain intact until the thirty-sixth state should ratify.

The Convention was said to be the most brilliant Convention ever held in the history of the national association. Prominent women from every section of the United States were present and I was gratified to have the hotel management of the Congress Hotel, which is made the headquarters for so many conventions, tell me it was the best managed and most orderly convention ever held in their hotel.

The Convention was held in February and Mrs. Catt hoped we would secure the thirty-sixth state within a month, but anti-suffrage forces were active and the ratification was delayed. In April she telegraphed me that a campaign was to be launched in Connecticut where every state was to be represented, and she wished me to represent Illinois; the object of this campaign being to persuade if possible, the Connecticut Governor to call a special session for the purpose of ratifying the suffrage amendment, which in spite of this demonstration of national sentiment, he refused to do.

As it was being used as an anti-suffrage argument that the women in many suffrage states failed to exercise their full franchise rights it seemed best on my return from Connecticut to call a Board meeting at once and make preparations for a state wide campaign among Illinois women and get as many
of them as possible to go to the polls in November and participate in the Presidential election. An "Every woman at the polls Committee" was organized for the purpose and women were appointed in the down state towns and cities to take care of the work in their various localities and a large committee was organized in Chicago. I was elected Chairman of the state wide committee, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, State Vice-Chairman, and Mrs. Albert H. Schweizer, a member of the State Board was appointed Chicago Chairman. The Chicago Political Equality League and the Woman's City Club took an active part in this campaign and the club rooms of the latter were selected as the headquarters of the Chicago Committee and the State headquarters of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association for the Executive Committee rooms. This work was all preparatory to a final drive which was to immediately precede the fall election.

In the midst of the summer, on August 18th, the joyful news came that Tennessee was the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association immediately sent out a call for its State Convention to be held in September in Chicago. At this Convention the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, its work finished and Illinois women now free, disbanded, and its members formed the Illinois League of Women Voters, affiliated with the National League of Women Voters and prepared to go on with the great patriotic work of arousing women to a realization that it is as vitally important to vote for one's country as it is to fight for one's country.*

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*The records of the Illinois Equal Suffrage League have been deposited in the State Historical Library at Springfield.