

LET THEM --- --- PASS!

An Open Letter to United States Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., from W. S. Wright, of Buffalo, N. Y.,
on the Woman Suffrage Federal Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

The Unveiling of Truth
That The Brutal Facts
May Talk!

A Shrill Call for the
Energy and Influence
of Its Friends. No
Time to Falter, or to
Flinch!

Notable, Ringing Epigrams on the Constitutional Rights between the Federal and State Governments.

A Challenge And A
Pledge.

Let there be a mighty, patriotic DRIVE in the United States Senate that will electrify America by the size of the vote FOR the Amendment, and that will ring round the world with its Message to Mankind that Democracy, long delayed, has been splendidly vindicated.

Each United States Senator, members of the House of Representatives, and other officials, public men, and prominent people, the press, periodicals supplied with this booklet with a personal letter, and with a large circulation among the public.



W. S. WRIGHT

No party spirit should be felt in this serious, patriotic, rescuing achievement of giving women what belongs to them. Why not give to others what is theirs?

A pledge to win this prize.

Read paragraphs 5 and 9, page 19.

For further copies, address W. S. Wright, 828 White Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y. Tel. Sen. 2213.

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Salute the Flag and Vote FOR, Senator.

An Appeal to the Common Sense of the People.

Special Plea to U. S. Senators.

SOME PHILOSOPHY—Bugle Calls to All the Senators in Fundamental and Structural Facts and Logic.

President Wilson, June 14th, threw the phenomenal strength of his marvelous personality and his official influence in favor of action NOW on the Amendment, in a reply to a memorial from the French Union for Woman Suffrage, as follows:

"I welcome the opportunity to say that I agree without reservation that the full and sincere domestic reconstruction of the world for which we are striving, and which we are determined to bring about at any cost will not have been completely or adequately attained until women are admitted to the suffrage, and that only by that action can the nations of the world release for the benefit of future generations the full ideal force of opinion or the full humane forces of action.

"The services of women during this supreme crisis of the world's history have been of the most signal usefulness and distinction. The war could not have been fought without them, or its sacrifices endured. It is high time that some part of our debt of gratitude to them should be acknowledged and paid, and the only acknowledgment they ask is their admission to the suffrage. Can we justly refuse it? As for America, it is my earnest hope that the Senate of the United States will give an unmistakable answer to this question by passing the suffrage amendment to our Federal Constitution BEFORE THE END OF THIS SESSION."

LET THEM PASS!

An Open Letter to United States Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr.,
from W. S. Wright, of Buffalo, N. Y.

The Proposed Federal Amendment—known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment—to the U. S. Constitution:

Sec. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state, on account of sex.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.

"Failure Is Impossible."—SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

FOREWORD!

In public writing, there is always a choice between Diplomacy and Hell, with some of each, or none of either, and the reader can see what he finds. No delicacy in this reverberating discussion of this surging question, as it is of distinctly public range.

"Wait! Wait!!" has been the injunction for 70 years! They have staved it off for this and that—and the world has stood for it—until now the avalanche of righteous judgment for women's votes is ready to move!

While writing to Senator Wadsworth, the same facts and arguments herein will be of service to members of legislatures of different states, and in electing legislatures for its adoption, and of service to everybody.

Senator Wadsworth's attempted justification of his opposition to this piece of human justice has the same efficiency as a three-legged horse.

A great nation is an inspiring institution! We are responsible for it—all people—you and I. What then, shall we make it? A hideous injustice by denying votes to women by federal amendment, or a cordial co-operation which challenges the admiration of all mankind?

By what right is voting denied to women? No right, and simply the physical power to say "No!" with no flicker of reason to back it!

With all our boasted civilization, are the women of the land to be still longer restrained by the selfishness and stupidity of men, when the indescribable service of women in this War—and their rights even without the War—make immediate action a solemn duty to all who have had even an introduction to the duties of citizenship!

Buffalo, N. Y., June, 1918.

THE HON. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Your astonishing letter to the Republican Assemblyman, Wm. C. Amos, of Manhattan, published March 11th, calls for anything but silence. I hold a **citizen's duty** to be that each voter is a part of the government, an official on election day and between elections an inspector of officials and official acts. How much more should you, one of the two senators from the Empire State, clothed with this great power and sacred duties, be an energetic and restless advocate of simple justice to your coming fellow citizens, in the "best interests of all."

ALL THE COURTESIES AND AMENITIES

In writing this open letter I preserve all the courtesies and amenities of discussion, and in an issue so vital as woman suffrage it is necessary to travel practically all the distance under the skin. I give your letter as published:

Senator Wadsworth's Letter.

"I am very sorry that I cannot agree with your contentions regarding woman suffrage and that I cannot bring myself to comply with your suggestion that I support the federal amendment. Under our constitution the states possess certain sovereign powers.

"One of the most important of the rights reserved to the states was that of controlling suffrage qualifications, and any invasion of these rights destroys by just so much the sovereignty of the individual states. It is true that the fifteenth amendment imposed upon a small group of states certain suffrage qualifications. That can be justified only in one way—as a necessary step in preserving the Union. I think no one will contend that the Union is in danger at this time or that as a measure of preservation the federal suffrage amendment should be adopted. There is no suggestion of a revolution or secession anywhere.

"The people of the several states are competent to settle this question for themselves. In the last election New York settled it, I assume, to the satisfaction of the people of New York.

"Other states in the last 5½ years, sixteen of them, have refused to extend suffrage. I assume that these states settled the question to their satisfaction, although their decision was different from that reached in New York.

"I am conscious of the great obligation to the people of New York which rests upon me, and I want to represent them to the best of my ability. I am, however, first a senator of the United States, and my first duty as such is to support those measures which are best for all the people.

"My next duty is to protect the people of the State of New York from unfair, unjust and discriminatory legislation. I must, therefore, decline to impose on a group of states, however small, suffrage qualification in opposition to their own will."

THE UNVEILING OF TRUTH

Regarding my comments on these remarkable utterances, I quote my statement previously used: "While all people are responsible for their views and acts, **a public official is subject to proper criticism and review.** No one forces him into public life, and when he enters it, his acts are public property, and the public is soft and gullible if it does not weigh and test him, and give its opinions out aloud." This privilege is exercised here. While employing every courtesy, **the need of this land and of the world to-day is the unveiling of truth that the brutal facts may talk.**

The most favorable thing I can say about your letter, Senator, is that you seem to be talking in your sleep. That opinion would let you out. Careful reflection while awake would never endorse your position. Your action on the federal suffrage amendment is **the old machine way of practical silence**, or of words that add little to silence. You cannot expect or claim immunity from criticism. In your high position as U. S. senator from this state, you have **no right** to treat this magnificent question **as your own private business.** How? The facts and logic of the case are **not** with you for a moment. **That makes bluff of your talk.** A new day has dawned. The owl-like wisdom of the past of practical silence does not go these days. Presidents, governors, mayors, all officials talk more than they did. **Official duties are not a personal possession, but a public trust,** and believe me, **a public trust** means something!

"OLD STUFF"

Now, to your letter: For an official to plead his "great obligation to the people of the state, and "representing them to the best of his ability" is old stuff, Senator, unless his record is most excellent on such matters. The suffrage powers of the states under the federal constitution seem to be a **nightmare** to you. You allege suffrage qualifications to be one of the most important rights reserved to the states, and you show ill-advised fireworks by referring to this federal amendment as an **"invasion of the rights and sovereignty of the states."**

THE X AMENDMENT

Go with me to the X Amendment to the federal constitution, and then to Article V of the constitution precisely describing the method of amendment. Here is the X Amendment:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

Those unfamiliar with the constitution would expect from you to find "suffrage" mentioned as one of the reserved rights of the states, whereas it is **reserved by implication** as one of the "powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states," and hence is "reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." With the

Federal Amendment in force, woman suffrage becomes a power "delegated to the United States by the constitution,"—an accomplished fact. That makes harmless all your dangers to state sovereignty under the Constitution. We purpose to delegate this power to the United States. Then we hasten to the provisions of the constitution regarding its amendment, Art. V—as follows: **"The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states."** This amendment has been proposed by the House, will be proposed by the Senate, and will be adopted by at least three-fourths of the states.

VITALLY MISCHIEVOUS

Your letter is vitally mischievous because it misinforms those looking for the facts. In it you have substantially told the people (1) that the proposed federal amendment is an invasion of the rights and sovereignty of the states, (2) that the federal amendment cannot be constitutionally made, and (3) that under the X Amendment woman suffrage could not be delegated to the United States by the Constitution. **None of these is in any sense true.**

THE CONSTITUTION PLAIN, GOOD STUFF.

It is time people understood the Constitution. It is plain, good stuff, easily understood, and **the people who make it** and amend it **should be ashamed to be ignorant** of it. As though your errors up to this point are not glaring enough, you, with more audacity than information assail the XV Amendment as **"imposing on a small group of states certain suffrage qualifications that can only be justified as a necessary step in preserving the Union."** Your powder is wet, senator. It smells bad, and don't explode. Your attempt to **picture** the United States in 1869-70 as doing something **unconstitutional** with a few helpless states is a **failure**. The right to amend the Constitution is without conditions, and under the X Amendment which so tersely defines the relative rights of the United States and the individual states, the proposals and adoption of the XV Amendment and the proposed federal amendment are without a flaw! Here is the XV Amendment:

"The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

SARCASM FOR THE LADIES

Without attempting to characterize fully the enormity of your statements, they are without a parallel and without any defense. And you carry your method to unbelievable absurdity and attempted levity when

you say: "No one will contend that the Union is in danger now, or that as a measure of preservation, the federal suffrage amendment should be adopted," and that "there is no suggestion of a revolution or secession anywhere." The preservation of the Union at the close of the Civil War or now has nothing to do with the case, and your astonishing **selection** of these **small intellectual quarters for debate** will not dim the lustre of the inherit right of women fully to participate in the affairs of their times! Giving and protecting human rights is the next step to the preservation of the Union!

"WE, THE PEOPLE"

The inherent and inalienable right of woman suffrage under the significant **"We, the people"** in the Preamble to the U. S. Constitution shows that under clear justice **no Constitution had a just right primarily to deny it.**

Now we must have the facts and logic on the righteousness of women voting. You are not frank enough in your letter to state your views on this question even in your own state. You simply rush to the defense of those states opposed to **this great human right** which has been granted **through national means** by England, Ireland, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Denmark, New Zealand, Australia, four provinces of British South Africa, Isle of Man. Many other foreign nations under the **new vision** will grant it, glad to show their slumber of the past is at an end. Nineteen of the United States have granted the right to vote to women, some unlimited suffrage, others partial. **The Thirteen Original States for Women Suffrage will be as famous as the Thirteen Original States which formed this Union.**

WRONG ON THE CONSTITUTION, SENATOR

What states or people have asked you for rescue? You lay no claim that the states rejecting woman suffrage are right. You keep entirely out of the forum of human rights, and light on a perch of technicality in an attempt to torture into the Constitution of the United States absolutely false doctrines, as I have elaborately demonstrated above. **You entirely lose sight of the proportion in the case. You toy with the things that do not apply, and leave untouched the big factors.** Evidently all you purpose to do is to follow these states into the darkness of injustice **when withholding** this liberty and freedom to women **positively disgraces us.** What defense have these states for putting this indefensible barrier between women's wrongs and women's rights? None. The day is gone when the duties of citizenship pass as personal matters. A great principle underlying the citizen's duty is: **The duty of the citizen to the state, to the people, is not a personal matter, but a public trust.**

THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND

Now, as you have **not** given your views for and against women suffrage on its merits, it is proper in this argument to let the people of this

state and country know the exact situation from a most thorough **delineation** with reasons why you should publicly and privately work for it, and vote for it. As you have a vote on this throbbing question in the highest legislative body in this country, it is proper to remind you that the Declaration of Independence of **the United Colonies held they should give the world reasons because,** a decent respect for the opinions of mankind require that we declare the causes which impel us." In your letter you have entirely ignored the vitals of the amendment, and in what you do say, you do not "hold the line." You are prepared to **march with the slackers in human rights** in an attitude of a proffered rescue to some states which no one can defend before one man or a million! **And it is inconceivable how you expected to get away with it.** You say you are **first a senator of the U. S.,** and your first duty to support those measures "best for all the people." Why don't you follow the throbbing precedent of the XV Amendment and admit your criticism of it to be without cause, and why not follow the Preamble to the Constitution of the U. S., reference to which will be made later? While an official of the United States, **you represent your state** in the Federal Government, and you are there **both** for the United States and for your state, and while **observing,** and not misapplying the Constitution and the fundamentals of our institutions, **your first duty** about this amendment is a splendid breadth which **sees both the states and the United States** and which overshadows the **draft attitude** of some of the states in not following the **trunk lines** of human rights and world democracy!

FOR A BROADER VISION

You will not have the **hardihood** to assume the ignorance of the people when you maintain that withholding woman suffrage, **with all the vast problems,** international, domestic, social, industrial, humane, economic, etc., is of **less importance** than the upholding of a small minority of states in their sluggish, selfish, indefensible invasion of other people's rights? **These states** may almost **any time** vote favorably. **You are cutting off** all probability of their enlightenment or conversion to sound and just treatment of their fellow men! Because they opposed woman suffrage, you do. If they changed, what would you do? You are flatly opposed to woman suffrage. You evade an expression on the merits. You express no direct opinion on the subject. Logically, that is your position, as ridiculous as it appears when spread out to the light. You have assumed indelibly that they will eventually refuse to be just, or by reflection to change their unspeakable views against women, against liberty, against freedom, **those fragrant flowers which it requires all the talent and energy of the best in civilization to protect!** Do you mean to contend that still further enslaving women by denying them the ballot is "best for all the people?" And that your first duty as a senator is to support that?

SHOULD RESIGN

Any man who can muster **only your one pitiful statement,**—feeble claims not reasons,—for misrepresenting your own state and America and

the world of freedom and civilization **should resign**, and let some one who has some humane vision talk and act for the great state of New York! This is **positively not** a question of **two sides**, as I have shown with close argument on the Constitution, and as I am showing on the sentiments, facts, realities and best vision of life. **We back up to the wall with the fundamental facts which are definite, and an irreducible minimum, and you have nothing to stand on except a platform of ciphers!**

THE CONSTITUTION AND COMMON SENSE

The XV Amendment establishes the precedent for federal supervision of suffrage qualifications, and we don't need even that, and no fancy of yours can affect it. How do other amendments affect the sovereignty of the states? With only **seven articles** to the U. S. Constitution, of the **17 amendments** almost all of them according to you, the states should demand to exercise in their sovereignty. State rights and sovereignty only exist with the consent of the federal constitution, and that always has been and always will be fair and liberal. The amendment power shows itself in the other amendments. The just and controlling decision in this matter has bowed to the imperative **necessity** of **uniformity** and **justice**. When it comes to the **great Trunk Lines** of freedom and liberty and equality of rights, human rights are boundless, and the boundaries of states and everything else must step aside. The Constitution stands back of this epigram with justice and reason, in its power of amendment, in the liberal and basic features of the X Amendment, and in its purposes so eloquently sounded in its Preamble. Women suffrage partakes of this exhilarating principle. **A nation** in the Trunk Lines of duty should prescribe its voters, that it may not be hindered in its march to success. The methods of amendment hereinbefore stated protect all rights and all states.

THE SCHEMING POLITICIANS

To stand for each state, without the federal amendment, fooling with woman suffrage would be like waiting for **a pot of coffee a drop at a time!** The recalcitrant, the stubborn, the thoughtless, the selfish, those who oppose woman suffrage because they know it would be a benediction and blessing on mankind, the wily, scheming politicians, those with nothing but the power of opposition, with no pretense of giving reasons, **they all must be taken along in the strong righteous current of saving and splendid events!** How you can ever dream, let alone believe that assisting certain states to block human progress and everlasting justice is "best for all the people" is incomprehensible.

ECHOING EPIGRAMS

States, no more than individuals, must not stand in the path of imperishable right! Local self-government is a delightful practicable ideal and fact when not blocking the great Trunk Lines of civilization, of our hopes and of our rescue! Local self-government ceases to be a thrilling thought and reality when a barrier and menace to the general good!

THIS IS THE LIMIT

As a reverberating illustration of what states can do, the **Philadelphia Record**, calling it a monstrous fact, tells us that 200,000 alien enemies may vote for congressmen this Fall, subjects of Germany and Austria-Hungary, where in ten states, both parties gave this **right to aliens declaring their intention to become citizens!** With the spotlight of the nation, would this have occurred, this ambulance speed to get voters, **while women of our land** for years and by the quarter century have been and are now **begging** for this powerful privilege!

YOU MISLEAD, SENATOR

If relying on your statements, people would believe the Federal Amendment unconstitutional, whereas you use the Constitution to conceal the expression of your real opinion, and mislead those who are not posted. The power to amend and the X Amendment overwhelmingly dispose of your claim. From your view it is surprising that they did not make a marginal note on the XV Amendment saying they were **exercising extra-constitutional powers under stress!** On the other hand, the XV Amendment stands on its true colors, like woman suffrage, without any apologies or explanations!

No, Senator, you are substantially alone in your weak constitutional objection, with no reason whatever against woman suffrage per se, or you would have stated it, with **your own state against you in a referendum by over 100,000 majority**, with 19 states against you, and many more when they get to the work in hand. The House of Representatives has given the two-third vote, with almost enough votes in the U. S. Senate to pass it, and the best judgment of the world joins impressively to-day for it, and all those for a world "free for democracy" will shortly award the vote to women, if not already, **anxious to applaud and reward the sacrifices**, the patriotism and the capacity of women for service in war as well as in peace!

LIBERTY ATTRACTS THE GREAT

With all the inventory of those in favor heretofore, we add the President of the United States acknowledged by the world as the spokesman for the hopes of mankind, the Vice President of the United States, your colleague in the Senate, Mr. Calder, Charles S. Whitman, the governor of New York State, both the Democratic and Republican National Committees, the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York, etc., etc.

With nothing reasonable that can be said against it, you stand unenvied, and substantially alone in your alleged constitutional objections to the inherent right by federal amendment for women's votes. Evidently, 'most everyone else is wrong but you. If, as you say, it is wrong on constitutional grounds to favor the amendment, then it is wrong for the Senate and House to propose it to the states,—such the ridiculous lengths to

which your position leads. As Senator Shafroth says: "When three-fourths of the states want the Constitution amended, it is an invasion of the rights of each of these states to deny the right." The right of women to vote is second only in importance to the preservation of the Union!

THE MEN HAVE MADE A MESS OF IT

The women are necessary to preserve our permanence as a nation when the men have made such a mess of it by inattention, party spirit, prejudice, patronage, neglect, selfishness, greed, etc. Our permanence and civilization itself are threatened by this long-continued injustice to our sisters which is an echoing reflection on men! Take it from me that with their organization planned, meetings, instructions and deep-seated interest and appreciation, with the spur and inspiration which their leaders will bring to bear, the women will far surpass men in their record of patriotic and sensible voting. Space in this argument goads me to brevity, and yet a thorough job demands its rights. There is not even the appearance of strength in your letter, but it takes some time to take off the mask which sticks like a porous plaster.

FACE THE MUSIC, SENATOR

At Buffalo recently you dodged representatives of the National Woman's Party, avoiding hotels, invoking the privileges of a guest at clubs, but finally discovered at the house of a friend 20 minutes before train time, over the 'phone, that gallant and gallant method of meeting the ladies, you eventually leaked this information: That the Republican Party intends to do nothing about the federal amendment, that the party in New York State is split on this question, and that you would vote NO! Face the music always, Senator. You may not like the music, but it is safer and better and more creditable. Even the objecting states face the music. If good substantial reasons, why dodge? The women have a right to see you. You told Mrs. W. H. Blauvelt at Rochester February 22 last, when pressed into a corner that your personal convictions impelled your stand against the amendment. "Personal convictions" in this case makes it a personal matter and not a public trust, and any official who puts personal convictions above his public trust violates the most sacred axiom in public life! Miss Elsie Hill, a noted and cogent orator of the National Women's Party whose powerful logic and facts make her a great influence says that your course is against the Republican Party, against the people of your state and against the women of the country!

YOU POSE AS A RESCUING HERO

Little comment has been made on your letter either by those who noiselessly, unpatriotically and selfishly oppose woman suffrage, or by those who from some cause are letting you get away with it. Your complacency and perfect satisfaction with yourself is manifest when you speak of the ability of the different states to settle this question, including your own

state, New York, and you reach in your own estimation the proportions of a hero in saying: "I must therefore decline to impose on a group of states however small, suffrage qualifications in opposition to their own will." And I may say with justifiable complacency and with strong reference to the argument herein that my argument gives your letter the proportions of an icicle in boiling water.

A CHALLENGE TO YOU AND ALL

The man or woman does not live, has not lived and will not live who can give a sensible reason worthy of serious consideration **why** women should **not** vote, and **thus** participate fully in the affairs of their times. **The surprise** is that a man of your apparent future should be against it, and **yet claim** to be a proud and free American worthy of our traditions, and to be ready and qualified for our great future!

Courteously, patriotically, energetically, **you are challenged**, or **any other senator, or any one anywhere** to give **one reason** against woman suffrage, which has **size enough** to cast a decent shadow in logic and facts. This is **not** a spectacular utterance, but on the **merits**.

SILENCE, OR MAKE GOOD?

You can treat this letter with silence, but silence is not only discourtesy, and in this day and age shows weakness in views. Silence has not the owl-like dignity of the past, because the bugle calls to duty should force action and give reasons where silence used to reign in contempt or defiance of the people.

I am interested now beyond measure in this self-evident truth: That women have an immediate right to be clothed with the power to vote, with their and our responsibilities and duties. I offer the following from a brilliant unknown to be applied with vision, facts and logic:

THE THREE GREAT AMERICAN PILLARS.

*"The man who fails to take his place alone;
But follows where the greater number tread;
Should hasten to his place beneath a stone.
The great majority of men are dead."*

A United States senator should **not** be satisfied with a **whim** or **prejudice** on public questions. He, as well as the voter must measure his acts by his duties. He can find his **inspiration** and **anchors** in the **Preamble to the Constitution of the U. S.** (plus the Constitution), in the **Declaration of Independence**, and in **Lincoln's Gettysburgh speech**,—pretty old, to be sure, but still the **bed-rocks of our hopes and destiny!** If he follows his oath of office "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution," he will show that his acts support the Constitution, so eloquently described in the Preamble, or be prepared to tell the people why he does not.

THE PREAMBLE A SEARCHLIGHT AND A PILOT.

I take pride in referring to an illustrious endorsement of my original argument insisting on the directing force of the Preamble to the U. S. Constitution, by the Hon. Bourke Cockran, that astute lawyer and magical orator who endorsed my argument after I had written it, regarding the Preamble as a searchlight and pilot through the Constitution. He agreed that when in doubt, we should consult the Preamble, which follows:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, established justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America."

No American will deny that the Preamble is part of the Constitution, which is a guide, and a notice and interpretation and illumination of what shall be achieved by the Constitution, and which is the essence and life-blood of the Constitution, gravely telling of its purposes! Then, with these gripping ideas clasping our hearts, we embrace the associated illumination that breathes our aims and the fundamentals of our institutions against selfishness, negligence, and defiance, through our three national light-houses, anchors and inspirations enumerated just above.

QUESTIONS A SENATOR SHOULD NOT DODGE.

Tell the people, Senator, where your position in this matter obeys the Preamble in which "justice, welfare and liberty" glisten for America and mankind. Tell them where in this question you agree with the Declaration of Independence about the "certain inalienable rights, among them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Tell them wherein, in this question, you are working for the realization of Lincoln's fragrant immortelle, his Gettysburgh speech in "that under God there shall be a new birth of freedom, and that a government by, for and of the people shall not perish from the earth!" In every one of these three great Trunk Lines of human rights, votes for women are needed to make the picture complete. In appealing for these inspiring keynotes of American life, these three fundamentals which are the solution of civilization, I indulge in no more pyrotechnics, no more fireworks, than the sledge-hammer which is not for display, but for execution and results!

I note since writing the above, Senator, that the three above questions are weighty enough to appear in substance in the new American Creed, for which the city of Baltimore, in a competitive prize for \$1,000, among several thousand people for over a year, awarded the prize and the distinguished honor of the authorship to William Taylor Page of Maryland.

THE "WORLD FREE FOR DEMOCRACY."

The "world free for Democracy" must extend to all the lights and shadows of human existence. Is it to be a phrase without substance or

meaning? If men are the hub, women are the spokes to the wheel. What is that phrase worth on which we are fighting the war unless in the last analysis it conforms in every act of individual experience to principles that are defensible? Otherwise, it is worse than worthless.

THAT "SOLITARY FIGURE" IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, sent a monumental message to New Jersey Democrats—his own party—with a solemn warning to trim to elementary justice. In an unselfish, far-reaching, courageous remedy for our ills, it makes a shrieking argument for woman suffrage: "Every program must be shot through with utter disinterestedness; no party must try to serve itself, but every party must try to serve humanity, every program, every measure in every program, must be tested by this question, and this question only: Is it just, is it for the benefit of the average man without influence or privilege; does it embody in real fact the highest conception of social justice, and of right dealing, without respect of person or class or particular interest?"

Of all his famous utterances, none is keener, broader. It seems to take right hold of the human heart and ask and demand its best. And this to politicians who like the gods, grind exceeding fine anything opposing their interests. That utterance—a model for the entire world—is an inspiration, a spur, a liberty bell to every true American!

I here quote the following editorial, written by me in 1914:

"VOTES FOR WOMEN? YES.

"On observing the women Suffrage Headquarters, it is self-evident that there should be no need of headquarters any more than there should be a fight for the air we breathe! The chivalry, bravery and appreciation of men for women should give the ballot simply for the asking.

"Their intelligence, energy and unbounded interest, lack of which by men caused our present crisis, entitles them to vote. It needs no argument for advocacy, is sensible, appropriate and fit, and the opposition is indefensible! The burden of proof lies with the men.

"The reasons why they should vote are axioms. They need no explanation nor plea. To feel that our sisters must battle for women's human rights is enough to make the blood tingle with indignation!

"Come up men, and measure up to the situation and to your opportunities for justice—for whom? Foreigners? Strangers? No! Your sisters in humanity, of the same nation, of the same families, of the same patriotism!

"What will history say, not only of those who oppose, but even of those who hesitate, of those even who fail to jump into the fight to crown the flower of the land, the tender portion of humanity with the rights which should be theirs not only now, but should have been always, the right of protection, the power for good?

"Would those in opposition or indifferent be willing to have their names mentioned as such in history? Well may dearest friends and the world pause and exclaim: Is this the 'land of the free and the home of the brave?'

"They should have votes as quick as it can be legally and constitutionally granted; even by special sessions of legislatures and by special elections!"

It is a fight for the shrillest and most sacred human rights! It is the clearest case possible that those who are not for are against! The necessity of votes for women is not only to perfect civilization, but to save civilization from itself!"

SALUTE THE FLAG AND VOTE FOR, SENATOR!

What does woman suffrage mean? It means **inborn rights long delayed**, for which **men should hide their heads in shame!** Why should women enjoy them? We don't have to say. Let those who have wronged them explain.

Senator, not to forget you in the avalanche of enthusiasm which grips this great battle for women, **let me suggest that you defer to the sweeping sentiment for this great cause, and bow to the right, and salute the flag and victory and women, with your vote FOR.** The practical silence of the press and public at your unparalleled attitude on a great question is **not a tribute of silence in approval. Don't you believe it. It is as impossible to stay the sweeping tide of overdue justice to women as to cause the ascending orb of day to wait! State regulation of woman suffrage would be almost as sensible as to have passed the new daylight bill one state at a time. The only real remedy is the recognition by the federal Constitution with the seal of the distinguished approval of this great nation. What will the world think of us if we defeat or even delay this shrill need?. Part free and part shackled will never do, in America! Could we look ourselves in the face before a big audience without flinching after having withheld this right so long?**

AN APPEAL TO THE COMMON SENSE OF THE PEOPLE!

And now, Senator, you will bear with me while I delineate some objections:

And the objections! If we had not heard them, we wouldn't believe them! The objections are a show! It is impossible to understand what some business, professional, and other men are thinking of who are opposed to it by state or federal amendment. Where do they keep their line of logic and facts and justice? I don't believe they realize what their attitude and ideas of proportion in this matter mean. With the countless advantages of the wealthy, nothing but liberal views, human fellowship and justice would be expected.

It is said of wealth it is opposed to any changes, fearing unfavorable results to them. How short-sighted, and how illiberal! Many treat their public duties of citizenship and voting which are public trusts, as personal matters nurtured by whims, grouches, glorying in their self-believed power to prevent votes for women. They may not have thought so seriously of their duties to others, but how selfish, how indifferent, how thoughtless, how

narrow, how unpatriotic, how un-Christianlike, how indefensible! The objections are distinctly **fatuous**, and **positively incoherent**. **Think of these objections**: "Their place is at home." Not by Federal Amendment." "Not so many given the vote at once." "Not during the war." "I am against it," etc., etc.

And do not forget Senator Wadsworth's tottering alleged constitutional objections.

During the Civil War, they were told to wait until after the War. They are expected to remain **ever green**. The war's effects on the population make it all the more needed.

These sleepy objections need no reply. Let all nonsense be cast out! **The efficiency and sacrifices of women** should give them, as one man expressed it, anything they want. **Those who will vote for it, but will not work for it** are forgetting their **rights, duties, responsibilities and opportunities**. So many treat it as one of their **private matters**, and do not appreciate that the **duty of the citizen to the state, to the people, is NOT a personal matter, but a sacred public trust, with no exceptions**.

The following is **not** a minor note, **nor** a jubilant note, **but an earnestly critical note**: The rich, with everything within reach,—telephones, servants, autos, palatial dwellings, victrolas, and money like water, because they use all they want of it, are largely opposed to what? To letting **their sisters have just a voice** in the matters that so vitally concern them, and which no one has a moral right for an instant to deny.

SPECIAL PLEA TO U. S. SENATORS.

While talking to you, Senator, it is proper to utter a few words to the other distinguished U. S. Senators. This appeal to the esteemed senators of the United States, with all others keen listeners: "DO IT NOW" never had a more searching application. It will be a **power to win the war by a spur to women and a spur to everybody** by its **tender sentiment and practical justice** and by the **gratitude of men and women everywhere!** 50,000,000 women are vitally interested in this amendment. **It is like a shrill cry in the stillness of the night from the best in the world for full, elementary, fundamental right next to life itself.**

Senators, your prompt conclusion of the legislative power to **permit the people to act** on this throbbing question will rival in human fellowship the splendor of the rising, and the halo of the setting, sun. May there be no further delay, senators.

The foreigner of little interest and of different tongue votes quick. **Our women** with vast interest and rights **wait a life time**. Let Napoleon's famous words make us jump to action: **"Every moment's delay is an opportunity for disaster!"** On the basis that every favorable act helps the war, this delay is a serious injury.

In this war of horrors, no more patriotic or vital war legislation is possible. Senator Calder of New York, March 13th, declared in the Senate the time has come to give women the vote, not only as a right, but as "a war time efficiency for a country struggling in the throes of a great world war!"

The enthusiasm that its passage will create in France, England, Italy, Belgium and the world over, wherever liberty's torch is burning, will be magical.

For those not informed let me say that the Justice Bell waits for a chance to peal forth its message as did the Independence Bell of 1776. A framed photograph was presented to each one of you, senators. Help to unchain this Bell promptly, senators, by your patriotic vote for the Federal Amendment. Let its splendid tones announce to the world your substantially unanimous verdict for it, as the concluding act for submission to the people, for which the House of Representatives also with keen patriotism and judgment voted, with the message that Justice to women has been gallantly extended.

The opportunity is yours, senators, democrats and republicans, to distribute honor and patriotism among yourselves, and it is a great honor and opportunity.

Let the vote be all but unanimous, senators. Let a quiet reconnoitre of life and its meaning pervade each senator's mind, and instead of a scanty two-thirds, an all but unanimous approval as a liquid fire of triumph as we place upon the fair brow of our unflinching allies in war and peace—the women of America—the laurel wreath of Liberty and Justice, always due them, and, as one of the rewards for their sacrifices, fortitude, efficiency, unselfishness, patriotism, courage, heroism.

SOME PHILOSOPHY

BUGLE CALLS TO ALL THE SENATORS IN FUNDAMENTAL AND STRUCTURAL FACTS AND LOGIC.

I feel, senator, you will not object to a little philosophy here for yourself and your esteemed colleagues in the Senate:

And in this throbbing question in the U. S. Senate and everywhere, is Duty or just Might to be the controlling power? Some view it as an annoying and purely abstract question, and fail to recognize the great human factors and inalienable rights which cluster around the duties of freemen!

The women have won this right, senators, by the hardest kind of knocks and the most thorough courage, and many men have finally become supporters of it to keep their political future from becoming entirely black!

Whatever fanciful or labored views bob up against it, let's cut them out, in the chiseling language of the day.

If you are from the South, senators, let no mere shadows of objections arise and look like trouble! Follow the admirable, eternal master, Right—

and the **enlightenment of the age**, and the **changed** convictions and conditions due to the war will give a **super wisdom** to solve any apparent obstruction. **Shall millions be without this sublime right** because of a few shadows here and there?

Those **favoring** state suffrage and **opposing** the Federal Amendment have **no place** to put their feet, and should strike from their own eyes the self-imposed fixtures, and show a **vision with no flaws** where **justice, humanity and democracy dwell!**

This should be passed instantly if the Senate's present vote on the Federal Amendment were **at once** to clothe women in every state with the echoing right of suffrage; but **when simply to submit the question for ratification, who can justify even the slightest delay?**

Is not the **burden of proof** on the **opposing** senators on the merits? and indelibly so when wives, mothers and sisters are sending our flesh and blood by the million to France to guarantee **on our battle line** a "**world free for democracy!**"

It is intimated that **political power** rather than argument is influencing votes. I for one am slow to believe it. **I have a higher conception of the U. S. Senate as a body at least**, than its willingness to besmear and throttle still longer the reverberating **human rights of women** by political influences!

I believe there is a mighty international responsibility resting upon the U. S. Senate and upon every individual everywhere in this tremendous struggle **between** democracy and autocracy—**between** right and wrong—**between** liberty and slavery—**between** civilization and barbarism, and that we must **promptly** strike the **cowardly shackles from women**, or have our boasted warfare for a world "free for democracy" labeled "**children's prattle!**"

Let all friction be removed for our heroic sisters by prompt passage of this resolution!

Candidly, patriotically, respectfully, energetically, senators, with **a sweeping vision** of human rights contributing as an illustration to world-wide justice, **there is no possible defense for opposition!**

Just this victory in the Senate will help bond sales, red cross, saving stamp sales and all other activities, giving **to each hand, to each voice, to each heart** a more grim determination for bountiful success. It will increase the circulation of all **patriotic blood in striking, marching, fighting upward** as the only way to win the war, and the women are all-powerful in aiding—as **Marco Bozarris said**—to win "the laurel wreaths—blood-bought—with the thanks of millions yet to be."

How **vivid** the fact that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and the **U. S. Senate** would shrink from being the **weakest link** in the chain by declining to pass the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage, because the **nations, the governments, the peoples of the earth** are forming a **Great Chain of Democracy**, as the hope of mankind, the prize of freemen!

It is well to produce a few brief words in superb recognition of woman's capacity and service:

Secretary McAdoo: "This War cannot be won by American men alone. We must have the equal support of the women of America. I want you to understand that there is no more important partner in this enterprise of liberty than the American women."

Secretary Daniels: "Thank God that the women of America have led the way, and that all over this country, in cities, and in small communities they are studying and learning so that as we send a million men to France they will be ready to go with them, as we send 2,000,000 they will multiply their numbers, and as we send three, four, five, ten and 50,000,000, if need be to win this war, they are backed at home by the women who lead us in sacrifice."

David Lawrence, the brilliant and reliable Washington correspondent of the New York Evening Post and the Buffalo News: "The failure of the Senate to pass the Amendment has already disturbed the morale of the women workers; that its passage to give the states a right to vote on it would be a stimulus of incalculable value; that all the forces of reaction are combined against the Amendment, and a few senators hold the balance of power, and they can swing the vote and vindicate the progressivism of the Senate."

A keen friend suggests: "Could even a senator look his Mother in the face after voting against this necessity? He also asks if women voted in Germany, would it be an autocracy, and would Europe have suffered its present calamities?"

The women voters will by social and industrial justice, through the ballot, cheer and serve those who need rescue—"the submerged class"—and in countless other ways elevate the weak and defenseless and those who unaided can not obtain the benefits and advantages which are their due.

THE FINALE

And now, after we have said all, in the last analysis, in the lights and shadows of human existence, what is our hope? Simply voluntary co-operation. Every unselfish angle and incident of life—big and little—fairly yawns for **voluntary** co-operation—a working together, joining hands for the benefit of all is the heart and soul of human progress. It embraces big business and the government, labor and capital, the rich and the poor, officials and laymen, careful and constant co-operation for the good of all.

And why has it been delayed? What could we expect from quarrels and struggles? Why! We are **face to face with that slimy outlaw of human nature: Might makes Right!** Would any one mount a platform before his fellow citizens and defend the hideous monster, Might makes Right? Co-operation is like the relations between Mother and babe, what the sun and rain are to vegetation. Dr. Frank Crane says eloquently that co-operation is the essence of Democracy.

The remedy of voluntary co-operation—I have concluded after much reflection—is the solution of our varying and serious troubles. Then, with this spirit, let us extend both hands to the women of the land, and enthrone them with the power to vote, as in no such manner can we demonstrate to this Republic and to all mankind that we are real men of the highest and most courageous stamp!

*Faithfully Yours,
For America's
real freedom,
W.S. Wright.*

OFFICE OF
W. S. WRIGHT
828 WHITE BUILDING
TEL. SENECA 2213

BUFFALO, N. Y.

June 25, 1918.

Howard Sutherland, U.S. Senator,
The Capitol,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Piloted by strong interest and duty, I have embodied an argument on the Woman Suffrage question in a booklet in an open letter to Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York, herewith enclosed.

As you will note on page 3 of Contents, it takes in a wide range of angles and vision. Modestly, but most earnestly and cordially, I ask your interested consideration of the constitutional and other discussion and respectful suggestions on this vibrating topic.

May I ask the courtesy of an acknowledgment of the receipt of the booklet either by yourself or your secretary?

I would cordially appreciate receiving your comment on the argument and booklet.

Faithfully yours,

W. S. Wright

Suffrage

June 26, 1918.

Mr. W. S. Wright,
828 White Building,
Buffalo, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Wright:-

Your letter and booklet in regard to the Suffrage Amendment has been received. I shall be very glad indeed to read the booklet, and to have your views on this question. I assure you that I am giving the matter my very closest attention in an endeavor to discover what my duty is.

With kindest personal regards, and thanking you for your letter, and enclosed booklet, I am,
Very truly yours,