

# MAINE STATE LEGISLATURE

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LEGISLATIVE RECORD

OF THE

Seventy-Eighth Legislature

OF THE

STATE OF MAINE

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1917

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**HOUSE.**

Wednesday, February 21st, 1917.

The House met according to adjournment and was called to order by the Speaker.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Lamb of Brunswick.

Journal of previous session read and approved.

Papers from the Senate disposed of in concurrence.

**Senate Bills on First Reading.**

Senate 183. Resolve in favor of Charles F. Barnes for services as page at the organization of the 78th Legislature.

The following bills and petitions were presented, and, on recommendation of the committee on reference of bills, were referred to the following committees:

**Banks and Banking.**

By Mr. Purington of Mechanic Falls: An Act to amend Section 27 of Chapter 52 of the Revised Statutes, relating to the investment of deposits of savings banks. (500 copies ordered printed.)

By the same gentleman: An Act to amend Section 24 of Chapter 52 of the Revised Statutes of 1916, with reference to the deposits of married women or minors. (500 copies ordered printed.)

By the same gentleman: An Act to amend Section 43 of Chapter 52 of the Revised Statutes, relating to the custody of securities owned by savings banks. (500 copies ordered printed.)

**Education.**

By Mr. Flint of Monson: Petition of H. M. Bartley of Greenville and 23 others of Greenville, Piscataquis county, to regulate the fall opening of schools.

By Mr. Knight of Kennebunk: Petition of E. M. Bonser and 64 others of Kennebunk, in favor of same; also petition of F. H. Ellis and 47 others of York Beach, in favor of same; also petition of J. W. Jacobs and 35 others of Ogunquit, in favor of same; also petition of W. S. Putnam and 24 others of York Harbor, in favor of same.

By Mr. Murphy of Calais: Petition of Charles E. Phinney and 35 others of Calais in favor of same.

By Mr. Welch of Machiasport: Petition of Jesse H. Guptill and 31 others of Machiasport, in favor of same.

By Mr. Brewster of Portland: Letter and vote of the Portland chamber of commerce pertaining to same; also letters from colleges of Maine pertaining to same.

**Inland Fisheries and Game.**

By Mr. Barnes of Houlton: An Act to amend Section 39 of Chapter 33 of the Revised Statutes and providing for the seizure of jack-lights. (1000 copies ordered printed.)

By Mr. Clarke of Randolph: Petition of Fred H. Lewis and 15 others of China, in favor of closing to ice fishing China lake and its tributaries in the towns of China and Vassalboro, and the Mud pond in the towns of China and Albion.

By Mr. McNally of Ashland: Petition of J. B. Bartlett and 59 others, residents of Ashland, Aroostook county, in favor of the enactment of Senate Bill No. 43, being "An Act to provide for the registration of resident hunters."

By Mr. Stubbs of Strong: Remonstrance of Herbert W. Vining and 39 others of Phillips, against the law prohibiting Sunday fishing.

By Mr. Chaplin of South Portland: Remonstrance of Henry G. Clark and 33 others, residents of South Portland and Cape Elizabeth, against the passage of House Doc. No. 44, being "An Act to repeal Section 73 of Chapter 33 of the Revised Statutes relative to Sunday being a closed season for game or birds."

By Mr. Wilson of Portland: Remonstrance of L. M. Webb and 45 others, against same.

By Mr. Tuttle of Caribou: Remonstrance of Melville C. Osborn and eight others, ministers of Aroostook county, against same; also remonstrance of I. H. Lidstone and 21 others against same.

By Mr. Allan of Portland: Remonstrance of H. A. Clifford and 12 others against same.

By Mr. Clarke of Randolph: Remon-

strance of W. W. Washburn and 16 others of China, Maine, against same.

By Mr. Sisson of Island Falls: Remonstrance of S. R. Crabtree and 60 others, residents of Island Falls, against same.

#### Judiciary.

By Mr. Farrington of Augusta: An Act in relation to vacancies in public office. (500 copies ordered printed.)

By the same gentleman: An Act to amend Section 1 of Chapter 138 of the Revised Statutes, relating to collection and disposal of fines and costs in criminal cases. (500 copies ordered printed.)

By Mr. Clifford of Reed Plantation: Remonstrance of Joe J. Ouillette and 36 others against the establishment of a separate light and power district in Van Buren.

By Mr. Greenlaw of Presque Isle: Remonstrance of George Theriault and 47 citizens of Van Buren against same; also remonstrance of Dr. J. E. Burgoine and 11 others against same; also remonstrance of Willie Sirois and 42 others of Van Buren against same.

By Mr. Hill of Littleton; Demonstration of Charles F. Hammond and 23 others against same; also remonstrance of Lawrence Violette and 10 others against same; also remonstrance of Peter Buchard and 59 others of Van Buren against same.

By Mr. Snow of Mars Hill: Remonstrance of Vital R. Livasseur and 31 others against same; also remonstrance of Paul J. Cormier and 37 others against same.

#### Legal Affairs.

By Mr. Russell of Farmington: An Act to increase the number of medical examiners in the several counties. (500 copies ordered printed.)

#### Sea and Shore Fisheries.

By Mr. Fletcher of Kennebunkport: Petition of Harry H. Brooks of Kennebunkport and 15 others in favor of establishing four and one-eighth inches as the length of legal lobsters in the State of Maine, known as the nine-inch law; also petition of Basil L. Verrill and 52 others of Kennebunkport in favor of same; also petition

of William L. Church and 32 others of Biddeford in favor of same.

By Mr. Bussabarger of Lubec: Petition of C. H. Allen and 18 others in favor of Senate Bill No. 79, entitled "An Act to amend Section 35 of Chapter 45 of the Revised Statutes, relating to length of lobsters."

#### State Sanatoriums.

By Mr. Barnes of Houlton: Petition of Elmer J. Earle and 11 others, residents of Weston, in favor of the passage of a resolve establishing the Northern Maine Sanatorium.

#### Taxation.

By Mr. Barnes of Houlton: An Act to insure the collection of taxes in unorganized townships. (1500 copies ordered printed.)

Senate Joint Resolution No. 3, from the legislature of the State of California, relative to the establishment of lines of division between federal and state taxes and the calling of a congress of the states to consider conflicting jurisdictions of the federal and state governments.

#### Reports of Committees.

Mr. Hartwell, from the committee on banks and banking, on bill, An Act to permit savings banks to invest in certain railroad bonds, reported same in new draft under same title, and that it "ought to pass."

Mr. Andrews, from same committee, reported "ought to pass" on bill, An Act relating to duplicate pass books and certificates in case of loss of the original in loan and building associations. (On motion by Mr. Murray of Bangor, the rules were suspended, and the bill given its two several readings.)

Mr. Purington, from same committee, reported in a new draft and "ought to pass" on bill, An Act to permit savings banks to invest in certain corporation bonds.

Mr. Hammond, from committee on ways and bridges, reported "ought to pass" in new draft on bill, An Act to grant legislative assent to the provisions of the Federal Aid Road Act and to authorize the State highway commission to cooperate with the federal government according to the provisions of said act.

The reports were accepted and the several bills ordered printed under the joint rules.

### First Reading of Printed Bills and Resolves.

House 348. An Act to change the name of McCurdy or Crowell pond, so called, to Lake Waukeshia.

House 350. An Act to create a board of prison commissioners.

House 349. An Act to authorize the erection of a dam across the east branch of Spruce creek in the town of Kittery.

House 347. An Act to authorize the town of Boothbay Harbor to construct a bridge across the harbor in said town.

House 353. An Act to amend Section 1 of Chapter 79 of the Revised Statutes, relating to wills.

House 352. An Act amending Section 11 of Chapter 117 of the Revised Statutes relating to the salaries of the stenographers of the superior courts.

House 346. An Act to ratify, confirm and make valid the proceedings of the special town meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Baileyville, held April 17, 1916, and the bonds issued by said town at said meeting for the purpose of erecting a school house in said town.

House 328. An Act to amend Section 1, Chapter 36, of the Private and Special Laws of 1913, entitled "An Act for the better protection of alewives in Patten's bay in the town of Surry, in Hancock county."

House 325. An Act relating to marking of lobsters in transit.

House 356. Resolve in favor of George A. Dow.

House 355. Resolve reimbursing Samuel N. Packard for the loss of two cattle.

House 354. Resolve in favor of the Penobscot tribe of Indians for the general care, maintenance, relief and education thereof.

House 351. Resolve making appropriations for the Passamaquoddy tribe of Indians for the years 1917 and 1918.

House 345. Resolve in favor of Zebedea M. Cushman.

House 344. Resolve providing a State pension for John Lamson of Vassalboro.

House 343. Resolve providing a State pension for Flora Stevens of Lewiston.

House 342. Resolve in favor of Mary Allen.

House 341. Resolve providing an increased State pension for Emma A. Gannett.

House 340. Resolve providing a State pension for Vinnie E. Saunders.

House 339. Resolve in favor of Amanda H. Loud of Randolph.

House 337. Resolve in favor of Cora M. Libby.

House 338. Resolve in favor of a State pension for Lucena P. Andrews.

House 336. Resolve granting a State pension to Mrs. Myra G. Millett.

House 335. Resolve in favor of James D. Wilder of Hiram, Maine, for State pension.

House 334. Resolve in favor of Patrick A. Galvin of Auburn.

House 333. Resolve providing a State pension for Susan B. Merrill.

House 332. Resolve providing for a State pension for Joann P. Libby.

House 331. Resolve in favor of Addie L. Coombs of Montville for State pension.

House 330. Resolve providing a state pension for Dorcas N. Watkins of Lewiston.

House 329. Resolve providing a state pension for Charles C. Burt.

House 327. Resolve to provide funds to pay the outstanding debts of the Central Maine Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis.

House 326. Resolve in favor of the State Tuberculosis Sanatoriums for maintenance and other purposes for the years 1917 and 1918.

### Passed to Be Engrossed.

Senate 6. Resolve in favor of the co-operative survey of the boundary line between the State of Maine and the State of New Hampshire.

House 33. An Act to amend Section 23 of Chapter 124 of the Revised Stat-

utes, relating to assaults upon or interference with officers.

House 317. An Act to amend Section 38 of Chapter 40 of the Revised Statutes of 1916, relative to Old Home Week.

House 68. An Act authorizing a Centennial Week in 1920 and cities and towns to raise and appropriate money for the observance thereof.

House 319. An Act granting Charles H. Scott the right to maintain a ferry across Eggemoggin Reach in Hancock county.

House 315. An Act to create the van Buren Sewerage District.

House 318. An Act to establish the wages of clerks in the offices of Aroostook registry of deeds, southern district, and clerk of courts of Aroostook county, and to secure to such clerk of courts reimbursement for necessary expenses in attendance at the terms of the Supreme Judicial Court held at Caribou.

House 316. An Act to extend the charter of the Lincoln county street railway. (On motion by Mr. Wilson of Portland, tabled, pending its third reading.)

#### Passed to Be Enacted.

An Act to amend the charter of the Kennebec Log Driving Company, as amended by Chapter 402 of the Private and Special Laws of 1885.

An Act to amend the charter of the Kennebec Log Driving Company, as amended by Chapter 171 of the Private and Special Laws of 1879.

An Act to legalize and confirm the incorporation and doings of the Congregational Church Society of Litchfield, Maine.

An Act to extend the time within which the Maine Title Guaranty Company has authority to commence business.

An Act to extend and amend the charter of the Fairfield and Skowhegan Railway Company.

An Act making it unlawful to give checks or drafts on banks where the maker has not sufficient funds or credit to pay the same, and providing a penalty therefor.

#### Orders of the Day.

The SPEAKER: The Chair lays before the House for its consideration Senate Doc. No. 130, An Act to amend Chapter 419 of the Private and Special Laws of 1897, as amended by Chapter 155 of the Private and Special Laws of 1899, and by Chapter 308 of the Private and Special Laws of 1901 and by Chapter 387 of the Private and Special Laws of 1907, entitled "An Act to incorporate the East Branch Log Driving Company."

Mr. BAXTER of Portland: Mr. Speaker, as I understand it, this bill is automatically taken from the table today under the order which we passed a few days ago. I desire to ask the indulgence of the House and request that this bill be tabled again, and for this reason: In the course of a few days I want to present to the House the outlines of a policy, or perhaps the beginnings of a policy, in regard to the various electric light bills, water power bills and log driving bills, that are coming before the House at this session. I have not quite formulated that and today would not be a proper time for us to consider it. In view of this, Mr. Speaker, I move that this bill be tabled. I want to assure the House that I shall not unnecessarily delay this matter and I want to assure the members who are in favor of this measure that in a very few days I will present this outline for their consideration.

The SPEAKER: The pending question is on the passage to be engrossed in concurrence.

Mr. BARNES of Houlton: Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire, through the Speaker, of the gentleman from Portland (Mr. Baxter) whether he will now assign a day.

Mr. BAXTER: I think Tuesday of next week would give me ample time, and if the gentleman from Houlton, Mr. Barnes, thinks that is reasonable I will assign it for that day.

The pending question being on the passage to be engrossed in concurrence.

On motion by Mr. Baxter of Portland, it was tabled and specially assigned for hearing on Tuesday, February 27th.

The SPEAKER: The Chair lays before the House, House Doc. No. 273, An Act to establish the Presque Isle Municipal Court, and the pending question is in its third reading.

Mr. COLE of Eliot: Mr. Speaker, I ask the same indulgence as the gentleman from Portland (Mr. Baxter). This matter is one which will be taken up in a bill to be introduced sometime this week, a general court bill giving uniform jurisdiction throughout the State to all municipal courts. Laying it on the table has nothing to do with the establishment of this court, but it seems unnecessary to have long printed bills of this kind if a general law is to be passed whereby all courts will come under it instead of under a special law. It is to save expense of printing and duplication of laws, etc., that this bill was laid on the table; and I therefore move that it be laid on the table pending the introduction and hearing upon a bill covering the same matter under the general law.

The pending question being the third reading of House Doc. No. 273.

On motion by Mr. Cole of Elliott, it was tabled pending its third reading.

The SPEAKER: The Chair lays before the House bill, An Act to amend Section 24 of the Charter of the City of Bangor, relating to changing the date of the annual election, tabled by the gentleman from Bangor, Mr. Largay. The pending question is reference to a committee.

On motion by Mr. Largay of Bangor, the bill was indefinitely postponed.

The SPEAKER: The Chair lays before the House bill, An Act to provide a Police Board for the city of Waterville, tabled by Mr. Berry of Waterville. The pending question is reference to the committee on legal affairs in concurrence.

Mr. BERRY of Waterville: Mr. Speaker, I understand this bill was put in at the last moment to be placed before the committee for reference, and I also understand that a new draft is being prepared of Section one in an en-

deavor to get together and submit in committee a bill which will meet the approval of the citizens so that no referendum will have to be attached. This is to be in a new draft placed in my hands in the next two or three days, and I ask that the bill be tabled.

The pending question being reference to Committee on Legal Affairs in concurrence.

On motion by Mr. Berry of Waterville, it was tabled pending such reference.

The SPEAKER: The Chair lays before the House, report of the committee on inland fisheries and game, reporting "ought not to pass" on House Doc. No. 48, entitled "An Act to amend Section 22 of Chapter 33 of the Revised Statutes, relating to the unlawful selling or purchasing of fish", tabled by the gentleman from Baileyville, Mr. Jordan, pending the acceptance of the report.

Mr. JORDAN of Baileyville: Mr. Speaker, I move you that the report be not accepted and that it be recommitted to the committee.

The SPEAKER: The pending question is on the acceptance of the report, and, of course, a negative report is equivalent to the motion of the gentleman from Baileyville.

A viva voce vote being doubted,

On motion by Mr. Cole of Eliot the matter was tabled until tomorrow morning.

The SPEAKER: The Chair lays before the House Resolve proposing an amendment to the constitution granting suffrage to women on equal terms with men, Senate Doc. No. 117, tabled by the gentleman from Portland, Mr. Baxter. The pending question is on its final passage.

Mr. BAXTER of Portland: Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, this resolve has had a more varied history than any resolve or bill that has yet come before this Legislature or that is likely to come before us for our consideration. Its first introduction probably antedates the legislative experience of any member of this

House. For many years it was the joke of the Maine Legislature. It was sometimes passed by the committee to which it was referred. It was often passed by the House only to be defeated in the Senate. Sometimes it was passed by the Senate only to be defeated in the House. But, as is often the case, persistence and information have brought this measure from its standing as a joke to a very serious question which we now must face. The earnest men and women of this State who conscientiously believe that suffrage should be granted to women on equal terms with men have at last seen their efforts crowned with, I hope to say, success.

We often have heard it said that no question is finally settled until it is settled right, and I believe if there was ever a question which comes within this category it is this question of women's suffrage. I do not see how the members of this Legislature can conscientiously refuse the passage of this resolve.

It is not our province to decide on the question of equal suffrage; we are but a cog in the wheel; this is but one step in the long series of steps by which and over which this is to be passed to its final decision.

Just because a question is submitted to us with a referendum is no reason of itself why we should pass it. I can do no better than to quote in my own words the arguments of Ex-Attorney General Mr. Pattangall which he presented to one of the legal committees a few days ago when there was proposed to that committee the reference of a constitutional amendment on another subject than this.

Mr. Pattangall said that there must be three conditions complied with in any referendum proposition. First, the question itself must not be inherently vicious. I do not think that even the most earnest of the opponents of women's suffrage can successfully maintain that the proposition itself is inherently vicious.

Second: The proposition must be well understood by the people who ultimately are to vote upon it. Now if there is any question coming before this House that has been argued and debated throughout the length and breadth of the State of

Maine, it certainly is the question of equal suffrage. I doubt if there is a fire-side or a home throughout this whole State where this question has not been debated and argued from morning until night during the last few years. I think it even takes precedence over that mother of all debates, the question of prohibition.

Third: As Mr. Pattangall said, there must be a reasonable demand in order to authorize and justify us in submitting a question to the voters of Maine. Now, those of us who attended the hearing in this hall two weeks ago were very much impressed by the large number of men and women—of thinking men and women—who appeared here and asked us for the privilege of voting upon this question. To my mind, it matters not that there was perhaps an equal number of women and of men who were opposed to it at that time. There certainly is a demand throughout the State of Maine that this question be submitted to the voters. There are **thousands**—and I say it without exaggeration—there are thousands of men and women who have come before us by petition and asked us to present this to the voters at the coming September election.

I do not think, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, that this is a party measure, and I do not appeal to the members of this House on party lines. It is true that the Republican National Platform, as well as our State Republican Platform, endorsed the question of women's suffrage. On the other hand, the Democratic National Platform endorsed it in terms fully as strong as those in the Republican Platform, and if our Democratic friends in Maine have not seen fit to add their endorsement to that of their National leaders, it merely shows that for the time being they are a little behind and are not quite ready to follow the able leadership of those in Washington.

We must face this question fairly and squarely. We must decide it on its merits. There are, I believe, men in this body who perhaps are conscientiously opposed to women's suffrage, but they cannot be conscientiously opposed to a proper reference of this question to the voters of this State. I know of

such men, but they are, many of them, fully as earnest and fully as anxious that this question be submitted.

I do not propose to speak upon the main question of whether or not it is advisable to adopt the suffrage amendment, but I do urge upon the members of this House, of both parties, freed absolutely from party lines, that they allow their fellow citizens in the State of Maine to settle this question for themselves.

I do not see what purpose will be accomplished by the defeat of this measure. It would simply prolong the agitation and discussion. We have not the right as members of this House to refuse this question, and the sooner it is settled, in my opinion, the better it will be for the entire State of Maine.

Finally, there is but one court which will finally settle this question, and that is the court of last resort. There is but one bar before which its merits can be pleaded, and that is before the electorate of the State of Maine.

Mr. Speaker, after the discussion has taken place and the question is before us, I shall move that when the vote is taken, it be taken by yeas and nays.

Mr. BERRY of Waterville: Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I feel that I would be remiss in my duty to my constituency and to the grand and noble womanhood of Maine in all the houses over the hills and through the valleys throughout the State if I did not rise at this time and speak a word in behalf and protest against anything that will tend to lower that grand standing to which womanhood has attained hand in hand with civilization along down through the years. I protest against the passage of this resolve.

Would that I had the eloquence and the power at my command possessed by the gentleman from Portland, who is educated and a scholar of the English language, which I am not, but I hope that you will bear with me while I speak of a few of the things which concern this bill.

I have been pleased this morning to notice the means and the methods used to carry forward this resolve. We have our first practical lesson this morning. There is a divided womanhood, part on this side of the hall and part on that side of the hall. You do

not generally find men there, but you find women in those places.

I also have in my hand a copy of the Daily Kennebec Journal. As many of the gentlemen of this House are aware, there is a very good pipe called the "Three-B." I see that they have usurped the trademark, using the names of Baxter, Bussabarger and Brewster, and I have only thought how nice it would be if we could have a new trademark and add one more B-Berry. Unfortunately, gentlemen of the House, that cannot be.

I also find on my desk this morning a little pamphlet, entitled, "This Little Book Contains Every Reason Why Women Should Not Vote." We open the book and find blank pages within. It is only another sample of what many of you have seen, and, I might almost say, of the detestable and cheap politics practiced in this State. Gentlemen, that little book carries no more weight with it than does the picketing of the White House in this time of crisis and peril to this nation and the heckling of our President—your President and my President—a President that this House backed up in his attitude the other day.

Now the question we have before us today is the resolve proposing the amendment to the Constitution granting suffrage to women on equal terms with men. This question is capable of division, and I want to agree with the gentleman from Portland (Mr. Baxter) that this is not a political question. Gentlemen, you are here and by your oaths of office I want you all to take notice that you say, "I will faithfully discharge to the best of my ability the duties incumbent upon me." What are those duties, gentlemen? In any duty incumbent upon you, you should have a sane reasoning power and use it likewise. You should be careful in the exercise of this oath of office.

Now the door must necessarily swing open in order for me to try to show you why in the exercise of this oath of office it is not wise legislation that this resolve pass, and I ask by whom the demand for the passage of this resolve is made.

I claim, gentlemen, for my own home's sake, that a careful, conserva-

tive canvass will not show that 10 per cent. of the women of Waterville, Me., are in favor of this resolve. I claim further that there is not in excess of 10 per cent. of the women of Maine who are demanding this vote. Therefore, gentlemen, it is for you to say whether you believe on your oath of office that you are doing right in placing upon this State the extra burden of expense of a special election next September to settle this matter.

I ask you, who agitates this question? When this Legislature shall finally adjourn, how many times will you hear anything about this question? It is true that you read in the papers that some of the western states have adopted it and that sometimes it is spoken of at the fireside, but in your meeting people in your daily walks of life, how many times and by whom have you heard it spoken of?

Much to my pleasure, I have seen no one wearing red heckling members of this House in yonder hall whose business should better call them to the committee rooms. I thank God that the noble women who are wearing red today have attended to their home duties and left the men to provide for them as I believe is correct.

How many mornings have you awoken in the summer time and found that the window was open and that the flies that had crept in were heckling you? The old frog story is particularly applicable here. Many of you have heard it; some of you have not. A farmer went to New York to dispose of some frogs, and he said: "What are you getting for them?" They told him, and they said: "How many have you got?" He said: "I have got a carload." They said: "Why, you haven't got a carload." He said: "I have got a frog pond down there, and you ought to hear them holler, and you ought to hear the noise they make." They said they could not use a carload but they could use a bushel. The old man said "All right, I will send you a bushel." On his return home nothing was heard from him for some time, so they wrote him and said: "Where is that bushel of frogs?" The reply that came back was: "For once I was mistaken. When I went

down to look for that bushel of frogs, would you believe it, I could find but one frog down there; but, believe me, he had a voice that you could hear a half a mile." Gentlemen of the House, it is on the same plan that a few women's clubs get together, a few ladies get together, and make a great stir, while that noble womanhood of Maine, as I said before, in the houses over the hills and through the valleys of this grand old State, are paying attention to their duties and maintaining that womanhood as I believe they should.

I claim that woman's status is equal to man's and, in many cases, far superior. When we lift her, as you call it, from one side, that of neutral power, over to the political body on the other side, in which she must necessarily take her part, you have transferred her usefulness, her great humanity and her soothing influence which she has ever maintained against man's antagonistic nature.

Why do we honor women? I notice that some of you gentlemen when riding up in the elevator remove your hats when ladies are there. Who taught you to do it? It was your mother's teaching, which was due to her great interest in the home. How many men sitting in this hall can look back with pleasure and remember the teachings of the mother who is gone, when home was home. Gentlemen, the old New England home is fast passing, and I want to call your attention to the old-fashioned, two-story house which you see as you drive out through the country and to picture in your minds the inside, and the large fireplace. It was thought nothing of formerly to find father and mother and six—aye, 10 or 12 children assembled there in the home, and by the teachings of that mother and by the teachings of that father the sons of Maine and the daughters of Maine have become known all over the world. In that home, perchance, you found that old, familiar motto, "What is home without a mother?"

Now, picture to your mind the little bungalow house of today. Go inside, and I ask you, gentlemen, if there is any need of that motto, "What is home without a mother?"

I submit to you that it was the teaching of the mother when the mother attended to the home duties and faithfully performed her part of the work, that made Maine famous the world over.

We now come down to one of the questions very many times raised, taxation without representation. This question is so fraught with insignificance that I hardly want to talk on it. I cannot conceive, gentlemen, of you men legislating against your own property, and I do not believe you men have sunk so low that you would enact laws against the ladies on my right or on my left. A law that is good for your property is certainly good for theirs. I believe the question seriously put to you today is: Is that law good for your mother, for your wife, or for your sister? Therefore, I am going to pass right along, as I do not consider this question worth taking up time on.

Now, gentlemen, I am not going to weary you, as I am no speechmaker, and it is nearly time to stop, but I do just want to say this, that it is a rank injustice to the women of Maine to drag them down from that high pedestal which they occupy in the home and in the community in which they belong and endeavor to commercialize them. I do not believe it is right.

Now, we come to the question of the resolve. I thoroughly believe in the referendum, but by your oaths of office you must exercise that judgment that calls for the referendum, and that judgment must be based upon something tangible, and that I claim is not introduced. There is no way of summing up this matter, but I am satisfied, gentlemen, from all the investigation which I have made, that there is not in excess of 10 per cent. of the women of Maine calling for the vote, and I want to say to you, gentlemen, that the cost of a special election next September will be not far from \$50,000, and if any of the members of the House were to come down to the tuberculosis hospital in my town of Fairfield and see these poor, sick people there and see the conditions that surround them, I think you would say that the \$50,000 would be better expended upon buildings and addition to that tuberculosis

hospital, for this State has no money to throw away.

I will ask you this question: What would you say if you knew today that 15 per cent. of the men of Maine demanded an act, which you were asked to refer to the people, providing that this State House be moved to Bangor or Portland without a cent coming to the State? You would vote it down. Therefore, gentlemen, I want you to reconcile your minds and say whether you can conscientiously vote for this resolve and whether you have grounds for voting for it.

Many members have said, "I am going to vote for the resolve now, but next September I shall vote against it." That is a personal feeling. I do not understand it. I cannot reconcile myself to doing that.

I want to call your attention to the national phase of this matter at this time. You all know that any day we may be plunged into war. Is it a proper time to make this radical change?

I know that other speakers will follow me and I do not want to take any more of your time, so I am simply going to ask you to use your best judgment as to whether you are justly voting for this resolve. I sincerely hope the resolve will not pass.

Mr. DEARTH of Dexter: Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House: I beg your indulgence for a few minutes only. This question of woman suffrage and its merits and demerits have been discussed so long and so fully, so ably and so completely, that it must be that every member of this House at this time must have his mind made up as to whether he is for or against the question of woman suffrage, and for that reason I do not care at this time to discuss that feature in the least, because I believe that the only issue involved in this resolve is the issue as to whether this question shall be referred to the people or not referred to the people.

Now, those two issues are entirely distinct. Therefore, let no member of this House, when he comes to cast a vote upon this resolve, feel that by voting in favor of the resolve he will be placed under any obligation to vote for woman suffrage at the special elec-

tion which will follow in September, because he will not, by reason of that act, be under any obligation to vote for woman suffrage.

Now, should this first issue that I wish to bring to your minds prevail this morning, the issue as to whether this question at this time should be referred to the people for their determination? I believe it is one of the fundamental principles of our government that the voice of the people should be heard on matters so important as this question here, and I assure the man who attempts to thwart the voice of the people by voting to refuse to give them the opportunity to express themselves on a matter of this importance, whether they want the law or not—I bespeak for such a man an early political death. I do not see how he can conscientiously take such a position.

The gentleman from Waterville (Mr. Berry) says he does not see how a man can vote for this resolve and then at the September election vote against woman suffrage. Ah! Such a man does not realize the distinction between democracy and autocracy, because the parallel is perfect.

Now, gentlemen, I am not going to take up your time; your minds are made up, but I want to impress upon you that when you come to vote you separate this issue entirely from the issue of woman suffrage. What is your duty at this time on the question, the only question, as to whether you will give the people of this great State the privilege or opportunity of deciding for themselves whether they want this law or not? It is not for us to alienate to ourselves the prerogative to decide this question. The question is for them to decide. I submit that we should give them that privilege and that opportunity.

Gentlemen, when you vote, vote according to your consciences. Do not be influenced by prejudice or partisan politics. Be faithful to your trust. Remember that there are some of us here who have platform promises to stand by. Remember that it is your duty to carry out those promises and thus be faithful to your trust. Gentlemen, be honest with yourselves and honest with the people who sent you here. (Applause.)

Mr. LARRABEE of Bath: Mr. Speaker and fellow-members of the House, ladies and gentlemen: The suffragettes—I love them, but I do not like their actions. (Applause) I am opposed to this resolution, not only in part, but in its entirety. I am too democratic, under our form of Republican government, to let a handful of wealthy women that you can count on your finger tips, traveling up and down our State of Maine in their wild frenzy, foist legislation upon our statute books that represents but 15 per cent. of the women voters of our State.

I believe that men and women were created by an infinite power, an infinite creator, and that men should provide and be the bread winners and garment getters of their wives and families. I believe that the woman, in her sphere pure, plain and powerful, yet in her definite simplicity and gentleness, in her intuitive preception and her heavenly care of children, should aspire to that higher, better and nobler life as queen of the household, and she, in her love and wisdom, should meet her honest husband on the threshold of that earthly paradise, the home, when he comes from his daily toil.

I believe that it is woman's place to educate her children. I believe that it is woman's place in the home. Are you aware that according to our last federal census there are now 44,000 young men and women born and bred in our State of Maine and now living in Massachusetts? For what reason? It is on account of the home training that they have had. Any man who has been abroad in the several states of our nation knows well that any young man or any young woman that was born and bred in our State can always get employment in preference to the members of any state in our Union.

Are the women who ask for suffrage satisfied with our state of Colorado? Women have had the vote there, but that state wears the blush of shame because they have no law or order in their cities and their counties. You know it, and I know it, and the whole nation knows it.

Are you satisfied with the state of Wyoming? Women have had the vote there for many years, but still the peo-

ple, not only the men but the women, drink rum by the barrel. Are you satisfied with that? (Laughter)

Are you satisfied with the state of California? Women have had the vote there, and they dominate the state, yet would you have the Sunday carousals that they have? Would you have the liquor drinking that they have? Would you wipe out your Sunday observance?

Again I ask you to look to your city of Chicago, as I have seen it, with their broad avenues, the voting booths as they are, and the mobs of people swaying back and forth like the tall grass in the field before the summer breezes. Would you ask your wife, your mother or your sister to get into such a mob as that to vote?

Another thing, in Chicago, when there was a pure-minded, honest, virtuous young woman put up for office by the woman's party, on the other side was "Big Tim." Perhaps some of you know him by reputation.

They had those two parties for office, and what did they do? The woman suffrage vote double-crossed that poor girl, one of the meanest, most contemptible things ever done, even in a crowd of political men, and they voted and put "Big Tim," a man who ran a saloon and house of ill-fame—they put him in office in our American city.

Again I ask you, would you have the women vote as they vote in New York? There you walk up as an American citizen, take your vote, pass it to the bartender, and he will roll it up and put it in the ballot box. Would you have that in our State of Maine?

I ask you, gentlemen, to remember the words of Miss Anna Shaw, for years the leader of this suffrage movement in the city of New York. She made this statement, that if all the women voted yes or no; if all the women voted on the wrong side; if, after the women had voted, they left their husbands, or if the women, after they had deposited their vote, whether they had children or whether they were destitute of children, deserted them—she believed in the vote that gave the women the right to rule this country. I ask the pure-minded women of this State, Do you care for such legislation as that? I ask the men here that are going

to vote upon this question, Do you honor your wife? Do you care for your home? Do you care for your children? If so, I ask you to denounce this resolution and to oppose it.

Mr. GURNEY of Portland: Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House: It was a startling surprise to me that the distinguished gentleman from Bath (Mr. Larabee) should say that he did not like the actions of the suffragettes. I felt that they had been very meek and modest and well-behaved, but I am grateful that the bars of silence have lain upon them that they might not tell this distinguished audience what they feel towards the actions and theories of the distinguished gentleman from Bath. (Laughter).

Judge Dearth, in his usual exhaustive manner, has pointed out clearly that the question is not one of woman suffrage. It is more fundamental than that. It relates distinctly to the question whether or not a pledge made by the Republican party, after due deliberation, shall be redeemed at one hundred cents upon a dollar. It relates to the question of whether or not when we make a statement in convention, solemnly affirming it at the polls, we intend to stand behind that statement as long as we have a right to speak and a right to vote.

I do not agree with my distinguished colleague from Portland (Mr. Baxter) that the question is not a political one, for I believe that the Republican party stands unqualifiedly for this measure by every action it could possibly have taken to establish its position in the eyes of the voters of this State before they went to the polls.

If today, Mr. Speaker, the Republican party shall lie prostrate at the close of this hearing, it will be by the knife-wounds of those who professed last September to love it dearly, for within our own hands we have the power of passing this resolution to which we stand unqualifiedly committed; and we welcome the intelligence and the bravery of those gentlemen of the opposite party who dare to register today in this House that they stand forward-looking face to face with the rising sun of this new movement.

I am not at all deceived in regard to the effect of woman suffrage upon the politics of this State. I do not believe it will bring to the front the millenium of pure politics. I do not advocate it today because I believe that woman is a political vacuum cleaner, but I do insist that when you give the vote to these women, you will place a big bomb in the front trenches of political corruption and upon the hills of good government you will place a sentinel who will not sleep and against whose forces the immoral influences of politics will charge to their own death and destruction.

The history of democratic government has shown invariably the same mood. Our ancestors wrested from a hostile king their Magna Charta. Royalty again usurped the privileges of the people and they approached Charles I with a Petition for Rights. Again the King forgot his pledges, and the bloody times of Cromwell and the Commonwealth followed, and the next time the people came to William and Mary, it was not with a Petition for Rights, but with a Declaration of Rights. It seems to me that the ladies come with a petition for rights, defensible upon all the principles of logic and of good politics. Their contributions to the political affairs of other states have enriched gloriously their legislation.

We are facing, I say, a crisis. There are revolutions today without bloodshed and bayonets, and a discontented citizenship is a thing we must avoid in this State if we want to have the co-operation and confidence and support of all its people in these momentous times.

In the states where woman has contributed with her vote, I contend, notwithstanding the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Bath, that she has enriched the legislation. In Colorado she snatched the children from the factories and gave them to the schools. She drew a dead-line around the mines and said to Capital, "Those children shall not descend a shaft." She reached down to the laborer and brought him into the sunlight of a better condition than he had ever experienced before. She wrote

upon the statutes of that State laws demanding pure food. She sent into the schools medical inspectors to intercept, to combat and to destroy insidious diseases as they attacked helpless childhood. She wrote penalties upon the statute books against those who had commercialized her own sex and drove them to the dark places of the mid-night dives. She stood at the prison gate as it clanged with a dull, sickening thud upon the prisoner in his departing hour and opened wide with cheery ring the door of opportunity, welcoming him to a new life and new employment.

In all the great affairs of life, except government alone, man has welcomed woman as a valuable co-worker. By his side she crossed the stormy Atlantic and endured the hardships of a pioneer life in a new world; she experienced the tragedy of the Indian massacre; she felt the hand of famine as it clutched at her throat, but she never left his side; the storms of adversity that beat against him, and nearly overwhelmed him, were not powerful enough to drive her away from him, and, as he walked painfully up the hill of material progress, she followed as fast behind him as he would permit, and many times the path he tread was crimson with her blood and moistened with her tears, and now, upon the plateau of a 20th century civilization, whose efficacy I doubt in view of world events, she asks him, with an abiding faith in his justice, to give to her the suffrage and allow to her the opportunity of sitting by his side in the councils of state and of deciding questions of welfare that affect so vitally herself, her husband and her children.

One hundred fifty years ago a great English jurist, Lord Mansfield, said, "Wherever English law extends, there is no man, however humble he may be, who has not rights as sacred as those of the King," and I hope today we shall meet this question unitedly and write, in letters of fire that will flash around this world the verdict of the people of Maine, that wherever Maine law extends, there is no woman, however humble she may be, but has rights as sacred as those of men. (Great applause.)

Mr. MESERVE of Naples: Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House: I rise to oppose the passage of this resolve. I will not inflict upon you a 24-hour speech, because I know, if I did, there would not be a vote here for this resolve or against it.

It has been said by one of the previous speakers that if any gentleman opposed the passage of this resolve, he would be politically dead or otherwise. I have always opposed the passage of any resolve like this, and I am pretty much alive today, and I expect to oppose it again.

I would ask you gentlemen to remember your grey-haired mother, your wife and your daughter. Do you want them to go into the slums of politics and political strife? As I once heard an eminent divine say, "the ways in politics are deep, dark, devious, and sometimes devilish," which undoubtedly is true in many instances. Gentlemen, do you want your mothers, your wives or your daughters to participate in anything like that? I hope not. Again I would ask each and every one of you to oppose this resolve.

Remember the home—the father's kingdom, the children's paradise, and the mother's world.

Mr. SNOW of Mars Hill: Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House: We are about to vote upon a question which is of great importance in the State of Maine. If we linger a few minutes longer than is our wont in the consideration of this matter, the time may not be entirely ill-spent.

It is not a question of sections or of clans. Its extent is as wide as the State of Maine. It extends from the farthest island at the south to the St. Francis river on the north. It extends from the palace or mansion of the city to the hut in the wilderness.

History tells us that why the Anglo-Saxon people made such strides in civilization was on account of their love of home and their veneration of womanhood. When their army engaged in a fight, they fought not for conquest, but for their homes. That spirit has not passed from the earth, but is alive today. Wendell Phillips said, perhaps in some degree we have done what no people or tribe in any time anywhere dared

even to try; we have founded a great empire upon the unlimited suffrage of the millions, and yet it is not unlimited, and that limitation, year by year, is being removed.

I wish to pay a small tribute for a few minutes to American womanhood. Washington, the Father of our Country, wore around his neck for 40 years the likeness of her who was his greatest inspiration among the snows of Valley Forge, or the honors of the Presidential chair. John Adams had his greatest inspiration in his plain wife, whose inartistic manners were often the amusement of the people in the circles into which they were invited. During the Civil War that leader of Red Cross fame, Clara Barton, was called the heroine of the trenches. I remember a woman now dead—and I have reason to remember her—who lived in the county of Aroostook, and her husband spent three years or more in the army during the Civil War. One day she was walking along and was overtaken by a gentleman, or at least, I will call him so now, and he asked her to have a ride, and immediately he began to talk of the war, that it was a failure, that the troops had to be called home, and that Lincoln ought to be imprisoned. She said and told me many times, "I could stand the loneliness of these three years; I could stand the suspense of news from the front, but I could not stand that; I gave that Southern sympathizer, that traitorous copper-head, such a piece of my mind that he was glad to drop the subject and talk about something else."

If you want an example of patriotism and courage I point you to Barbara Freitchie of old Frederickton, who took up the flag and shook it in the face of the destroyers of her country and said, "You may sacrifice me, but spare your country's flag."

Gentlemen of the House, I believe we are in honor bound to submit this question to the voters of the State and let them have a chance to express their opinions upon it. Let the men outside this Legislature have a chance to say whether they favor woman suffrage or not. I dare say if woman suffrage becomes a fact in the State of Maine,

there will be in some future Legislature some women representatives, and I believe, though I do not know, that every citizen in this Legislature who is opposed to this measure, were he elected to some future Legislature like that, would be very glad to be appointed upon a committee to which some good-looking woman was appointed. (Laughter) I doubt if any gentleman here today will tell you that such an arrangement would not be satisfactory.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I hope that this measure will receive a two-thirds vote in this House.

Mr. LONGLEY of Sidney: Mr. Speaker, I will not bother the House but a minute; but I would like to say just a word, and I will say in the beginning so I will not mystify anyone, that I want to say just a word in favor of equal suffrage—in favor of presenting it to the people. Now, gentlemen of this House, let us suppose for a moment that we were on the outside, and that the women of the State of Maine were in the ascendancy! Would we call it a fair proposition, gentlemen, if the ladies said, "No, we won't submit this to the people; we have got you out and we will keep you out." That is the condition today, gentlemen. We have got the women out, and unjustly and unloyally we are saying a good deal to keep them out. Now I want to appeal to your judgment—appeal to your honor. Is this honorable? Is this right? Is it justice? I say no, that it is wrong.

Now I do not say how I shall vote in September on equal suffrage, but I do say that the least we can do is to submit this question to the people. This little band of men here is a very small percentage of the voters of Maine. We represent just a few. I am one man from three towns and some of you are one from six towns. You are here as one man. Now you do not believe in one-man power. You believe that the men of your town should vote on this as well as you, and so do I, and I think this body is intelligent enough so that you will allow this question to go before the people. I do not see how we can do otherwise, Mr. Speak-

er, than be conscientious and stand upon our platform. The Democratic national platform has declared in the most emphatic terms for equal suffrage, and so has the Republican platform. This is not a party measure. If we all believed in equal suffrage we would not have these eloquent speakers on the other side and the nice roses. Gentlemen, this is a great issue that is before us today. It is too large an issue to jest about and make fun of. Some of us remember when the dam burst in Pennsylvania and caused the Johnstown flood. When that dam burst there was no power on earth could stop that flood. Ten thousand people were drowned. Now I do not say that there is a dam going to burst in Maine, but these waters cannot be held back much longer. Just as true as you live, gentlemen, the women of this State are going to exercise the right of suffrage, and I am going to serve notice on you now that you cannot stop it. Who opposes equal suffrage as a rule? The saloonists of the United States are very much in evidence in this opposition. They are afraid equal suffrage is going to pass. I wish I could show you letters that I receive along this line: "Mr. Longley, do not let suffrage get by." Now what class do these people represent? They represent the saloon interests of the United States. Now should not your wife and mother have a right to vote on the question of whether or not a saloon shall be established on the next corner? I tell you they should. Bless your soul, when you talk about bringing woman down, it is lifting her up, and I think a woman should have a chance to say whether a saloon shall be established near her home or not. Why shouldn't she?

I presume, Mr. Speaker, we are all aware that the women of this country own one-third of its real estate—that 33 1-3 per cent. is owned by the women. Now why shouldn't they have something to say about the matter of taxation? I say they should. There are many points, Mr. Speaker, which we might mention if there were time, but I told you when I started that I would not speak long, and I won't. I thank you all for your attention. (Applause.)

Mr. BOMAN of Vinalhaven: Mr. Speaker, I suggest that we take a vote. We have heard a lot of oratory and I suggest that the vote now be taken.

Mr. BUSSABARGER of Lubec: Mr. Speaker, I supposed, as the minister of the House, that it would fall to my duty to pronounce the benediction and say the last word on this momentous question. When I came into this House the first of January the honorable congressman-elect from Aroostook county, Ira G. Hersey, an ardent and loyal supporter of equal suffrage, said to me: "It's a good thing we have got a minister in the House because he can pray for the backsliders."

I have found in the discussion and in the opposition to this question three classes of opponents to woman suffrage that I want to notice briefly before I say amen. There is, first, the class which may be styled a bi-partisan crowd in legislative halls. They are neither Democratic or Republican. They are for whatever they think will better their own private personal needs and interests. For six years in Maine I have followed the ins and outs of this question, and four years ago I said to the leader of the Republican party in Lubec and in the county of Washington: "Why is it, every time you people are in power, the people who profess to stand for the home and for womanhood, when women's suffrage comes up it is defeated either in the House or the Senate?" He dropped his head and said: "Well, sir, that is where the wet element in my party and in your party put one over on us by a combination." So, friends, when I came to this Legislature, knowing that this great question would come up, I decided that I would not be a member of this bi-partisan element, this combination which is undoubtedly present in this Legislature.

So when the first skirmish came, a week ago last Wednesday, and we were called upon to stand on one side or the other, there was no doubt in my mind where I should stand, and the gentleman from Waterville (Mr. Berry) a member of the party I have honored with a lifelong national allegiance, has alluded to the despicable, mean, cheap politics that have been introduced here into the discussion to secure the pass-

age of this resolution. I thank the gentleman for introducing that subject for when I stood faithful to my pledge made nine years ago to the women of western Washington for equal suffrage to be submitted to the State, if elected to the Legislature, faithful to my pledge made last spring that, if elected to this Legislature, I would also submit that question of equal suffrage in referendum to the people of Maine, faithful also to that oath I took with uplifted hand under this dome to discharge my obligations as a representative of the people conscientiously, and uphold the Constitution, faithful to those vows made 15 years ago this coming June while kneeling at the altar rail, when the trembling hand of the aged professor and elder of the church on my head, set me apart as a leader of men, to lead upward and rightly—when I stood, friends, faithful to those vows and voted according to my pledges, what was the result? I state it gently—I state it without any comment—a friend of the minority floor leader came to me right here on the floor and informed me that because of my stand, I had made the boys mad and they would get revenge by killing my bill. Poor old Bussabarger booze bill! (Laughter). It had a rocky, rough passage on its road to the golden gate. Friends, it would be pathetic if it were not so ludicrous, the little handful of the minority party of 46 in this Legislature talking about killing a bill. But that is not the serious part of it. It was the intimation that it conveyed, and that is what I cared about and not the personal triumph or vanity of gaining a victory for the little old bill.

Why, friends, when the gentleman from Calais (Mr. Murphy), a friend of mine that I stood up and spoke for in the grand old city of Calais last summer in the campaign, brought me that information, I thought of the three men who were drinking together, an Englishman, a Scotchman and a son of old Erin. They were drinking a toast each to the other's country and native land. The Englishman said: "Here's to bonnie old Scotland, the land of strong men and bonnie lassies! Long may she live! If I had not been an Englishman, I would have been proud to have been a Scotchman." Then the canny Scotchman stood

up and lifted his glass on high in a toast to old England: He said, "Here's to happy old England, the land of great leaders and rulers, the mistress of the sea! If I had not been born in Old Scotland, I would have loved to have been an Englishman." Then both turned to the son of old Erin, whose face was a study, and as he lifted his glass aloft they said "Now, Pat, if you hadn't been an Irishman, what would you have been?" He said, "Faith and be-gorry, I would have been ashamed of myself." (Laughter.) Gentlemen, members of this honorable body, if I had not been wearing this cloth, and also a member of this honorable House, I would have been tempted to have told that gentleman and his backers to go to Billy Sunday's hell. I am ashamed of any Democrat in the State of Maine, or in the great United States that would attempt to gain his point by force, by threat, or by intimidation. Gentlemen, we will not be intimidated; we will not be coerced; we will not be moved. We will stand and I will tell you now friends, and gentlemen of the minority—my brothers of the Democratic party—why I did not and why I cannot follow the gentleman from Bangor (Mr. Murray), the leader of the minority on this floor. In a burst of confidence the other morning, out here in the cloak room, he told me in the presence of several other gentlemen that he probably would go to hell. I do not want to argue over that question if he is headed that way; I certainly am going in another direction. (Laughter.) I wish to say, gentlemen and ladies, that while everyone has a right, a free choice to chose their road, their pathway, and their future destination and final resting place, they have not got a right to drag others along with them; and I here and now say with all the force and power of 30 years' devotion to Democracy, that the Democratic party of Maine shall not be dragged down to that plane. Talk about dragging down womanhood, friends!

There is also another class I find in opposition to this equal suffrage with men composed of party wreckers and pledge breakers. You do not have to go back very far, gentlemen, in the years, perhaps to 1910 or 1909, when in the national halls of Congress we had a great fight on to restore rule to the

people, led by that gallant insurgent in the Senate—Dolliver—over whose heart was run the machine that crushed out his ambition and broke his proud spirit, and by Victor Murdock in the House, and when they had an opportunity to down that little clique that works in the dark halls and lobbies of Congress, 23 Democrats led by the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, broke over their party pledge, repudiated Democracy, deserted Champ Clark and supported the Republican Speaker, Cannon; and I was not surprised, friends, when I looked over the records of the vote on the independence of the Philippines bill to grant according to the pledges of our Democratic national platforms for 1900, 1904, 1908 and again in 1912, independence to those Filipinos on the same level and grounds that we granted it to the Cubans, also to find that when that came up for settlement 30 other Democrats, led by the same Fitzgerald of New York, broke over their party pledge and platform and again voted against redeeming that pledge. Friends, members of the minority, and men and women of Maine, here gathered and assembled and out in every farm house and in every valley and village; remember the pledge breakers, the party breakers! I said in my statement last Wednesday that I believed that I represented the leaders of this State and of this nation in the Democratic party when I declared that they were not opposed to a referendum of this equal suffrage matter. I hold in my hand a telegram dated,

"Washington, D. C., 1.50 P. M., Feb. 16, 1917.

"Mrs. Catherine Reed Ballentine,  
"Portland, Maine.

"Hope that present Legislature will pass resolution allowing the people of Maine to vote upon amendment to the Constitution which will provide suffrage for women. It is Democratic to allow the people at all times to express their opinion upon any measure. I favor granting suffrage to women and hope the resolution will be adopted.

"(Signed)

"CHARLES F. JOHNSON,  
"United States Senate."

(Applause)

Now, gentlemen, they ask me to choose between following Senator Johnson, who stands true to his party's pledge and platform, and Woodrow Wilson, the President of this republic, who left the Capitol and went to New Jersey, his adopted state, and voted for woman's suffrage. They ask me to choose between those men and some gentlemen from Bangor. Gentlemen, I do not take my democracy from that sweet smelling emporium of Maine. (Laughter.) I repudiate the leadership and say it is un-democratic and un-American.

Now, friends, there is another class in opposition to this bill who are honest. I have no quarrel with those fair members who are opposed to suffrage. My own sister that taught me from a little boy as a school-marm down yonder in the old Kentucky home, my first school teacher, is opposed to women's suffrage. She is opposed also to her brother taking any active interest in politics, and when they nominated me last summer, she said, "you had better keep out of politics because it is a dirty pool." I wrote back after election and said, "politics may have been a dirty pool here in Maine, but it has all been cleaned out and the mud has been thrown on me." (Laughter).

Now, friends, those who honestly oppose suffrage have one great argument and you have heard it here on this floor—that we are facing war and that the burdens of war will be borne by men; that they will march out to the sound of trumpet, the call of the cornet and the fife, and that when the cannons roar and the muskets sound and the sabers rattle, there will be no women there, and that because woman does not bear the equal share of the burdens of war, she should not have the right to vote. Gentlemen, I deny that allegation, and I defy the allegator. (Laughter). I believe that all history will show that woman has ever borne her fair share of the burdens of war in defending her home and native land. When a lad of 10 I read the Old Testament, and my boyish heart throbbed when it told of that woman in the walled city that, with the grindstone she had used to grind wheat or maize

to make her daily bread, hurled it down upon the head of the besieging enemy, a king, and crushed his skull, and over yonder in France, there is a statue to her whom the Church of Rome has chronicled a saint, that beautiful Maid of Orleans, who dreaming in her rustic retreat of the call to duty, rode on her white charger, armed in her white armor, putting fresh courage into the hearts of her discouraged countrymen, who gained victory after victory by her leadership until her king was crowned. Then, her work finished, she desired to return to her retreat, but they would not let her go. The woman then was too useful to send back home; and so she was offered up a martyr by her captors and in the street hurled as a witch. But her statue still rises, an inspiration to the women of today in all the walks of life. Let me close, friends, by one illustration of the heroism of women in times of war, drawn from my own dark and bloody ground—the old Kentucky home. On every thoroughfare that leads through that beautiful bluegrass land, far-famed for the beauty of its women and the peace and joy of the home, there are monuments commemorating their valor. Four miles from the queen city of the bluegrass—Lexington, Ky., on a pike at the foot of a little hill, there is a spring bubbling up that has a momentous history. On the top of that hill, a hundred years ago, a fort was established to protect the settlers of that dark and bloody ground. War had been declared between the settlers and the red men, and within that stockade were gathered the settlers, their wives, sons and daughters; but they found that a fatal error had been made in the building of the fort for down there at the foot of the hill bubbled that little spring that was the sole source of the fort's water supply, outside the stockade gate, and down yonder in the cane brakes, with their rifles ready with murderous instinct to catch the settlers un-awares, lay the savage foe. The question arose who would volunteer to go out the gate of the stockade down to the spring and fetch back the elixir of life, the fresh draughts of water. When that

question was put, the strongest backwoods hunter of Kentucky turned pale. Even Boone faltered and his noble sons and stalwart companions; but woman's courage rose to the occasion and the wives and daughters of the old Kentucky homes stepped forward and said "We will go." The stockade gate was swung open and they marched down in a phalanx to the spring once, twice and thrice and brought back the precious buckets of water, while the redmen concealed in the cane brakes looked on in admiration and surprise at this new exhibition of women's courage. Friends, who shall say that it was not an historic event such as this that led that great bard, Joaquim Miller, to pay this matchless tribute to womanhood:

"The bravest battle that ever was fought,  
Shall I tell you where and when?  
On the maps of the world you will find  
it not,

'Twas fought by the mothers of men.

Nay, not with cannon or battle shot,

With the sword or nobler pen;

Nay, not with eloquent word or thought

From the mouths of wonderful men;

But deep in the walled-up woman's heart  
Of a woman who would not yield,

But bravely, silently bore her part—

Lo, there is that battlefield.

No marching troop, no bivouac song,

No banners to gleam and wave,

But oh, those battles, they last so long,

From boyhood to the grave.

Yet faithful still as a pride of stars

She fights in her walled-up town,

Fights on and on through the endless  
wars,

Then silent, unseen, goes down.

Oh ye, with your cannon and battle shot

And soldiers to shout and praise,

I tell you the bravest battles fought

Were fought in these silent ways.

(Applause.)

Mr. BREWSTER of Portland: Mr. Speaker, Mr. Berry and the Kennebec Journal have agreed that I was to speak on this question, and so it is perhaps fitting that I should take just one moment. I want especially to speak because of my brother who sits across the aisle, the gentleman from Bangor, Mr. Murray, who wears the red rose. I have been associated with him upon one of the com-

mittees of this House and I have regretted some of the remarks of the gentleman (Mr. Bussabarger) who has preceded me. We have no quarrel with the gentlemen who would vote against this amendment. Strangely enough, this gentleman (Mr. Murray) comes from the city of Bangor which is called the Queen City of our State; but, nevertheless, if my brother who preceded me was correct in indicating the direction in which Mr. Murray was going, I want to say that that is as attractive as anything I have ever heard about that region and I should be happy to be associated with him.

Now, gentlemen, the first question on a constitutional amendment is whether there is a demand. No one so far has mentioned the petitions that have been presented to this body. The resolutions of the State Grange, that powerful organization of 60,000 members, or the State Federation of Women's Clubs, comprising so many thousands of women in this State who have asked that this shall be referred to the people; but ignoring all of this demand, my brother finds in the city of Waterville he thinks only 10 per cent. who wish it. Five of the wards in the city of Augusta have been canvassed during the past two weeks and I have here a petition signed by 781 women of the five wards of Augusta who ask for the right to vote—certainly not an insignificant minority. But, gentlemen, if they are right, if they are sincere in their statement that only an insignificant minority of men or women wish this, we know how long we have had this agitated. We know how long the Legislature has attended to the discussion and each succeeding Legislature. Now, gentlemen, if they are sincere in their claim, is it not about time for them to give this question the decent burial which they say it will receive at the hands of the people, and we challenge them to give it to us. So much for the demand.

One other question comes before us with a constitutional amendment. Is this inherently vicious I understand from the gentlemen who have talked that woman has always occupied her

present position in the political and social status. I understand that God in the beginning ordained for woman the position that she now occupies and that no alteration has ever occurred in all the phases of history. If that were the case, and we were now proposing a revolutionary change in her position, that would be a different matter; but, gentlemen, if you look back you will find it was not so very long in the past that woman was the mere chattel of man until finally the chains were stricken off. She was not regarded as intellectually competent to testify in court; she was not regarded as intelligent enough to hold property, and our own State, within a century, was one of the first states in the world to give to women full rights of property with man, and so it went on. Woman was not regarded as equal in education. It was our own State, within a half century, that established one of the first colleges where women were given an equal education with men. So we see her emerging out of the dark ages and coming step by step to take her position by the side of man; and, gentlemen, the question which we are considering is whether we shall take the last logical step in democratic government and give the woman the crowning glory of political status equal with man. At each one of those steps in her progress, there was heard the same opposition to taking those steps. Each time it was said it will spoil women; it will ruin New England homes; it will take away from women all those features which have given her charm. It makes me think of Mark Twain, whom you remember was going on a slow train out in Arkansas, and finally the train came to a stop and he asked what was the matter. The brakeman told him that there was a cow on the track and they had to stop and drive her off. They went along two or three hours longer and again the train came to a stop and Mark Twain said again to the brakeman, "Well, is there another cow on the track?" The brakeman said, "No, it's the same old cow." (Laughter). Gentlemen, that is the same argument which has been urged against every step in woman's

progress, and it is as true as we stand here that if the arguments be correct, the mistake was made when woman was emancipated from her chattel position and given property and educational rights equal to man.

We have one other thing to consider in finding out whether this is inherently vicious, because we have other states and countries exactly like ours where this thing has been tried. I will not mention the 28 states and countries of the world which give women full equality, but when you come to consider the states and countries which give her some measure of equality, some rights of political privileges, it is indeed astounding. You can find some south of the Mason and Dixon Line where the woman has no political rights whatever, but go into the countries of the old world and you will find England, Germany, France, Russia, Italy, practically all the nations that we regard as civilized, recognize the right of women in some degree to share in the political franchise. I searched, and I searched a long time, to find what states and countries must be classed with Maine in denying to women all rights of political representation, and I found, gentlemen, that all the states in the northeast United States, all that great territory west of the Mississippi, all of those countries we regard as civilized, and many of the countries that we regard as uncivilized—for instance, parts of India, China and South Africa—give to women some right to vote. Now what were the countries that gave them no rights at all, as does Maine? Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria and Turkey. That, gentlemen, is the class we are in not giving to women the right to vote.

My good friend from Bath, Mr. Larabee, has referred to the place where men vote in New York, and he has questioned the advisability of placing women in that position. He has found that the men of New York vote in the saloon. Now, gentlemen, it may be because the men are more at home there, and perhaps if you should give the women a voice in the matter, they would prefer to vote in the churches, because they are more at home there. We bought a little island down here a short while ago—the Danish West Indies—to

civilize and improve them, and now when we get it we find that under the King of Denmark, the women had already been given the right of suffrage on equal terms with men. Are we going, with the Declaration of Independence, no taxation without representation and all the rest about rights, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—are we going to say to those women of the Danish West Indies that the United States does not recognize their right to vote? It is a question that must be borne in mind.

Now, gentlemen, if there is no demand, lets get this out of the way and not be bothered with it for another 10 years, just as they finally got the question of resubmission out of the way two years ago and we hear no more of that now. The Democratic party did not **even ask for local option** the last time. We are not asking for resubmission; we are asking for submission of the amendment. If this is not inherently vicious, it is our duty to send it along. The question as to whether the majority of women are indifferent to this matter can be settled by no one better than by the men in every locality who know them. I want to call your attention in closing to the fact that the majority of people 2000 years ago were indifferent to the crucifixion of Christ; that 100 years ago the majority of people, and the majority of educated and intelligent people, were indifferent to the matter of the American Revolution. Read the pages of Woodrow Wilson or William Howard Taft in writing of that period of the American Revolution, and you will find that it was a small and militant minority that forced the issue with England and gave us our freedom. One hundred Harvard College graduates in the city of Boston, which was at that time a little city of 20,000, left the city because they did not believe in the thing. Twenty of the ministers of the leading churches in Boston left as Tories because they thought it was a mistake. You will find that same example throughout history. Some of you remember the days of the Civil War when Abraham Lincoln was a minority President, and when the indifference and hostility of the slaves was the chief difficulty in securing their eman-

ipation. You will find if guided by the indifference of the masses, there would never have been any steps of progress in all history. It seems to me that the only question for the men or Maine to consider is whether the State of Maine shall be a leader or a laggard in granting these rights to women, and it seems to me that here on the eve of the birth of George Washington, who led this country into freedom at the time of the American Revolution, it would be most appropriate for the men of Maine to say that the women of Maine are the equal of their sisters in the civilized world (Applause.)

Mr. MURRAY of Bangor: Mr. Speaker, I am of a profession every member of which is either a gentleman or a lady. Its ethics forbid indulging in personalities even when attacked by veiled insinuations. I will throw myself entirely upon this argument except to say this: I did say to the gentleman that I was going to hell anyhow—to him and two or three others. My reason for it was that I did not want them to annoy me by preaching; but I am not going to hell if I can help myself. So much for that. I do feel it my duty however, to put in its proper place the party I represent. I am glad I was attacked by a gentleman of neither party. I get that from Owen's little book there, whatever it is. This is not a party measure so far as the Democratic party is concerned.

I do not know whether my distinguished colleague—perhaps I might call him fellow Democrat, I don't know—I don't know whether he knows that or not. The Democratic members met last night and decided not to make a party measure of this. It was clearly understood in that caucus that no politics or no party pressure should be brought to bear upon any man, but that it was a question for his own conscience. I do not know whether the distinguished gentleman knew that or not, he left the caucus. However, if he owes an apology to my party—and I do not know that he does that either—I want to give his excuse which is this: "That is what you get by writing a speech, giving it to the newspapers, then having the facts changed and not

having the ability to get on your feet and change your speech." I am not going to speak on woman's suffrage. I simply say this to put my party in its proper place. I make no defense for myself; I leave my reputation and everything else with the gentlemen who know me. (Applause).

Mr. ROUNDS of Portland: Mr. Speaker, this resolve in my opinion is the most important matter of any that will be passed upon by this Legislature. Therefore, as some of the newspapers throughout the State have quoted and misquoted me, I ask the indulgence of this House to read a few lines that I have to say.

The first question which the members of this House should ask themselves in considering the important matter now before them is this:

Do the majority of the women of the State of Maine want the ballot?

To my mind, it is a question before which all the arguments advanced in favor of equal suffrage during this Legislative session seem of little weight, unless it can be answered in the affirmative. Have any facts or figures been produced that would show a preponderance of suffrage sentiment among our home makers? Have the proponents to this resolve been able to disprove the contention of the anti-suffragists that only a small percentage of Maine women seek the privilege of voting? Had there been the slightest indication that the majority of them wanted the same right as the men in this respect, I believe that Maine would have long ago ceased to be a battleground of the suffrage and anti-suffrage forces. I have faith enough in the men of this State to believe that they would have cheerfully granted their wives, sisters and daughters the ballot, had they felt sure that the greater part of them were desirous of obtaining it. So far as I can learn, however, the suffragists are still a small minority, and for that reason, if for no other, I think that this resolution should not receive a passage. It is apparent that the women of the old Pine Tree State are still willing to trust their men folks to choose other men

to make their laws and bring about needed reforms, and so long as they are, why make the change? We have been doing pretty well up in this northeastern corner of the country with respect to legislation for the improvement of conditions among the women and children, and I believe that we are not going to halt in our onward march, even if the women are not permitted to go to the polls with the men on every election day.

But if we were to give a little consideration to the argument that votes for women will produce more reforms and bring them about more rapidly, we must remind those who make such an argument that bad women are going to vote, as well as good women. It is reasonable to suppose that the opponents of any reform measure would be just as active in rounding up the bad women to vote against it, as they would in seeing to it that the bad men were all brought to the polls.

The women voted on the prohibition issue in California last November, but California did not go dry, for the reason that the women of the so-called gold coast turned out in large numbers and helped roll up a tremendous anti-prohibition majority in San Francisco. Colorado has been a suffrage state for some years. And it was not so long ago that we were reading of conditions of anarchy in that state which sent a shudder throughout the entire country. The women have voted in Colorado since 1893, and during that period the state has had 409 divorces to every 100,000 of married population, while the adjoining male suffrage state of Nebraska has had only 226. One of the most prominent clergymen in Denver said in February, 1915, that in Denver the preceding year they had 1265 divorces out of 2500 marriages. Does this show that divorces decrease where the women have the ballot?

What does a brief glance at other suffrage states show? The women of Reno, Nevada, voted for the first time in the spring of 1915, and they voted against the proposition to reduce the number of saloons from 80 to 40, for which they were publicly thanked by the liquor interests for standing by them. Just before the city election in

Chicago in the spring of 1915, 49.9 per cent. of the total number of legal female voters registered, leaving 50.1 per cent. to neglect their political duties. Only 17.3 per cent. of the men were guilty of like neglect. Utah women have had the right to vote since 1896, but they have not shaken off the institutions of Mormonism. On the contrary, their votes help to sustain these institutions. Seattle and Tacoma, in the state of Washington, are suffrage cities. There the women helped to recall corrupt mayors and then faced about within a short time and reinstalled them. There are numerous other instances of the failure of suffrage to bring about radical reforms, but I do not need to mention all of them. I do wish, however, to call attention to the fact that in three women suffrage states, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, documentary proof to prevent fraudulent statements by minors under 16 seeking employment is not required. In the male suffrage State of Maine, it is necessary, and furthermore, the certificate, signed by a school superintendent, committee or teacher, must state that the minor can read and write and perform simple arithmetical processes.

In those three suffrage states boys of eight, nine and 10 years were applying for work upon affidavits that they were 14 and 16 years of age. Five male suffrage states in the western section of the country have very many of the provisions of the model child labor law prepared by the national child labor committee. Six of the leading suffrage states make a very poor showing as compared with them in this respect. In fact, two of the equal suffrage states, Wyoming and Idaho, have no one of these model provisions.

Maine, a male suffrage State, has passed a law which regulates the working hours of women and minors in factories, laundries and mercantile establishments of 54 hours a week. It also prohibits the night work of minors. Maine has other laws jointly protecting men and women. Maine has established a teachers' pension system. Maine has provided a woman's reformatory, but not a single suffrage state has such an institution. The lawmakers of this State have ever been ready and willing to grant most generous

aid to the many deserving institutions within its borders. I do not believe that they would receive more from the State if the women had the ballot. Maine legislators, like those in other male suffrage states, have not been backward in enacting social welfare laws. On the contrary, the states where the women do not vote have been the first to enact such laws.

But after all that is said here today, we have to come back to that all important question: Do the majority of the women of Maine want the ballot? If they do not—and no one has been able to prove that they do—why go to all this expense of submitting the case to the electorate until it is reasonably certain the greater number of the women desire it? Some of the men who think of voting for suffrage may say: "It won't make much difference, anyway. We might as well let them have it." But in answer to this rather weak argument, it might be stated that it will make a difference. It will add enormously to the cost of the next State election. If you do not believe this, ask the secretary of state.

Who will pay the increased taxes that will be necessary because of this? The men pay the poll taxes. Shall the women also pay poll taxes if they are granted new responsibility in the way of voting? If they are not to pay poll taxes when given the ballot, where is the equality? Men are obliged to support their wives. Do the women propose to give up this right of support if they vote?

It is well to look at this matter from a business standpoint as well as a sentimental one. We should not permit ourselves to be carried away by high sounding appeals that have little foundation in fact. Whenever a suffrage advocate, be that advocate man or woman, arises and says that he or she speaks for the homes of Maine, for its mothers and the little children, I always feel like reminding him that there are some of us who have in years past been doing something beside speak for the homes and those who make them the bits of heaven on earth that they are.

The men of Maine have not been recreant to their duty. They may not

have moved with the swiftness that some of those back home have felt was necessary, but I challenge any statement that we have not made progress in the State of Maine. We have not had the women's votes to force us to action, but we have had their appeals and their petitions to inspire us. We have had our partisan fights on this floor—we men of Maine—but as Republicans and Democrats, we have done our best to make it a better State to live in, and I ask where the women of Maine have drawn any broad indictment against the men of Maine for their failure with respect to reforms.

I think they are still willing to trust us to make the laws of Maine; trust other men to choose the lawmakers.

Mr. ALLAN of Portland: Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER: The gentleman from Portland, Mr. Allan, moves the previous question. As many as are in favor of that question will rise.

A sufficient number having arisen, the previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER: The question before the House now is, shall the main question be put. All those in favor will say, yes.

Mr. BAXTER of Portland: Mr. Speaker, I move that when the vote is taken, it be taken by the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER: The question before the House is on the final passage of this resolve proposing an amendment to the constitution giving political rights to women upon equal terms with men. The gentleman from Portland, Mr. Baxter, moves that the vote be taken by the yeas and nays. The resolve calls for a two-thirds vote to insure its passage. The Chair wishes to state to the House that a member may change his vote on a roll call or on a division of the House at any time before the vote is declared by the Chair. Several members have asked the Chair about that point. If any member should vote no on this resolve, and before the vote was declared wish to

change his vote and vote yes, by addressing the Chair and making his wishes known his vote will be changed; or, if any member voted yes and wanted to vote no, the same process would follow. The clerk will call the roll of members alphabetically and as many as are in favor of the passage of this resolve will say yes when their names are called; those opposed to its passage will say no.

YEA—Albert, Aiden, Allan of Portland, Allen of Sanford, Ames, Anderson, Andrews of Norway, Andrews of Warren, Averill, Babb, Barnes, Baxter, Boman of Vinalhaven, Bonney, Bowman of Detroit, Boynton, Brackett, Bragdon, Brewster, Brown, Burbank, Bussabarger, Buzzell, Cates, Chaplin of Bridgeton, Chaplin of South Portland, Charles, Clark of Harrison, Clarke of Randolph, Clason, Clement, Clifford, Coffin, Cole of Eliot, Cole of Etna, Conary, Corliss, Creditford, Cummings, Cushman, Daigle of New Canada, Daigle of Wallagrass, Day, Dearth, Dow, Dutton, Eaton, Ellis of Gardiner, Ellis of York, Farrington, Fletcher, Flint, Gannett, Garcelon, Greenlaw, Gurney, Hall, Hammond, Harmon, Harris, Hart, Hill, Holbrook, Holley, Holt of Gouldsboro, Holt of Skowhegan, Hooper, Howard, Hunt, Hutchins, Jenkins, Jennings, Jordan of Baileyville, Jordan of Cumberland, Lawrence, Leavitt, Lenfest, Lewis, Libby, Longley, Lyford, McNally, Merrill, Messer, Morison, Newcomb, Nicholas, Packard of Newburg, Pattee, Pendexter, Phillips, Powers, Purington, Ranney, Richards, Rowe, Ryder, Sawyer of Madison, Sisson, Snow of Mars Hill, Speirs, Stearns, Stanley, Stubbs, Tate, Turner, Tuttle, Wagg, Washburn, Watts, Welch, Williams, Wilson—113.

NAY—Berry, Besse, Billings, Bolduc, Descoteaux, Driscoll, Emerson, Fleming, Frost, Goldthwait, Grant, Hanson, Hartwell, King, Kneeland, Knight, Langley, Largay, Larrabee, Levesque, Meserve, Morin, Murphy, Murray, Neilon, O'Connell, Packard of Rockland, Picher, Reed, Rounds, Russell, Sawyer of Eden, Snow of Bluehill, Watson, Webb—35.

ABSENT—Drisko, Mutty, Redman—3.

When the name of Mr. Morison of Corinth was reached in the roll call, he made the following statement:

Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the House, I desire to go on record as being opposed to women's suffrage, but having been connected with this forum on a platform which pledged its support to a measure of this kind, and knowing as I do that my constituents are expecting me to invoke upon

it the referendum, I do not propose at this time to betray the trust with which I have been invested, preferring rather to betray only myself by voting against the dictates of my own conscience. Mr. Clerk, I vote yes.

five having voted no, I declare the resolve finally passed. (Applause.)

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On motion by Mr. Cole of Eliot,  
Adjourned until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

The SPEAKER: One hundred and thirteen having voted yes, and thirty-