was our sister State of Tennessee, whose last legislature raised the age of consent from 10 years to 16 years by unanimous vote, yet this degraded state of morals is found in many of the States of the Union.

The age of consent in Delaware is but 7 years, think of the horror of such a law. It is enough to horrify and sicken the soul of humanity. In the States of Minnesota, Colorado, Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Texas, Idaho and South Dakota the age of consent is only 10 years, while all the rest of the States and Territories range from 12 to 18 years. Both Wyoming and Kansas have raised the age to 18 years. New York was the first State to raise the age of consent from 10 years to 16 years. We have been told that this is too delicate a subject to bring before the legislature.

It is a significant fact that in every State where this moral advance has been secured, women have brought it about, men seem to be so absorbed in material progress and the pursuit of place, power and gain, that they give little thought to moral progress, and only do so when urged to their duty by women. Hypocrites and prudes have so stifled free discussion on the subjects that most vitally concern the race, that we are a nation of moral paralytic pigmies. Since girls are the victims of this degraded condition the Kentucky Equal Rights Association appeals to the General Assembly for a more just and humane law. Every city, town and neighborhood has its victims. Does the law step in when girl children need the most protection, declaring in the name of justice, that he who pollutes and degrades these defenceless minors shall suffer a punishment commensurate with the terrible crime? Nay Verily! the innocents are sent to doom, degradation and despair. The present law reserves its protection for libertines in their pastime of despoiling a maidenhood.

Gentlemen of the Legislature of Kentucky, you are not responsible for the laws you found in our code, when the interests of the people became your sacred trust, but you *will* be responsible for the laws you leave on our statutes. Do not forget that every wrong done to woman is visited with terrible vengeance on man. The race is stamped by its mothers, and mothers were girls before they were mothers. Even your own daughters may be the victims of the diabolical law now on our statutes. If not your own daughters, the helpless child victims are some one's daughters. Designing libertines with the law to shield them are no respectors of person or position. In the name of humanity we plead with you to think of the helpless negro girls who emerge from hovels of ignorance and poverty, who are the prey of this law in every community in the State. God only knows the number that have been sent to the lowest depths of human misery, "with no eye to pity and no hand to save."

> "There are deep wrongs men dare not have revealed,
> And in our midst insane barbaric hordes
> That make the law their shield."

Can any man in the General Assembly of Kentucky defend the present law of the age of consent, and then look into the eyes of his innocent daughter without quailing, or face the mother who bore him without self condemnation?

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association voices the sentiment of all good men and women in the State when pleading with the legislature to at once enact a law raising the age of consent from 12 years to 18 years. We petition for this law in the name of humanity and justice. God is just and He will not let His justice sleep forever. May you be the instruments to bring justice and protection to the defenceless. For the honor of Kentucky we plead with you to enact this just and humane law.

To the General Assembly of the State of Kentucky:

We, the undersigned, citizens of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, do most respectfully petition your Honorable Body to enact a Law for the protection of girls, by raising the age of consent from twelve years to eighteen years.

AN APPEAL

FROM THE

Kentucky Equal Rights Association

TO THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF KENTUCKY.

BY

MRS. JOSEPHINE K. HENRY,

Superintendent of Legislative and Petition Work,

Versailles, Ky.

Published by the Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

1893.

To the People of Kentucky:

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association makes an appeal to all good men and women in the State to aid in securing from the Legislature a law raising the age of consent from 12 years to 18 years.

All persons who will circulate or sign petitions praying for such a law, please address,

MRS. MARY K. JONES, Newport, Ky.

or MRS. SARAH G. HUMPHREYS, Versailles, Ky.

Special Committee.

To the Honorable Members of the General Assembly of Kentucky:

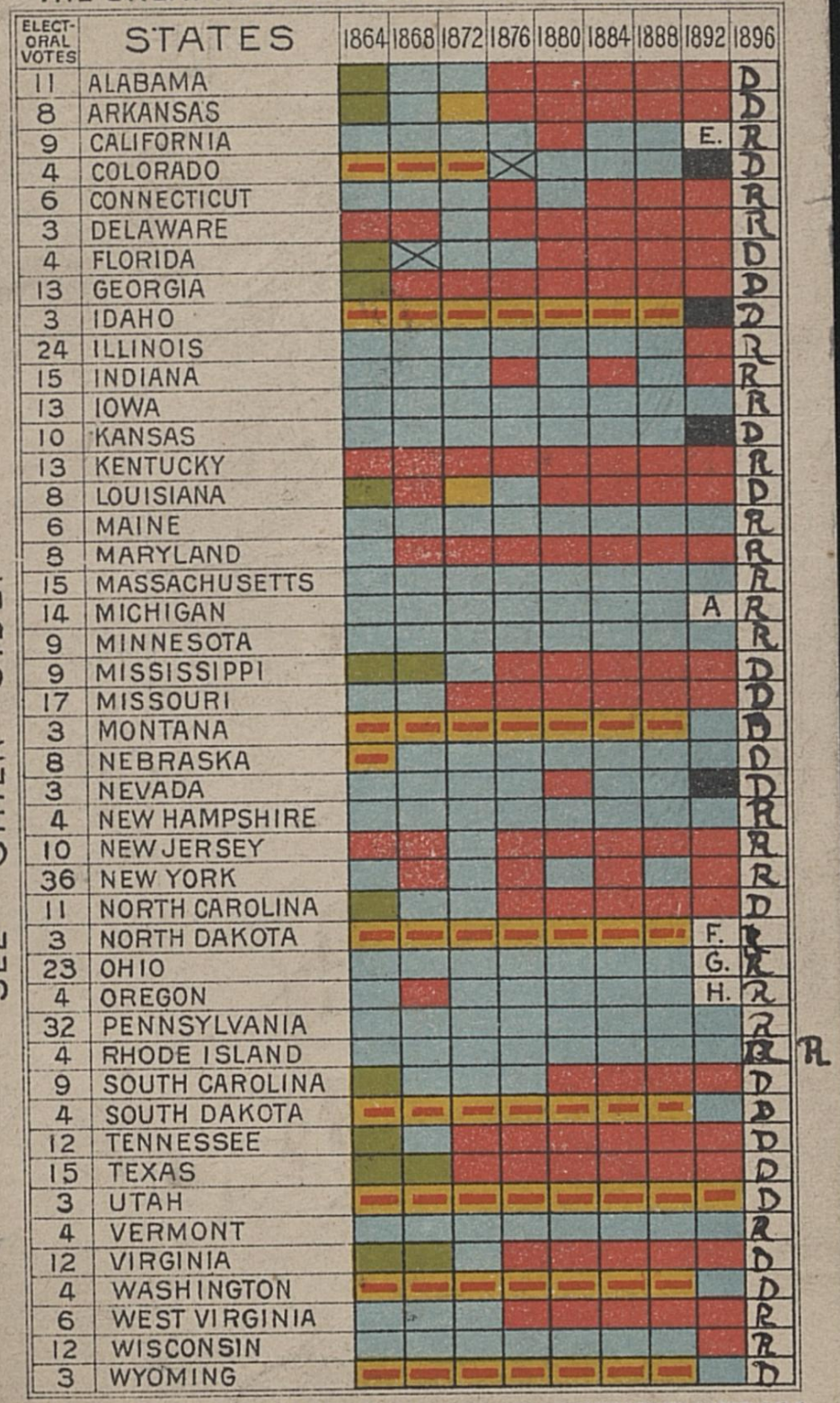
If Kentucky would maintain a proud position in the federation of States she must keep pace with the ideas and laws which evolve a grander race of men and women. The barbarous laws that crouch in our statutes ready to spring upon the defenceless must be expunged to give place to those better suited to the conditions of today. The Kentucky statutes still contain some disgraceful laws, and the victims of these laws are women and girls. To our honor be it said that the general public, and even some of our lawmakers do not know of the existence of these laws, for the reason that the law and its victims may not have cros ed their paths, but that they are there in all their darkness and disgrace cannot be denied, and nowhere is it more vividly illustrated than in the law which is known by the name of "age of consent," by which legal statute fixes the age of twelve years at which a female child may consent to her own ruin.

In the words of Editor B. O. Flower of the *Arena*, one of the grandest moral reformers of our time, "If a government has any legitimate function it is that of defending the weak, from the outrages of the strong, and securing as far as possible equal justice for her citizens. When a government legislates in the interest of one class and to the injury of another, it has clearly exceeded its function, but when it goes beyond this and deliberately legislates in the interest of the lust of men, and against the most defenceless of its citizens, legislates to place little children whose lives have not yet opened into the flower of maturity, in the hands of moral lepers to be despoiled, and forever ruined, it inaugurates a policy as suicidal as it is unjust, as destructive as it is infamous," yet this is the status of Kentucky law where the age of consent is fixed at 12 years which is only a step beyond infancy.

Kentucky law takes particular care to guard a girl's property until she is twenty-one years of age, claiming she as a minor is not competent to manage her property. The State debars her from making a contract owing to her minority, and if she wishes to marry before legal age the State interposes and says her consent is not valid. If the girl be possessed of fortune, and those nearest and dearest to her be in absolute want, she is not permitted by the State to use a penny of her abundance to relieve the needs of parents or relatives. The child is protected in her property, and though she is not allowed honorable marriage where parents or guardian object, she may consent to her spiritual, moral and physical ruin, and the guilty one who thus robs her of the crown of womanhood—her virtue—is protected behind this infamous law, giving libertines license to prey upon little girls. Was ever travesty on justice greater, or has law ever touched a lower depth of degradation? Comparatively few of the mass of virtuous home-loving people of Kentucky know this awful fact, but whether they know it or not, it is high time for some one to try and retrieve our honor by asking our lawmakers to wipe out this foul blot from our code.

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association has taken upon itself this task. We do so trusting in the integrity of our lawmakers in the matter of justice, and the conception of the duty they owe the defenceless, and society at large. We are hoping they make this task an easy one by raising the age of consent in Kentucky from twelve years to eighteen years, by unanimous vote. Should the women of Kentucky expect less from the men who hold all the interests of the women and children in the State in their power, while they are debarred the poor privilege of raising any protest against tyranny and injustice that can be crystalized into law to prevent wrong? Surely not! or we are sadly mistaken in the moral stature of the men the voters have sent to our legislative hall. It is encouraging to note the fact that since the work and heroic sacrifice of Josephine Butler, and Mr. Stead's revelation in the London Pall Mall Gazette only a few years ago, by which hundreds of thousands of girls were saved from ruin, that the spirit of moral reform along this line has invaded our own country and many states have raised the age of consent The last to fall in line

THE GREAT POLITICAL SITUATION - 1864 TO 1896.



SEE OTHER SIDE.

TOTAL NUMBER ELECTORAL VOTES 447. NUMBER NECESSARY TO ELECT 224.

KEY TO CHART.

- REPUBLICAN.
- DEMOCRATIC.
- REJECTED.
- NO VOTE.
- NOT ADMITTED TO STATEHOOD.
- ELECTORS CHOSEN BY LEGISLATURE.
- POPULIST.

E. 1R, 8D. - A. 9R. 5D. - F. 1R, 1D, 1P. - G. 22 R, 1D. - H. 3R, 1P.

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TRADE *Monarch* MARK. **Shirts.**



Election October 1st, 1889.

For Representative to 51st Congress
JOHN L WILSON

For Governor
ELISHA P FERRY

For Lieutenant Governor
CHARLES E. LAUGHTON.

For Secretary of State
ALLEN WEIR

For State Treasurer
ADDISON A LINDSLEY

For State Auditor.
THOMAS M REED

For Attorney General:
WILLIAM C. JONES.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction:
ROBERT B. BRYAN

For Commissioner of Public Lands·
WILLIAM T FORREST

For Judges of the Supreme Court
RALPH O DUNBAR,
THEODORE L STILES,
JOHN P HOYT,
THOMAS J. ANDERS,
ELMON SCOTT

FIRST—For the Constitution
Against the Constitution.

SECOND—For Woman Suffrage.
Against Woman Suffrage.

THIRD—For Prohibition.
Against Prohibition

FOURTH—For the Permanent Location of the Seat of Government

King County Republican Ticket.

For Judge of the Superior Court,
JULIUS A STRATTON

For County Clerk,
M M HOLMES

Legislative Ticket.

For State Senators 19th Senatorial District,
W D WOOD,
J H. JONES,
O D GUILFOIL,
J R KINNEAR,
W V RINEHART.

For Representatives King County,
J. T BLACKBURN,
W C RUTTER,
W. H HUGHES,
ALEXANDER ALLEN
W. J. SHINN,
GEO. BOTHELL,
F. W BIRD,
FRED J GRANT.

Fraudulent Ballot Used in Constitutional Election of 1889 to Defeat Woman Suffrage

How Washington Women Lost the Ballot

(By Adella M. Parker.)

How the women of Washington lost the ballot, though the men twice voted it to them; how Tacoma's "boss" gambler attacked the law to get "his man" out of the "pen"; how a bartender's wife rushed a case through the courts and refused to let it go higher; how, in '89, the ballots were "marked" before they came from the press—this is the story of how Washington women were tricked out of their political rights.

Women first voted in Washington in 1884. They were enfranchised by the legislature of the previous year. They voted during '85 and '86, and they voted so well that they drove most of the thugs and gamblers over into British Columbia, and the British themselves were forced to enfranchise women "in self-protection," as was stated by the honorable member who brought in the bill.

The women of British Columbia still have the ballot. There are no courts on the British side to question acts of parliament. But in Washington, though the suffrage laws have never been repealed, woman's right to vote was denied by the courts in '87, the power of the legislature to give her the right to vote was denied in '88, and in '89 she was counted out by a ballot "marked" in the printing.

Harry Morgan, "boss" gambler of Tacoma, made the first attack upon the suffrage laws. It was he who was back of the famous case of Harland vs. Territory (3 W. T.), which first denied the women the right to vote. Harland was a henchman of Morgan who had been convicted on a felony charge and sent to prison. Both men and women sat on the jury which brought in the verdict, and Morgan challenged the right of women to act as jurors.

The right of women to serve on the jury depended upon their right to vote. For three years they had been voting, unchallenged, and they had been serving as jurors with such marked ability as to call forth the most favorable comment for their capacity to enforce the law.

But woman's capacity in this respect did not recommend her to Harry Morgan, and he was determined to drive her from the courtroom. Defeated in Harland vs. Territory in the lower court, he appealed to the higher.

And he won. Harland vs. Territory was decided in favor of Harland. Judge George Turner wrote the opinoin, holding that women had no right to sit on the jury because the law granting them the privilege was not given the proper title.

The title of the bill was "An act to amend Section 3050 of Chapter 238 of the Code of Washington." Nineteen other laws passed by the same legislature had been headed in the same way and the very bill authorizing the sitting of the court which pronounced this decision was one of them. Yet, though nothing was urged against these other laws, the suffrage law was declared void.

This decision was made by a divided court. Chief Justice Roger S. Greene and Judge John P. Hoyt both held the suffrage law to be valid. But Judge Hoyt was disqualified from sitting in the case because he had been the trial judge in the lower court. Had he been qualified to act the validity of the law would have been sustained, but, as it was, it was possible for two men—Justices George Turner and William Langford, both appointees of Grover Cleveland (peace to his ashes!)—to deprive all the women in Washington of the ballot on a mere technicality which was not urged against scores of other laws and one which was later overthrown by a unanimous court; for this ruling was completely reversed in Marston vs. Humes (3 Wash.) four years later. Judge Hoyt, with the full bench concurring, delivered the opinion of the court, and after making an exhaustive survey of the cases cited in support of the decision in Harland vs. Territory, he makes the comment that if the learned judges who made that decision had read the

cases which they cited they would have decided the case the other way. He excuses them on the ground that there were few books in the territory and that digests are often misleading.

But Harland vs. Territory did not finally take away from Washington women the right to vote. This case was decided in February, 1887. The legislature which met the following winter had already been chosen by the votes of both men and women, and during that session a new suffrage law was passed, having a sufficient title to bring it within the ruling of the court.

This law was passed early in 1888. In April of that year women voted at the spring elections, but in Spokane one woman's vote was challenged, while the votes of all the others were accepted by the election officials.

The vote of Mrs. Nevada Bloomer was refused. Mrs. Nevada Bloomer was a bartender's wife, and she at once brought an action for $5,000 damages against Todd and other election officers for the injury she sustained by being deprived of her vote.

On April 9, 1888, George Turner resigned from the Supreme Bench and became an attorney in this suit, defending the election officials.

The case of Bloomer vs. Todd (3 W. T.) was rushed through the courts at a lively rate. Though the Supreme Court was a year behind its docket, this case was advanced on the calendar and decided in four months. Four of the five judges then making up the court concurred in the view that Mrs. Nevada Bloomer had suffered no injury because she had no right to vote.

Chief Justice Jones wrote this opinion, which followed closely Judge Turner's brief. The territorial legislature had failed to give Mrs. Nevada Bloomer the right to vote, not because it had meant to withhold the right or had wished to do so. The legislature had passed a suffrage law and there was this time no defect in its title. But the legislature hadn't given Mrs. Navada Bloomer the right to vote because it couldn't.

In this decision the court did not assume that Congress had no right to authorize the territory to enfranchise women, nor does it claim that the organic act under which the territory was organized expressly excludes women from the ballot. In fact, the court admits that Congress does authorize the territory to enfranchise "citizens," barring the criminal and the insane, and the court will not, of course, claim that women is not a citizen; but the court, following closely still the brief of the Hon. George Turner, did find that Congress should have put the word "male" before the word "citizens" in the organic act, and inasmuch as Congress did not put it in, but, in fact, left it out, the court took the liberty to amend this act of Congress by inserting it.

The amended act now read that the territory could enfranchise only "male" citizens, and, of course, this barred Mrs. Nevada Bloomer.

Now, at this time the women of Wyoming Territory had been voting for twenty years, and in Utah also women were voting, and in at least two cases Utah women had taken to the United States Supreme Court questions similar to that involved in this action and had won them. So, willing friends at once came to the aid of Mrs. Bloomer. Funds were placed at her disposal. That $5,000 might still be hers if she would carry the case to the United States Court. But Mrs. Nevada Bloomer refused. She was perhaps convinced that she had no right to vote, for nothing could induce her to pursue that $5,000, even with all her expenses paid.

Bloomer vs. Todd was decided in August, 1888. When the statehood bill was rushed through the next winter the reason for the haste was plain. Women were to be excluded from voting for members of the constitutional convention, and suffrage was to be left out of the new state government. As four-fifths of the women were voting at the previous elections, no other method could have been successful in accomplishing this result.

Members of the constitutional convention were to be elected in May. Had Mrs. Bloomer consented to carry the case up, the federal question involved might have been decided before this time. To start a new action and reach a decision within this time was impossible, and any other course might delay statehood. The women were begged not to do this, and all were eager for admission to the Union.

Furthermore, the women were assured that if they would trust to the chivalry of the men suffrage would be incorporated into the new constitution.

So the women trusted to the chivalry of the men, and when the constitutional convention met two of the seventy-five members were in favor of suffrage for women. This is the statement of Henry C. Blackwell, who convassed it thoroughly.

Neither woman suffrage nor prohibition was inserted in the constitution, but they were presented as separate amendments at the same election. Considering the make-up of the convention, this may seem a remarkable concession, but in the light of later events but little risk of enacting them into law appears to have been run.

The prohibitionists at the fall election had not put any ticket in the field, with the understanding that the republicans would not oppose the amendments, but when election day came it was found that the republicans had printed a ballot marked in advance, voting down the amendments, and had even printed it on the prohibition printing press.

There are men in Seattle who know just how this trick was turned. It was generally believed at the time that agents of a large wholesale liquor house not having its headquarters in Portland, had offered to print all the republican ballots for the whole state without cost to the party if allowed this privilege. (There was no Australian ballot system in the territory. Each party got out its ballots and gave them out at the polls.)

These facts are known. The small printing office of the Leader—the prohibition paper—at Third and Wall streets, in Seattle, was hired for forty-eight hours, under lock and key, to print the republican ballots. No one in the Leader office was employed on the work. Printers were brought from elsewhere, the work was done and the office had been thoroughly cleaned up when the Leader staff regained possession.

In cleaning up the press a crumpled ballot was found shoved down behind it. This was the first intimation of any irregularity. A member of the republican committee was confronted with it. He claimed that only 2,000 or 3,000 of these fraudulent ballots had been printed—"vest pocket" votes for the liquor interests. He finally admitted that there were 60,000 or 70,000, but the press registered 180,000.

It was three days before election. The prohibitionists sent out 125 telegrams, "Watch for fraudulent republican votes." Many points, of course, could not be reached. Large numbers of the ballots were returned to headquarters and clean ones demanded or none. But thousands of these marked ballots were given out on eletcion day, and in spite of challenges thousands were voted and counted. The amendments were lost, but a change of one vote in twelve would have carried them.

A. A. W.

"Truth, Justice and Honor."

THIRTEENTH CONGRESS OF WOMEN.

1885.

The Association for the Advancement of Women will hold their Thirteenth Congress in Des Moines, Iowa, October 7th, 8th and 9th, in the Congregational Church, corner of Locust and Seventh Streets.

Executive Sessions at 10 o'clock A. M. Public Sessions at 2:30 and at 8 o'clock P. M. At Evening Sessions an admittance fee of twenty-five cents will be charged.

A Conference of *officers only* will be held October 6th, at 7:30 o'clock P. M., in the Vestry of the Church.

Entertainment for officers and speakers during the Sessions of the Congress will be provided upon application to Mrs. Julia M. Hunting, 705 Eighteenth Street, Des Moines, Iowa. All applications should be made, if possible, before September 15th.

Board can be obtained at rates varying from $1.25 to $3.00 a day.

To the Members of the Association for the Advancement of Women.

DEAR FRIENDS AND FELLOW-MEMBERS:

As years roll on, events seem to prove that the Association for the Advancement of Women has still much work to do, and many points in this vast country to reach with its influence. New occasions for effort constantly arise, and we should endeavor to meet them with new energy, and in a spirit of hopefulness justified by the results of our labor in the past.

We take pleasure in issuing this summons to another Annual Congress, which will be held in Des Moines, Iowa, October 7th, 8th and 9th, 1885. We hope for a large attendance of members and an inspiring meeting.

ELLA C. LAPHAM,
Secretary.

JULIA WARD HOWE,
President.

OFFICERS.

PRESIDENT.

JULIA WARD HOWE, Rhode Island.

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Ruth C. Denison, - - D. C.	Clara Bewick Colby, - - Neb.	Elizabeth Widgery Varnum, Fla.
Emma C. Bascom, - - Wis.	Lucinda H. Stone, - - Mich.	Clara Conway, - - - Tenn.
Jennie McCowen, M. D., - Iowa.	Caroline M. Severance, - - Cal.	

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Ella C. Lapham, - - N. Y.

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Harriet A. Townsend, - - N. Y.	L. D. Douglas, - - Penn.	Rev. Augusta C. Bristol, - N. J.
Mary E. Bagg, - - N. Y.	Frances E. W. Harper, - Penn.	Emma Mont. McRae, - - Ind.
Mary C. Peckham, - - R. I.	Jane H. Spofford, - - D. C.	Frances F. Fisher, - - Ohio.
Ellen Clarke Sargent, - - Cal.		

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Art, - Ednah D. Cheney, Mass.	Reforms and Statistics, Rev. A. B. Blackwell, N. J.
Science, Prof. Maria Mitchell, N. Y.	Education, Mary F. Eastman, Mass.
Publication, Lita Barney Sayles, Conn.	Topics and Papers, Frances F. Fisher, O.
	Journalism, Elizabeth B. Harbert, Ill.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

Is the Law of Progress one of Harmony or Discord?
Rev. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, N. J.

Comparative Effects on Health of Professional, Fashionable and Industrial Life,
ANNA D. FRENCH, M. D., N. Y.

The Production and Distribution of Wealth, . . . Rev. AUGUSTA C. BRISTOL, N. J.

The Work of the World's Women, ... Mrs. H. L. T. WOLCOTT, Mass.

Justice and not Charity, the Need of the Day, ... Mrs. MARY E. BAGG, N. Y.

Organized Work, as Illustrated by the Methods of the W. C. T. U., Miss FRANCES E. WILLARD, Ill.

The Ministry of Labor, ... Miss ADA C. SWEET, Ill.

The Need of Adjustment between Business and Social Life, JULIA HOLMES SMITH, M. D., Ill.

The Advantage of the Spoken over the Written Word, . Miss FRANCES F. FISHER, Ohio.

The Religion of the Future, ... Mrs. IMOGENE C. FALES, N. Y.

Women Physicians in Hospitals for the Insane, . . . JENNIE McCOWEN, M. D., Iowa.

Human Parasites, ... LEILA G. BEDELL, M. D., Ill.

A. A. W.

"Truth, Justice and Honor"

Fourteenth Congress of Women.

1886.

The Association for the Advancement of Women will hold their Fourteenth Congress in Louisville, Kentucky, October 20th, 21st and 22nd, 1886.

Executive Sessions at 10 o'clock A. M. Public Sessions at 2:30 and at 8 o'clock P. M. At Evening Sessions a fee of twenty-five cents will be charged for admission.

A Conference of *officers only* will be held October 19th, at 7:30 o'clock P. M.

A notice of the local arrangements will be issued as soon as practicable.

To the Members of the Association for the Advancement of Women.

DEAR FRIENDS:

We would call your attention to the programme of our Annual Congress, appointed to be held this year in Louisville, Kentucky, on the 20th, 21st and 22nd of October.

These meetings are remembered, by those of us who have been able to attend them, as occasions of great interest. They bring together thoughtful women from many parts of our country, and thus open the way to helpful acquaintance and co-operation in good undertakings. The papers presented and discussed suggest much that is available for future work and study, and the hour of parting always finds us reluctant to lose sight of one another, and to adjourn the fuller consideration of the topics treated of until after the lapse of another twelve-month.

We surely hope that the record of the coming Congress will equal, if not exceed in value, those of other years.

ELLA C. LAPHAM,
Secretary.

JULIA WARD HOWE,
President.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

The Freedom of Fate, - - - - - - - - - MRS. ELLEN M. MITCHELL, Col.
Education in Industrial Art, - - - - - - - - ANNA D. FRENCH, M. D., N. Y.
What Agencies should Women Employ for the Uplifting of Society? MRS. J. T. SUNDERLAND, Mich.
The Mind-Cure, - - - - - - - - SARAH HACKETT STEVENSON, M. D., Ill.
Marriage and Divorce, - - - - - - - - - MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE, R. I.
The Old and the New South, - - - - MRS. JENNIE CALDWELL NIXON, La.
Woman's Industrial Position, - - { REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, N. J.
MRS. IMOGENE C. FALES, - - - N. Y.
MRS. CLARA BEWICK COLBY, - - - Neb.
REV. AUGUSTA C. CHAPIN, - - - Ill.
The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, - - - - - MISS ELLEN M. FOLSOM, Mass.
Women as Land-holders in the West, - - - - - - MRS. EMMA HADDOCK, Ia.
Symposium:—Woman's Suffrage, - - - - - { PROF. MARIA MITCHELL, N. Y.
MRS. EDNAH D. CHENEY, Mass.
MISS LAURA CLAY, - Ky.
The Effect of Stimulants and Narcotics upon the Health and Morals of Women,
MARY J. SAFFORD, M. D., Mass.
The Government's Duties in View of the Mingling of Races in America,
MISS MARY F. EASTMAN, Mass.

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Elizabeth B. Chace,	R. I.	Frances F. Fisher,	Ohio.	Ellen M. Mitchell,	Col.
Sarah W. Devoll, M. D.,	Me.	Adele S. Hutchison, M. D.,	Minn.	Laura Clay,	Ky.
Charlotte M. Peirce,	Penn.	Ella R. Holden,	N. H.	Elizabeth W. Varnum,	Fla.
Jennie McCowen, M. D.,	Iowa.	Clara Bewick Colby,	Neb.	Clara Conway,	Tenn.
Emma C. Bascom,	Wis.	Catharine A. F. Stebbins,	Mich.	Emily E. Reed,	Vt.
Ellen M. O'Connor,	D. C.	Caroline M. Severance,	Cal.	Elizabeth Hyde Botume,	S. C.
Susan Jarvis Cheney,	Conn.	Jenny K. Trout, M. D.,	Can.	Virginia C. Merwin,	La.

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Ada C. Sweet, - - N. Y.

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PLATFORM

—OF THE—

KENTON COUNTY

Equal Suffrage Association

COVINGTON, KY.

ORGANIZED OCTOBER 22,

1888.

PLATFORM

—OF THE—

KENTON COUNTY

EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Inasmuch as the design of all true legislation should be the elevation of every member of the community, the violation of this legitimate design, in depriving woman of her just and equal rights, is not only highly injurious to her, but by reason of the equilibrium which pervades all existence, man, too, is impeded in his progress by the very chains which bind woman to a lifeless civilization; and,

WHEREAS, The first result of woman's entrance into common school education has been the substitution of moral power for physical force in discipline, we believe that great danger exists in confiding the education of the young to a disfranchised class; and,

WHEREAS, The main power of the Woman's Suffrage movement lies in a persistent demand for better education, better employment and better laws for woman, as in a steadfast belief in the absolute necessity for the extension to her of the right of suffrage, which, in a representative government, is the symbol and guarantee of all other rights; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That we steadily demand for woman political equality with men before the law.

RESOLVED, That we labor earnestly to interest all working women in our cause, as the ballot in their hands means equal pay for equal work.

RESOLVED, That while we work for political liberty and equality for all, we also aim to impress upon the rising generation the fact that moral purity is as necessary to the highest development of the mind in one sex as in the other.

OFFICERS.

EUGENIA B. FARMER, President.

~~FRANCES C. THURSTON~~, Secretary.

Isabella H. Shepard Treasurer

same terms as men. In all the other states where there is school suffrage for women, the qualifications for them are the same as for men.

The *Woman's Journal* is the authority for the following dates for the grant of school-suffrage: 1861, Kansas; 1875, Michigan and Minnesota; 1876, Colorado; 1878, New Hampshire and Oregon; 1879, Massachusetts; 1880, New York and Vermont; 1883, Nebraska; 1885, Wisconsin; 1886, Washington; 1887, North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona and New Jersey; 1891, Illinois; 1893, Connecticut; 1894, Ohio, and a limited municipal suffrage in Iowa.

In 1887 Kansas gave municipal suffrage to women, the qualifications being the same as for men. In Montana men and women alike can vote on propositions for public improvements which are submitted to taxpayers. In Mississippi women freeholders can vote on the stock law, and in Louisiana in 1894, an act was passed whereby women owning immovable property in a drainage district, may vote, in person, or by duly authorized proxy, on plans for drainage, and the amount of tax to be levied.

Political Equality Series.

Vol. II. No. 5. } New York, August, 1897. { 10c. per annum. 15c. per hundred

Published Monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 107 World Building, New York.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

JESSIE J. CASSIDY.

Full suffrage was first granted to women in Wyoming. In 1868 Congress marked off the new territory of Wyoming on the line of the Union Pacific. A few towns on the railway, with not more than five thousand inhabitants, comprised the population. In the first session of the legislature, a bill was presented giving the elective franchise to women. Whether proposed seriously or not the bill was treated as a joke, and, as such, was carried by both houses, expecting that it would be vetoed by the governor. On the contrary, Gov. John A. Campbell recognized the justice of the proposition and signed the bill. Thus Wyoming immortalized herself by becoming the first state to enfranchise women. Incidentally this proved to be an unique and inimitable way of advertising a country in need of settlers. Only one effort was ever made to repeal the act, and that

was in the following year and was unsuccessful. When the State constitution was submitted to Congress in 1890, full political equality was guaranteed to women. After a hard fight in Congress, this provision was accepted and Wyoming came into the Union; thus placing the first yellow suffrage star on the flag.

In 1870 Utah followed the lead of Wyoming. For twelve years all woman held the suffrage there, and then by a Federal act it was restricted to women who were unmarried or who were monogamists. By the Edmunds-Tucker Bill, passed by Congress in 1887, suffrage was denied to all women in the territory. When Utah was admitted as a state, in 1895, woman suffrage was embodied in the constitution and met with no opposition.

Colorado was inspired by these examples. A special provision on the subject of enfranchising women was put in the state constitution, adopted in 1876, and in the following year an unsuccessful effort was made to pass a suffrage amendment. A second such effort was successful in 1893 with a popular majority of over six thousand. This was done by a statute and not a constitutional amendment.

Idaho is the next state that has fully enfranchised her women. Suffrage was secured to them by an amendment to the constitution passed by a popular vote in 1896.

For having granted a limited suffrage, Kentucky ranks as the first state. In 1838 she gave school suffrage to widows, and in 1845 the law was amended so that widows and spinsters with taxable property could vote for school trustees, except in cities governed by charter.

Generally, the first concessions were made by permitting women to be elected as school trustees, while still denying them the right to vote for such officers. This inconsistency gradually gave way, though the condition still holds in California, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island.

There are in addition to the four states where women are fully enfranchised, twenty states* and two territories where women can vote for local school officers, and in some cases, for higher school officials, and generally, for school improvements and expenditures. In Iowa and New Jersey they can vote for school appropriations but not for school officers. Arizona, Michigan and New York require that women shall pay taxes or be the mother or guardian of children of school age. In New York the conditions for school suffrage are those required of men. In Delaware, Oregon and Vermont there are property qualifications, and in Delaware the right exists in a few towns only. In Kentucky widows with children of school age vote for trustees, and widows and spinsters who pay taxes vote on school taxes in the country districts. In the three second-class cities women can hold school offices and vote on school matters on the

*Arizona Territory, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma Territory, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin.

capacity. The French historian and statesman, Guizot, says:

"The essence of government by no means resides in compulsion, in the exercise of brute force; it consists more especially of a system of means and powers conceived for the purpose of discovering what is best to be done on all occasions; for the purpose of discovering the truth which by right ought to govern society; for the purpose of persuading all men to acknowledge this truth and to adopt and respect it willingly and freely."

In this fine conception of government there is not only room for women to take part, but it cannot be realized without help from them. The wisdom of men must be supplemented by that of women to discover the whole of governmental truth. Women's help is equally indispensable in persuading society to love and obey law. This help is very largely given now, or civilization, as we know it, would be impossible. The best interests of society demand that women's present indirect and half-conscious influence shall be strengthened by the right of suffrage, so that their sense of duty to government may be stimulated by a clear perception of the connection which exists between power and responsibility.

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Political Equality Series.

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The Bullet and the Ballot.

LAURA CLAY.

Among the objections brought against the extension of suffrage to women, that of their physical unfitness to perform military duties is the most plausible, because in the popular mind there is an idea that the right of casting a ballot is, in its final analysis, dependent upon the ability to defend it with a bullet. Sometimes this objection is presented in the form that men have superior rights in citizenship on physical grounds, and that women are trying to grasp something not their own when they aspire to the suffrage; and sometimes, in the more liberal form, that the interests of society would be jeopardized by granting all rights of citizenship to a class not equal to all its responsibilities.

But it is by no means self-evident that women are naturally unfitted for fighting or

are unwarlike in disposition. The traditions of Amazons and the conduct of savage women give room to believe that the instinct for war was primitively very much the same in both sexes. Though the earliest division of labor among savages known to us is that of assigning war and the chase to men, yet we have no reason to believe that this was done by way of privilege to women; but in the struggle for tribal supremacy that tribe must have ultimately survived and succeeded best which exposed its women the least. Polygamy, universal among primitive races, could in a degree sustain population against the ravages among men of continual warfare, but any large destruction of women must extinguish a tribe that suffered it. So those tribes which earliest engrafted among their customs the exclusion of women from war were the ones that finally survived.

The exemption of women from war was a tribal necessity, but it is open to grave doubts as to its having been a position of personal privilege, for in unsuccessful war the women were liable to be slaughtered without weapons in their hands or to all the sufferings of captivity. Even in our own day women are not always safe from these horrors of war, as we have had shocking evidence in the last few years. Yet ages of suppression of the military spirit for the benefit of the tribe or nation has not wholly succeeded in extinguishing it among women. Military genius has appeared in them in all ages and people, as in Deborah, Zenobia, Joan of Arc, and our own Anna Ella Carroll. The prowess of women has often been conspicuous in besieged cities. Our own early history of Indian warfare recounts many of their valiant deeds. It is well known that in the late war many women on both sides eluded the vigilance of recruiting officers, enlisted, and fought bravely. Who knows how many of such women there might have been if their enlistment had been desired and stimulated by beat of drum and blare of trumpet and "all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war?" But no State can afford to accept military service from its women, for though a nation may live for ages without soldiers, it could exist but for a span without mothers. Since woman's exemption from war is not an unbought privilege, it is evident that in justice men have no superior rights as citizens on that account.

It is an equally fallacious idea that sound expediency demands that every ballot shall be defended by a bullet. The theory of representative government does not admit of any connection between military service and the right and duty of suffrage, even among men. It is trite to point out that the age required for military service begins at eighteen years, when a man is too young to vote, and ends at forty-five years, when he is usually in the prime of his usefulness as a citizen. Some very slight physical defects will incapacitate a man under the usual recruiting rules. Most lawyers, judges, physicians, ministers, merchants, editors, authors, legislators, and Congressmen are exempt on the ground of physical in-

[Oct 4, 1894]

SUFFRAGE.

Educational Qualification.—A Plea for the Illiterate.

Address Delivered at the World's Congress, on "Civil Government," Art Palace, Chicago, Aug. 9, 1893,

By Helen M. Gougar, M. A.

"The broadest and most far-sighted intellect is utterly unable to foresee the ultimate consequences of any great social change. Ask yourself, on all such occasions, if there be any element of right and wrong in the question, any principle of clear, natural justice, that turns the scale. If so, take your part with the perfect and abstract right, and trust God to see that it shall prove the expedient."—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The most difficult command for application to every day life is the golden rule.

Its chief hindrance lies in the definition of the word "others." A vast majority of people bound it by ties of self, family, church, class or race.

I believe the Almighty intended it to be as far-reaching as the humanities.

In its broadest application is the best self-protection. The Republic of the United States is the highest exemplification of this law as applied to political life.

A government of, by and for the people, in fact as well as purpose, must be one in which the golden rule gives one member of society an equal chance with every other member for self-protection, this being the only safe protection in the ever changing vicisitudes of life.

"Suffrage is the authoritative exercise of rational choice in regard to principles, measures and men." Thus the ballot becomes a mighty power in the hands of a citizen, and it should not be lightly withheld from

any. It is suffrage possessed by so large a percentage of the people of the United States that makes our Republic the best results of this Divine rule. Without it we would have principles, measures and men applied by class, to the detriment of class and to the ultimate hurt of all.

Suffrage is the political thermometer of our civilization. It has been the subject of evolution in justice, until it is in the hands of all but the irresponsible elements of society and women, except in two states, namely, Massachusetts and Connecticut, which still retain an unwise and unjust discrimination against the illiterate.

It has now become quite the fad for unphilosophical, social and political would-be reformers and demagogues to ask that the wheels of progress turn backward and write an educational qualification for suffrage in the several States of the Union.

The most that such advocates demand is that the voter be able to read and write the Constitution of the United States. If these visionary people would go further and require the voter to be able to expound, in an acceptable manner, to election boards, the books of Moses, recite the Ten Commandments, solve the problems of Calculus or give in Harvard English, an explanation of the last discovery of Edison, there might be some reason for considering their demand. However, it is the "principle of clear, natural justice" upon which this proposition is founded that concerns us at this time, as well as its expediency.

The advocates of an educational qualification for suffrage presume that ignorant citizens would cease to be a menace to our institutions if they were deprived of the ballot; they also convey, in their demand, the idea that an ignorant voter, one so unlettered that he cannot read and write, is a vicious voter, or as one of the ablest exponents of education as a qualification for suffrage says: "The comparison of an unintelligent voter, to a trained monkey who goes through the motions of dropping a paper ballot into a box has in it an element of truth."

I maintain that a test of letters, without a test of ethics, would bring about the very unhappy conditions that its advocates would avert if applied to suffrage. They do not propose to remove the disease of ignorance from the body politic but they would hide it by systematically shutting their eyes to its existence the only time when they could fully comprehend its extent, i. e. on election day. They fail to note that these citizens would be able to nullify laws if they could not make them. In veiw of this fact, in politics as well as in other relations of life, we are necessarily our brother's keeper, that we may more surely keep ourselves.

Unjust repression in government brings about revolution; when ignorant mobs rise educated voters can be made the victims; such "revolutionists" would have a strong hold upon public sympathy when they declared their only weapon of defense was revolt, because they were deprived the elective franchise.

A thoroughly executed educational test for suffrage would promote riot, mob violence and anarchy at certain times in our history, and justifiable sympathy for the promoters thereof. Voters have no occasion to appeal to violence. The whole civilized world say to such: If you do not like the laws, change them, by the peaceable and legitimate methods of selecting for yourselves "principles, measures and men," and win thereby if your cause be just. The bomb-thrower has no honest sympathy in a true republic. He is a criminal, and should be so treated whenever he shows his hand. Suffrage is his legitimate weapon of defense.

An educational test for suffrage would increase ignorant citizenship. It would remove from many the great motive they now have for promoting universal education.

One of the strongest inducements for intellectual culture is the hope of a share in the more honorable professions and remunerative occupations, and an interest in political issues is a great incentive to hear, read, learn. Wendell Phillips forcefully declares: "We do our best to insure education to an individual when we put the ballot in his hands."

The ballot is the great educator of our people; it is not second to the spelling book, and scarcely second to the open bible.

It is for this power to enlighten that I would leave it in the hands of unlettered citizens; it is not more the weapon of defense than it is the means of education.

The voter who can not read or write the constitution of the United States, but who hears the ethics of political and social questions discussed in a political campaign, as thousands of these illiterates do, because they do vote, is a safer citizen than the college-bred man whose boast is a life of vice. The boys from the western prairies who have never had time or opportunity to learn to read or write are safer voters than the students of Yale and Princeton who, last Thanksgiving day, in the city of New York, ran a muck of drunkenness and licentiousness, on a holiday occasion.

The illiterates would regard the virtue of mother or sister and keep sober, while the others would, on election day, or in legislative halls, sell the virtue of woman, and the sobriety of man, for a price, in the name of "revenue."

I have seen a practical test of these facts in the municipal elections of Kansas. Colored women, exslaves, who could neither read nor write, educated on an ethical question, in a political campaign, only through the ear and appeals to the heart voted, almost to a woman, for the abolition of legalized vice, while college-bred, euchre-playing, pug-petting women, by the score, voted to promote vice. Not the least consideration in this political campaign was the permanent influence upon the children and home-life of these illiterate voters, because the ballot, in their hands, compelled us to educate them in order to carry out our plans of promoting good morals in law.

The uneducated voter is not necessaily and is seldom a vicious voter. If the man who can not read sells his vote occasionally, depend upon it, the man who buys can read it.

The "Three R's" merely change the forms of vice. When the free schools of a city are dismissed as was the case recently in a city in this so-called enlightened land, that thousands of children might witness the cruel torture and burning of a human being it is high time for us to earnestly enquire, in this year of jubilee, if education educates or whether our much-boasted civilization is anything more, after all, than whitewashed barbarism. Could alphabet heathen do worse? Ethics, not letters, should be the test for suffrage if preparation is to be made a requisite.

Every effort possible should be made to change ignorance to intelligence. This can best be done by putting suffrage in the hands of ignorant men and women that intelligent politicians be compelled to enlighten them by seeking them out, at least during our frequent political campaigns. Such instructions prove the greatest incentive to education.

The ballot box is the pulse of our body-politic, and as such we should be able, at each recurring election to note such conditions as endanger national life. It should be our wise purpose to remove, not hide, these dangers. If we have undue illiteracy let us boldly face the fact and use the remedies at hand. Let us apply the knife to the seat of the trouble, not a temporary soothing salve, though it be in the tempting name of educational qualification for suffrage.

The demand for an educational test for suffrage is aimed at two classes of voters, namely, foreigners of the North and negroes of the South, and it is intended to disfranchise them. Such an act would add fuel to flame and greatly enhance the supposed dangers from these citizens. I maintain that a vast majority of foreigners who come to us are here to make law-abiding, wealth producing, honorable citizens; especially is this true of those who make declarations of citizenship and vote. Being voters they more rapidly assimilate with our institutions and become Americanized. Without the vote they would ever remain unidentified with our institutions—a constant menace to society.

The illiterate foreigner should have the ballot that he may, the more speedily, become the literate American. His record in the past inspires confidence in his future, though he must learn to read and write the Constitution of the United States, after he becomes a voter. The experiment with the unlettered negroes of the South justifies the wisdom of putting the ballot in the hands of ignorant citizens. Had they remained unballoted after their emancipation no white soul could live among them to-day in the southern section of this country. Their former masters, who mob and burn them under the slightest pretext, would have found no occasion to educate their old-time slaves and they would have remained as ignorant in their freedom as they were in their bondage, and they would prove a far more dangerous element. Given the ballot, long before they could read and write, they have controlled their share of the school-fund, they have erected school houses with taxes gathered from their former masters, whether the latter would or no, until now we see more than one-third of the race educated, colored children crowding the free schools of the South and young men and women filling colleges and universities all zealous for the higher education that makes safe citizenship.

Advocates of political measures are obliged to pay their respects and present their arguments to colored voters, thus educating them. No matter how much they may despise the "slaves" of yesterday, by the ballot they have become the arbitrators of the white man's destiny to-day. Only by the possession of this power could they secure justice in the financial or intellectual world, sit in Congress and Constitutional Conventions, as we see them, selecting "principles, measures and men," to the end that they may have a chance to live as human beings in this so-called Christian Republic. An educational test for negro suffrage would have left them barbarians in our midst, 7,000,000 strong. Think of it, ye advocates of educational qualifications for suffrage! Would you want to live among them? The only thing to be regretted about negro suffrage is that at the time it was extended to the

ignorant men it had not also been given to the ignorant women of the race who would have reflected the higher morals of womanhood and the love of motherhood in the laws of our misguided and long-suffering Southland.

Suffrage in the hands of foreign born citizens and ignorant negroes of the South has emphasized the important historical fact that its extension to a class has always benefitted that class, and its enlargement in a government has greatly benefitted such government.

The educational test for suffrage would have brought a train of evils upon this land, if applied in the past, and it would prove equally ill advised in the present and as dangerous in the future. It would be a violation of the principles of clear, natural justice, in its application, and would prove inexpedient in results. I am in full sympathy with some of the ends aimed at by the advocates of educational qualification for suffrage. Their most commendable object is to secure the highest possible expression of intelligence in the laws of the land, as well as to exalt all citizens to this higher intelligence. But their plan would fail to bring about the results they desire. These ends can be attained without taking from any the vested right of suffrage or denying to any the benefits of the elective franchise. I present a few facts worthy of profound consideration:

By the United States census of 1880, there were, on the present basis of universal male suffrage, in the Southern States and the District of Columbia, 2 947,424 white voters, of whom 411,900 were illiterate; and 1,252,-484 colored voters, of whom 951,444 were illiterate; making in all 4,199,908 voters, of whom 1,363,844 were illiterate. In these states there were also 2,293 698 white women over twenty-one who could write, and 236,865 colored women over twenty-one who could write; making in all 2,530,563 women over twenty-one who could write. If these educated women were made voters, their votes would offset the entire illiterate voters, white and black, who number 1,363,844; and would leave a surplus of educated women numbering 1,166,719, which sur-

plus, added to the educated male voters, numbering 2,836 064, would give an educated voting majority of 4,002,783 (over four million).

Or looking at the result from the standpoint of race, if educated women were enfranchised, we should have negro voters as follows:

Illiterate colored men	951.944	
Educated " "	300.540	
" " women	236,865	
Total colored votes	1.489,349	
White women who can write		2,293,698
Total colored votes		1,489,349
Surplus educated white women		804,349
Add white male voters		2,947,424
White voting majority with women added		3,751,773

Thus universal suffrage in the South would enable intelligence to control legislation, at the same time that education is being universally adopted by the illiterate. None would be wronged but all alike would be protected and materially uplifted

There is a much larger percentage of foreigners who can read and write than negroes.

Universal suffrage would extend its benefits to foreign-born citizens and at the same time our 26.371,953 native-born, intelligent women would hold. in due abeyance. the influence of the illiterate until such were brought to the higher intelligence. An extended lease of national life demands that we remove, not hide, our illiteracy. This can be done.

First: By a thoroughly executed compulsory educational law, which shall not ignore ethics, in every state of the Union, all appliances for an education to be at public expense, the child to be kept in school until sixteen years of age.

Second: Endow every citizen of responsible age, except criminals, idiots, insane and drunkards, with suffrage; then and not till then will illiteracy be reduced to a minimum and our laws reflect the higher and constantly increasing intelligence of all our people. Universal suffrage and compulsory, free education, are the corner stones of a permanent Republic.

LaFayette, Ind.

keeper in his deadly work. She is a widow to-day, the husband and home have been destroyed by the will and power of the government, for the sake of "revenue."

Women flock to this funeral and drop tears of sympathy with this sister beside the bier, but they have no time to join the W. C. T. U., to read our papers, to fill themselves with knowledge; they have no time to educate their children in the physical effects of alcohol that they may go out in the face of the ever present tempter forewarned and forearmed. O no, these women are too busy hunting "favors for progressive euchre" or "cinch" parties to carry the gospel of teetotalism into palace and hovel alike, so their sons, a little later on, will go the same way; some are well started now.

Beautiful daughters weep for the absence and protecting care of a loving father. They are forced into the industrial world to compete with men bread-winners. In this way the industrial problem is made most serious. Women and children compete with and cut down the income of male wage-earners and the labor problem comes uppermost, only to be solved when we solve the liquor question.

The train of evils following in the wake of this funeral, one of 125,000 each year, shows how the government protects (?) the home, the wife and children, and the best interests of the society.

THE SALOON CANNOT BE LEGALIZED AND THE HOME PROTECTED UNDER THE SAME FLAG.

Men-voters, what are you going to do about it, and when are you going to do it? Will you begin next time you vote? Your answer will be in the size of the next Prohibition party vote.

Price 30cts. per hundred or $2 per thousand, by mail. Address Helen M. Gougar, LaFayette, Indiana.

[OCT 4, 1894]

A FUNERAL TO-DAY.

HELEN M. GOUGAR.

As I write a funeral procession is passing my door. It is the burial of a neighbor who has died of alcoholism, our national disease. He returned but a few weeks ago from the Keeley cure, strong in faith that he would never yield to the appetite again. He is the second man in this community to die of a debauch after this treatment and another of our citizens is "on a spree" now, who has received this so-called cure. The father of this last one is heart broken. "For," says he, "I thought my boy was redeemed, but now there is no hope."

As I see the man carried to his grave, a man who has occupied seats high in the councils of the nation, I can but exclaim: "What a costly revenue we derive from the 'poison traffic!'" and ask, "O Lord, how long, how long will we continue to collect it?" A friend sitting by me says: "He deserves no sympathy; he had every help to make life a success and he would not do it."

Ah, stop! The Word says: "No drunkard can inherit the kingdom of heaven!" Do you say "No sympathy is due?" Remember, he was poisoned in early manhood by the social glass, as I have heard him say. The chains of appetite have bound him tighter and tighter, and in the days of his ripest usefullness he is the victim of a traffic sustained by

the votes of Christian men. The victim deserves the deepest sympathy; let us condemn the system that creates him thus helpless in the clutches of disease.

He will be laid to-day by the side of his Christian mother, whose greatest sorrow was that this "most brilliant of all my sons" was a drunkard. She went to her grave uttering a prayer for his salvation. And this is the way this man government helps answer the prayers of Christian mothers. God hasten the day when mothers can vote as well as pray.

By his side stand Christian brothers who have been devoted to his reformation, but when asked to vote a ticket that would send men to the Indiana Legislature who would prohibit the poison dens that beset this weaker brother's pathway will idly answer, "O there's no use; liquor will be sold any way and I think it best to vote my party ticket once more." Ministers speak by the side of his coffin to-day who read the sad history in the fate of the dead, men who know the vast number falling all arouud them but who refuse to open their churches to voices that would sound the alarm in the presence of 103 saloons in this city of 15,000 souls. No gospel temperance meetings are held in the 27 churches that set on our thoroughfares, locked six days out of seven, given over to dust, must and cobwebs. O no, somebody might tell the members of these churches, who are at ease in Zion, that they ought to carry their religion with their ballot on election day, and thus wound the Christian in his pew, who is the greatest sinner at the ballot box. So as this one falls into a drunkard's grave others fall into the procession on the other end, to fill up the caseless gap and give these preachers "something to do."

By the side of this coffin to-day business men march who think they "can drink or let it alone," men whose faces show the "danger signal," who call me a "a crank, a regular John Brown born before my time" when I ask them kindly, Won't you read on this subject if I give you the books and papers?" in the strength of their present will they smile and—go on a steady march to fill a drunkard's grave, believing as they say, "O I know when I have enough. I am not such a weakling as to over-drink."

Beside this coffin to-day are the editors of our papers who write pathetically of this "ruined life," but who will not allow a line of prohibition sentiment to find its way into their columns least it offend the liquor sellers who patronize their sheets. One of these editors, a brother in the church, writes tenderly of this man's death and publishes in one issue of his paper thirty-one notices of application to sell liquor! So the work goes on upheld by press, pulpit and people.

The wife sits clothed in the habiliments of mourning by the side of his coffin. In her youth and beauty she gave her life and happiness into the keeping of this brilliant young man; they were just out of college, thoroughly equipped to build a Christian home. She saw the tempter at work; all that love, gentleness and devotion could do she had done. Her patience, presistence and endurance were remarked by all, but when all hope had fled she was obliged to let him drift and die, away from her ministrations of tenderness and love. It was an unequal contest. The whole legal power of State and Nation was pitted against her, for this government of males stays the hand of the outraged wife, takes no pity on her, but upholds the saloon-

school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894 school suffrage was granted in Ohio, a limited municipal suffrage in Iowa, and parish and district suffrage in England to women, both married and single. In 1895 full suffrage was granted in South Australia to women, both married and single. In 1896 full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho. In 1898 municipal and county suffrage were granted to the single women and widows of Ireland, the women of Minnesota were given the right to vote for library trustees, French women engaged in commerce were given the right to vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce, and the tax-paying women of Louisiana were given the right to vote upon all questions submitted to tax-payers.

Years ago, when equal suffrage was much more unpopular than it is to-day, some one asked Bishop Gilbert Haven if it were true that he had been speaking at a woman suffrage meeting.

"Yes," answered the Bishop, "I don't want to fall in at the rear of this reform; I mean to march with the procession!"

There can be no doubt as to which way the procession is moving.

Political Equality Series.

Vol. III. No. 12. } New York, April, 1899. { 10c. per annum. 15c. per hundred.

Published Monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 107 World Building, New York.

Progress of Equal Rights.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

When Columbus landed at the mouth of the Orinoco, his followers suggested that he had perhaps discovered another island. But Columbus looked at the breadth of the stream, and said, "This great river must drain the waters of a continent." The movement in the direction of equal rights for women is too wide-spread to be due merely to the groundless discontent of a few ill-balanced persons. It is going on all over the civilized world.

Since the beginning of this century the status of women has been largely revolutionized in regard to education, property rights, and admission to the trades and professions. The effort for suffrage is an integral part of the same movement, advocated on the same grounds and opposed by the same objections.

Col. T. W. Higginson says: "We are

told that women are getting all the things they need, one after another, without the ballot. But how are they getting them? Through the woman suffrage movement, for the last fifty years. One outrage after another has been removed from the path of women as an incident in the course of a suffrage convention held at the same time and place. Someone would get up in the Legislature the next day and move the repeal of one of the unjust laws to which the speakers in the convention had called attention. Judge Greene, chairman of the Rhode Island Judiciary Committee, said to me, after one of those high-minded, high-hearted, silver-voiced pleas of Lucy Stone: 'I am ashamed to think of that list of legal wrongs which she enumerated. They are all true; and I have sat on this Judiciary Committee for years and never realized them till a woman came to tell me of them.' "

The venerable Samuel E. Sewall did more than any other man to secure improved laws for women in Massachusetts. For thirty years it was he who drew the bills, helped the women to plead their cause before legislative committees, and obtained a long succession of legal changes. In the *Woman's Journal* of October 27th, 1877, Judge Sewall reviewed the progress made in legislation for women up to that time, and said: "How has this work been accomplished? By the steady growth of public opinion, promoted and aided in a very great degree, if not entirely created, by the labors of suffragists. I may add that when the suffragists first began to move, the prejudice against altering the status of wives, and giving women the public offices into which they have since been introduced, was stronger than that which now resists granting them the ballot."

It is sometimes said that while the movement for education and property rights has been largely successful, the movement for suffrage has made little progress. On this point, let the facts speak for themselves.

At the beginning of this century, women could not vote anywhere. In 1838, Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows. In 1861, Kansas gave it to all women. In 1869, England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women. Michigan and Minnesota granted school suffrage in 1875, Colorado in 1876, New Hampshire and Oregon in 1878, Massachusetts in 1879, New York and Vermont in 1880. In 1881 municipal suffrage was extended to the single women and widows of Scotland. Nebraska gave school suffrage in 1883, and Wisconsin in 1885. In 1886 school suffrage was given in Washington, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in New Brunswick and Ontario. In 1887 municipal suffrage was extended to all women in Kansas, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, and New Jersey. In the same year, Montana gave tax paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the tax-payers. In 1889 municipal suffrage was granted to single women and widows in the province of Quebec. In 1891, school suffrage was granted in Illinois. In 1893

that new difficulties would result from an alteration of the law in the manner suggested. If the parents are to have "co-equal rights, obligations, and duties," then, in order to enjoy or perform them, nothing should be heard of separations. If a man and his wife, having co-equal right to a child, were to separate, what would become of the child, to which one would be just as much entitled as the other? This would be an awkward point to decide, so that judges might have a more difficult task to perform, under such a state of things as this than they have under one which simplifies matters by giving absolute control to the father. The prospect of difficulties arising ought not, however, to lead to any reluctance to confer on a woman a greater measure of justice, to which reason and the common dictates of nature alike entitle her. This is a phase of "woman's rights" which should be conceded without demur. People who object to the extension of the franchise to women are apt to think that woman's place is the management of her own household. If that be so, then she may fairly claim that her position there should have legal recognition, and those who object to her possession of co-equal rights in the political world should be the first to concede her such rights in the family circle.

Copies of this paper *(price 1½d. per dozen, or 1s. per 100, post free)* with petition headings, written or printed, leaflets, and other papers, may be had from Mrs. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY, Congleton, with whom every one willing to assist the immediate passing into law of the Infants' Bill, is requested to communicate.

Women's Printing Society, Limited, 21B, Great College Street, Westminster, S.W.

THE CUSTODY AND GUARDIANSHIP OF CHILDREN.

Reprinted by kind permission, from the *Manchester Evening Mail* of January 18, 1886.

There is no immediate prospect that Parliament will be able to devote much time during the ensuing session to matters bearing on domestic legislation. But an effort is nevertheless to be made to secure the early passing of what is known as the Infants' Bill—a measure which, if carried, would produce something like a revolution in the relative powers of fathers and mothers over their children. It is no wonder, however, that in an age when married women have been allowed to exercise control over their property they should also want to have a reasonable amount of legal power over their children. Parliament has granted them the one but not the other. At present legal authority over children is vested almost entirely in the hands of the father. His control alone is recognised by the law, excepting only in cases where it can be proved that he has been guilty of such gross misconduct that he was not fit to be entrusted with the control of his children. A man who is himself little

more than a brute, though, perhaps, not given to actual violence, can take his children with impunity away from their mother, send them to a baby farm, a Dotheboys' Hall or elsewhere, denying to his wife all control over them, however good a mother she may have been to them. In Scotland this has been done even in the case of children in arms. Then, too, a man can deprive his wife of the custody of their children not only whilst he is still alive but after his death as well. He can appoint testamentary guardians whose rights will be as absolute as his own. Lord Justice COTTENHAM has distinctly laid down that a mother has no right to control the power of a testamentary guardian, who may thus shut her out, as effectually from the control or the companionship of her children as the husband and father himself had done, however excellent a mother she might be. A third party may even step in between a widow and her offspring unless the father has expressly provided against such a contingency, whilst a mother can make no provision for the guardianship of her children in the event of her own death unless she has been appointed testamentary guardian by her husband, who must further have expressly authorised her to exercise such a power. The only case in which it is taken for granted that a mother is fully qualified to take charge of her children is where they are illegitimate. Should they have been born out of wedlock and be taken away from her by the father she can compel him to restore them to her, just as the husband can compel his wife to restore to him any of their legitimate children whom she may have taken away. Even where the wife possesses certain rights it

would cost so much to appeal to the courts in order to assert them that they would be beyond the power of persons who had not considerable means at their command. One chance there is for woman who cannot afford the luxury of an appeal to the Court of Chancery —she may secure an order of separation from the magistrates who may give her the custody of her children until they are ten years of age ; but to qualify herself to obtain this order she must have been first brutally assaulted by her husband, and secure his conviction for so doing. This is the penalty she pays to poverty, and even then she can only claim the children until their tenth year, whilst the wealthier applicant to the superior Courts might obtain the custody of hers until they were sixteen. The object of the Infants' Bill is to put fathers and mothers in a position of greater equality, giving to women as well as to men a recognised legal authority over their children. It has been before Parliament two sessions, and has passed the preliminary stages by large majorities, only, however, to be counted among the innocents ruthlessly massacred under the ONSLOW-WARTON blocking system. Providing that the Bill can secure fair treatment in the new Parliament, and that time can be found for the discussion of domestic topics, there is a good prospect that the measure will be carried into law, judging from the favour with which it has already been received in both Houses of Parliament. There is so much injustice to women involved in the present system that no hesitation ought to be felt in advocating some reform which would give a legal status to the mother as a member of the household. It is true

[Apr. 13, 1888]

MRS. LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE,

OF NEW YORK,

President New York State Woman Suffrage Association.

SUBJECTS FOR LECTURES:

REFORM.

Is it a Crime to be a Woman?
Women of the Bible.
The Progress of Freedom.
The Temperance Ballot.

LITERARY.

Trial by Jury,
War Reminiscences.
Heroism.
Who Breaks, Pays.

As there is always an excusable curiosity to know something of the life history of one so widely known as Mrs. Blake, the following facts will be of interest:

Lillie Devereux Blake was born in Raleigh, N. C. Her father, George P. Devereux, was a wealthy southern gentleman of Irish descent. Her mother, Sarah Elizabeth Johnson, was of an old New York and New England family, her great grandfather, Hon. Wm. Samuel Johnson, having been one of the first two Senators from Connecticut, and later, President of Columbia College, New York. Both Mr. and Mrs. Devereux were descended from Jonathan Edwards. Mr. Devereux died in the early prime of life, and his widow removed to New Haven, Conn., where her daughter, Lillie, received every advantage of education, and was, for the few years of her brief young lady life, a reigning belle. In 1855 she married Frank G. Q. Umsted, a lawyer, of Philadelphia, who died in 1859, leaving his young widow with two children. The fortune she had inherited was much impaired, and she at once entered upon a literary career which brought her an honorable independence.

In 1866 she married Grenfill Blake of New York, and made that city her home. In 1869 she became deeply interested in the movement for the enfranchisement of women, to which she has since so largely devoted her life. In addition to contributing to *Harper's*, the *Atlantic*, *Frank Leslie's*, the *North American Review*, the *Forum*, and many other leading periodicals, Mrs. Blake has published several novels, of which the best known is "Fettered for Life," a story designed to illustrate the subject condition of women. In 1883 she delivered a series of lectures in reply to the Lenten discourses on women by the Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D. These lectures were the sensation of the day; printed under the title of "Woman's Place To-day," they have had a large sale.

Mrs. Blake has been active in all legislation favorable to her sex in New York. She was instrumental in securing the passage of the School Suffrage bill. She has agitated the question of police matrons, and was the first person to demand the opening of Columbia College to young women. She has conducted many legislative campaigns, has addressed committees of both houses of Congress, as well as the New York and Connecticut Legislatures. She has taken an active part in many political campaigns, and has addressed large audiences in all the States from the Missouri to the Atlantic. In all her public work, Mrs. Blake has been generous almost to a fault, ever willing to speak for reform for a merely nominal sum, or to aid a struggling society by addressing it without compensation. It seems almost superfluous to quote public endorsement of one so widely known, but from a host of complimentary notices a few are selected.

PRESS NOTICES.

Mrs. Blake was introduced and gave a most eloquent and polished oration. The peroration was a grand burst of eloquence, and held the audience spellbound until its close.—*Troy (N. Y.) Times.*

The entrance of Mrs. Blake was the signal for a rousing cheer, the veterans rising to their feet. She concluded her address by vividly portraying a battle scene. *New York Sun.*

A noble and earnest woman, her finished oration held the attention of the audience from first to last.—*Albany (N. Y.) Argus.*

Mrs. Blake then gave to a good audience an eloquent and interesting lecture on the subject which has such a warm place in her noble and philanthropic heart.—*Evening Auburnian (N. Y.)*

A stately lily of a woman, with delicate features, a high, proud nose, a pair of great gray eyes that dilate as she speaks till they light her whole face like the great soft stars.—*The Independent (N. Y.)*

A lady of fine presence, and her words for the cause of woman were fitly chosen and delivered with a grace and dignity of manner which drew forth many comments in her praise, many asserting that it was the best lecture on that subject they had ever heard.—*The Ithacan (N. Y.)*

Mrs. Blake, like a meteor, flashed through the town and county, and in the transit dazzled and electrified a packed audience at the M. E. Church.—*Blair (Neb.) Times.*

She is a speaker of accuracy and elegance. We have never heard better language or similie before. A master of pure English, ready with unassuming yet scintilating wit, saying what she desires to say with only the exact number of words necessary to say it, with all the enthusiasm of her sex for the rights of her sex, and commiseration for their wrongs, she uttered in faultless language the arguments in favor of their cause.—*Scotia (Neb.) Times.*

The Assembly Chamber was the scene of a brilliant gathering yesterday afternoon, the occasion being the hearing given on the Woman Suffrage bill. Mrs. Blake's address was piquant, eloquent, witty and refined throughout, varying from a jest to intense and eloquent earnestness, her language flowing freely, holding the constant and unwearied attention of the large audience.—*Press and Knickerbocker (Albany, N. Y.)*

Mrs. Blake is an interesting and forcible speaker. She presents her arguments in a bright and attractive form. Her lecture abounded in amusing anecdotes, witty remarks, forcible statements.—*Toledo Blade.*

A remarkably handsome woman, possessing a rich toned, well modulated voice, and the fervid eloquence with which she depicted the wrongs of her suffering sisters betrayed the well trained orator.—*Milwaukee Daily Review.*

ADDRESS—

149 EAST 44TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

4614

FOURTH EDITION OF 5,000.

INTERNATIONAL
Council of Women

ASSEMBLED BY THE

National Woman Suffrage Association

OF THE UNITED STATES,

TO CELEBRATE THE

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

FIRST WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

ALBAUGH'S OPERA HOUSE,

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

March 25th to April 1st, 1888, inclusive.

SUNDAY, MARCH 25, 2:30 P. M.—RELIGIOUS SERVICE.

March 26, 10 A. M.—FORMAL OPENING OF COUNCIL.
7:45 P. M.—EDUCATION.
March 27, 10 A. M.—PHILANTHROPIES.
7:45 P. M.—TEMPERANCE.
March 28, 10 A. M.—INDUSTRIES.
7:45 P. M.—PROFESSIONS.
March 29, 10 A. M.—ORGANIZATION.
7:45 P. M.—LEGAL CONDITIONS.
March 30, 10 A. M.—SOCIAL PURITY.
(Session for Women Alone.)
7:45 P. M.—POLITICAL CONDITIONS.
March 31, 10 A. M.—PIONEERS' CONFERENCE.
7:45 P. M.—POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

SUNDAY, APRIL 1, 2:30 P. M., RELIGIOUS SYMPOSIUM.

7:45 P. M.—CLOSE OF THE COUNCIL.

SEASON TICKET, WITH RESERVED SEAT, $4.00. SINGLE RESERVED SEAT, - 50 CENTS.
SEASON TICKET, WITHOUT RESERVED SEAT, $2.00. SINGLE ADMISSION, - - 25 CENTS.

Rufus H. Darby, Printer, Washington.

International Council of Women.

RAILROAD CERTIFICATES.

The Committee on Railroads will be in the Upper Corridor of the Opera House at 12.30 and 7 o'clock P. M. of Friday and Saturday, March 30 and 31, and at the Universalist Church at same hours Tuesday and Wednesday, April 3 and 4.

HELEN M. GOUGAR,
Ch. R. R. Com.

TICKETS.

Season Ticket, without Reserved Seat, - - - - - - - - - - $2.00
Single Reserved Seat Ticket, - - - - - - - - - - - .50
Single Admission Ticket, - - - - - - - - - - - .25

Sale of Season Tickets, without Reserved Seats, continues at RIGGS HOUSE NEWS STAND until Wednesday, March 28, 8 P. M.

Sale of Single Tickets, Admission and Reserved Seats, opens at Albaugh's Opera House Monday, March 26, 8.30 A. M., and continues throughout the Council.

Persons holding Season Admission Tickets can secure Reserved Seats for any session by payment of 25 cents at the box-office.

Seats upon platform reserved for speakers, delegates and officers of the N. W. S. A.

Press badges admit to the Opera House. Accommodations reserved for the Press must not be occupied by any one not *wearing* a press badge.

RACHEL G. FOSTER,
Sec. of Com. of Arrangements.

ENROLLMENT OF VISITORS (Badge Light Blue.).

All friends attending the Council will give their names and post office addresses, clearly written, to the Visitors' Committee, stationed in the Upper Corridor of Albaugh's Opera House, at the opening and closing of the morning sessions.

HARRIET PURVIS. *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Woman's Tribune, published daily, contains a full stenographic report of the proceedings. It is on sale at tables in the corridor at Albaugh's Opera House, or may be ordered of any of the Committee (badge gray and gold). Five cents a copy, thirty-five cents for the Council, sent to any address postpaid. Reduced price on large orders.

The report is furnished free to members of the National W. S. A. (membership fee $1.00). Also to regular subscribers of the weekly *Woman's Tribune* ($1.00 a year.)

Subscribers residing in Washington must call at the *Tribune* table at Albaugh's Opera House for their papers.

CLARA BEWICK COLBY, *Chairman.*

By Order of—

SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
Ch. Com. of Arrangements.

Riggs House, March 24, 1888.

COMMITTEES OF THE COUNCIL.

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS (Badge, Black and Gold).

Officers of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,
President.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE,
Vice-Presidents at Large.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
Chairman Ex. Com.

RACHEL G. FOSTER,
Cor. Sec.

JANE H. SPOFFORD,
Treasurer.

ELLEN H. SHELDON,
Rec. Sec.

RAILROADS (Badge, Purple).

HELEN M. GOUGAR, Chairman. LUCY E. ANTHONY.

HOTELS AND BOARDING PLACES (Badge, Mahogany).

Chairman, MARY S. LOCKWOOD. GEORGIE SNOW.
SALLIE M. RIXFORD. HANNAH B. SPERRY.
MARY E. McPHERSON. EMILY F. HORT.

ENROLLMENT OF VISITORS (Badge, Light Blue).

Chairman, HARRIET PURVIS. ELLA WISE.
MARY S. ANTHONY. LAURA M. JOHNS.
JULIA T. FOSTER.

DECORATION (Badge, Lavender).

Chairman, MARY NASON. JANE H. SPOFFORD.

BADGES (Badge, Pink).

Chairman, RACHEL G. FOSTER. LUCY E. ANTHONY.
Riggs House, Parlor 41, Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday, 8.30—9 A. M.

PRESS (Badge, Red and Gold).

Chairman, RACHEL G. FOSTER. ELLEN H. SHELDON,
TUNIE H. SYMONDS. HARRIETTE R. SHATTUCK.
HANNAH B. SPERRY.

PUBLIC RECEPTION (Badge, Dark Blue).

Chairman, JANE H. SPOFFORD. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.
LAURA M. JOHNS. MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.
CAROLINE GILKEY ROGERS.

MUSIC (Badge, Yellow and Brown).

ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT. RACHEL G. FOSTER.
MARY SEYMOUR HOWELL.

REPORT OF COUNCIL (Badge, Grey and Gold).

Chairman, CLARA B. COLBY. ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT.
LAURA M. JOHNS. ELIZABETH L. SAXON.
SARAH M. SMITH. HANNAH B. SPERRY.
JULIA AMES. MARY DYE.
ANNA L. DIGGS.

ASSOCIATIONS RESPONDING TOO LATE TO REPORT.

Woman's Centenary Association of Universalist Church.
M. M. DEAN and EMILY L. SHERWOOD.
Sociological Society of America, - - - - - LITA BARNEY SAYLES.
Western Women's Unitarian Conference, - - - VICTORIA RICHARDSON.
Christian Women's Board of Missions, - - KATE B. MOORE and C. B. KNOWLES.
Universal Peace Union, - - - - - - REV. AMANDA DEYO.
Women's Primary Association (Utah), - - - - - NETTIE Y. SNELL.
Women's Relief Association (Utah), - - - Fraternal Del., MARGARET CAINE.
Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association (Utah), - - LUELLA L. YOUNG.
Women's Free Baptist Missionary Society, - - - - - M. M. H. HILL.
Woman's Relief Corps, - - - - - - - - CLARA BARTON.

A list of fraternal delegates will be given in *The Woman's Tribune* daily during the Council.

Saturday, March 24.

MEETING OF DELEGATES.

The Official Delegates to the International Council of Women are invited to meet the Committee of Arrangements in the Red Parlor of the Riggs House at 3 o'clock P. M.

As business of importance will be considered, a full attendance is desired.

Admission by Delegate's Badge.

PUBLIC RECEPTION.

In honor of the delegates and visitors to the Council, the National Woman Suffrage Association will give a Public Reception at the Riggs House, from 9 to 11 P. M.

USHERS will be known by band of yellow on left arm.

Sunday, March 25.

2.30 P. M.

RELIGIOUS SERVICE.

Hymn—Rev. Phebe A. Hanaford.

Reading of Scriptures—Rev. Ada C. Bowles.

Prayer—Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell.

Hymn—Rev. Louise S. Baker.

Sermon—Rev. Annie H. Shaw.

Subject: *The Heavenly Vision.*

Hymn—Rev. Amanda Deyo.

Benediction—Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell.

ADMISSION FREE.

Monday, March 26.

MORNING SESSION.

10 A. M.

FORMAL OPENING OF THE COUNCIL.

Music—The Promised Land.

Invocation—REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, Del. American W. S. A.

Address—ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, President National W. S. A. of America.

Greetings and Letters to the Council.

Announcement of Committee on Permanent Organization.

Music.

EVENING SESSION.

7:30 P. M.

EDUCATION

Music by the Orchestra.

7.45 Invocation.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Principal Indianapolis Classical School for Girls.
Higher Education for Women in the United States.

8:15 PUNDITA RAMABAI SARASVATI.
The Women of India.

8:35 SARAH B. COOPER, Pres. Golden Gate Kindergarten Association.
(Paper.) *The Kindergarten in its Development of Faculty.*

Discussion:

8:50 LOUISA REED STOWELL, M. S., F. R. M. S., Pres. and Del. of Western Collegiate Alumnæ.
Retrospection.

9:00 RENA A. MICHAELS, Ph. D., Dean of Woman's College, Northwestern University.
Co-Education.

9:10 ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG, Del. of Finnish Women's Association.

9:20 ADA M. FREDERIKSEN, Del. of Danish Women's Association.
(Paper.) *Report of Danish omen's Association*

9:30 CORA A. BENNESON, A. M. LL.B., (Mich. University) Fellow in History, Bryn Mawr College.
College Fellowships for Women.

9.40 MARTHA MCLELLAN BROWN, Vice-President Wesleyan College, Cincinnati.

Tuesday, March 27.

MORNING SESSION.

10.00 A. M.

PHILANTHROPIES.

HARRIETTE R. SHATTUCK, Pres. of Nat'l W. S. Ass'n for Mass., Presiding.

Invocation.

Music.

10.10 ISABEL C. BARROWS, Del. Woman's Auxiliary Conference Unitarian Ass'n.
The Work of Unitarian Women.

10.30 JENNIE FOWLER WILLING.
(Paper.) *Woman as Missionary.*

10.40 LAURA MCNEIR, Del. and Pres. Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic.

11.05 ISABELLE BOGELOT, Del. and Dir. Prison Reform Work of St. Lazare, Paris.
Work of the St. Lazare.

11.25 EDNAH D. CHENEY, Pres. and Del. New England Hospital for Women and Children.
Hospitals Managed by and for Women.

11.35 HARRIET N. MORRIS, Ex-Principal Public School No. 39, Brooklyn.
Missionary Work.

11.45 EMILY S. RICHARDS, Del. L. D. S. Women's Association of Utah.
Report.

11.55 AMELIA S. QUINTON, Del. and Pres. Woman's National Indian Ass'n.
Work and Objects of the Women's Indian Association.

12.05 CLARA BARTON, Nat'l Pres. American Association of the Red Cross.
The Red Cross Society.

Music.

EVENING SESSION.

7.30 P. M.

TEMPERANCE.

Music by the Orchestra.

7.45 Invocation.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, Del. and Pres. National W. C. T. U.
Woman and Temperance.

8.15 HANNAH WHITALL SMITH, Del. and American Sec. World's W. C. T. U.
The Latest Evolution of the W. C. T. U.

8.30 BESSIE STARR KEEFER, Fraternal Delegate Toronto W. C. T. U.

Discussion:

8.40 ANNA GORDON.
How to Reach the Children.

8.50 FRANCES E. W. HARPER.
What Shall Be Done with the Neglected Rich.

9.00 SUTAN H. BARNEY, Nat'l Supt. Prison, Jail, Police, and Almshouse Work of W. C. T. U.
Police Matrons.

9.15 DR. MARY WEEKS BURNETT, Del. Nat'l Temperance Hospital and Med. College Ass'n.
The Temperance Hospital.

9.25 MATILDA B. CARSE.
The Temperance Temple.

9.35 MARY H. HUNT, Nat'l Supt. Scientific Instruction.
Our Reasons.

9.45 Home, Sweet Home, sung by the audience.

Wednesday, March 28.

MORNING SESSION.

10.00 A. M.

INDUSTRIES.

LAURA M. JOHNS, Pres. Kansas Equal Suffrage Ass'n, Presiding.

Invocation.

Music.

10.15 MARY A. LIVERMORE, Del. American Woman Suffrage Ass'n.
Woman's Industrial Gains during the Last Half Century.

10.55 ANNA M. WORDEN, Worthy Master of Vineland Grange, No. 11.
Women in the Grange.

11.15 HULDA B. LOUD.
Women in the Knights of Labor.

Discussion:

11.30 HELEN CAMPBELL, Vice-President Sociological Society of America. (Paper.) *Women in the Trades.*

11.50 LEONORA M. BARRY, Del. and Organizer of the Knights of Labor.
What the Knights of Labor are Doing for Women.

12.05 ESTHER L. WARNER.
Women as Farmers.

Music.

EVENING SESSION.

7.30 P. M.

PROFESSIONS.

Music by the Orchestra.

7.45 Invocation.
PROF. RENA A. MICHAELS.
Women as Educators.

8.00 LAURA C. HOLLOWAY.
Woman in Journalism.

8.10 DR. SARAH HACKETT STEVENSON.
Woman in Medicine.

Vocal Solo—KATHERINE WILLARD.
Elsa's Dream (Lohengrin), Wagner.

8.30 ADA M. BITTENBENDER, Nat'l Sup't Legislation and Petitions of N. W. C. T. U.
Woman in Law.

8.40 REV. ADA C. BOWLES.
Woman in the Ministry.

8.50 Violin Solo—MAUD POWELL.

Discussion:

9.10 MARTHA R. FIELD, Del. Woman's International Press Ass'n.

9.20 AMELIA HADLEY MOHL, Del. Woman's National Press Ass'n.

9.30 MATILDA B. CARSE.
Woman and Finance.

9.45 ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Thursday, March 29.

MORNING SESSION.

10.00 A. M.

ORGANIZATION.

MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, Vice-Pres. at Large Nat'l W. S. A., Presiding.
Invocation.
Music.

10.15 JULIA WARD HOWE, Del. and Pres. Ass'n for the Advancement of Women.
The Power of Organization.

10.45 MARY F. EASTMAN, Del. Ass'n for the Advancement of Women.

11.05 ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG, Del. of the Finnish Women's Ass'n.
The Work of Finnish Women.

11.25 ABBY MORTON DIAZ, Pres. Women's Ed. and Industrial Union, Boston.
Women's Educational and Industrial Unions.

Discussion:

11.40 ADA C. FREDERIKSEN, Del. of Danish Woman's Association, and Danish Women's Society for Protection of Young Girls.
Report.

11.50 FRANCES E. WILLARD.

12.00 FANNY ZAMPINI SALAZARO, Editor "Woman's Review," (Rome).
(Paper.) *The Women of Italy.*

12.20 M. LOUISE THOMAS, Pres. and Del. Sorosis.
The Work of Sorosis.

12.30 MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

12.40 SUSAN B. ANTHONY.
Music.

EVENING SESSION.

7.30 P. M.

LEGAL CONDITIONS.

Music by the Orchestra.

7.45 Invocation.

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE, Pres. N. Y. State W. S. Ass'n.
Legal Disabilities of Women.

8.15 ALICE SCATCHERD, Del. of Edinburg Nat'l Society for Women's Suffrage, and Darlington, Yorkshire and Southport Women's Liberal Asso'ns.
Legal Conditions of Women in the Three Kingdoms.

8.45 ALICE FLETCHER, Special Indian Agent under the Severalty Bill.
Legal Conditions of Indian Women.

Discussion:

9.05 DR. RUTH M. WOOD.
Legal Condition of Women in Utah.

9.15 MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.
Law in the Family.

9.25 LUCY STONE, Del. American Woman Suffrage Association.

9.35 MARY A. LIVERMORE.

Friday, March 30.

MORNING SESSION.

10.00 A. M.

SOCIAL PURITY (SESSION FOR WOMEN ALONE.)

ELIZABETH BOYNTEN HARBERT, Vice-Pres. of Nat'l W. S. A. for Illinois, presiding.
Invocation.
Music.

10.25 ELIZABETH LISLE SAXON, Vice-Pres. Nat'l W. S. A. for Tennessee.

10.45 ANNA RICE POWELL,
Del. N. Y. Com. for the Prevention of State Regulation of Vice.
The International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice.

11.05 MRS. ORMISTON CHANT, Del. of Edinburgh Nat'l Society for Women's Suffrage.

Discussion:

11.25 CAROLINE M. S. FRAZAR, Del. Nat'l Moral Ed. Society.

11.30 DR. CAROLINE B. WINSLOW, Pres. District of Columbia Moral Ed. Society.
The Starting Point.

11.45 HARRIETTE R. SHATTUCK.

11.55 S. MAGELSSON GROTH, Del. Norwegian W. S. Society.

12.05 CLARA CLEGHORNE HOFFMAN.

12.15 FRANCES E. WILLARD.

Music.

EVENING SESSION.

7.30 P. M.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

Music by the Orchestra.

7.45 Invocation.

CLARA NEYMANN.
Sentimentalism in Politics.

8.10 ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER, Vice-Pres. of Nat'l W. S. A. for Connecticut.
Constitutional Rights of the Women of the United States.

Discussion:

8.50 J. ELLEN FOSTER.
Women in Politics.

9.00 HARRIET H. ROBINSON, Mem. Ex. Com. Nat'l W. S. A.
Political Parties and Woman Suffrage.

9.10 FRANCES E. WILLARD.

9.20 REV. ANNIE H. SHAW, Sup't Franchise Dept. Nat'l W. C. T. U.
School Suffrage.

9.30 LAURA M. JOHNS.
Municipal Suffrage.

9.40 ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY, Vice-Pres. Nat'l W. S. A. for Oregon.
Suffrage in the Territories.

Saturday, March 31.

MORNING SESSION.

10.00 A. M.

CONFERENCE OF THE PIONEERS.

Invocation.

Song—JOHN W. HUTCHINSON, Lynn, Mass.

Addresses:

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, New York.
FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Washington, D. C.
LUCY STONE, Boston, Mass.
HENRY B. BLACKWELL, Boston, Mass.
ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, Elizabeth, N. J.
ROBERT PURVIS, Philadelphia, Pa.
CAROLINE H. DALL, Washington, D. C.
MARY GREW, Philadelphia, Pa.
MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, Syracuse, New York.
SAM'L C. POMEROY, Washington, D. C.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Rochester, N. Y.

Song—JOHN W. HUTCHINSON.

Among the Pioneers on the stage will be: Amy Post, Sarah H. Willis, Mary H. Hallowell, Sarah Anthony Burtis, Mary S. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y.; M. Adeline Thomson, Emily Winslow Taylor, Philadelphia, Pa.; Sarah H. Southwick, Wellesly Hills, Mass.; Sarah E. Wall, Worcester, Mass.; Clemence S. Lozier, M. D., New York; Olive Frazer Ingalls, Glenora, N. Y.; Susan E. Wattles, Kansas; Esther Wattles, Oberlin, Ohio; Virginia L. Minor, St. Louis, Mo.; and Dr. Caroline B. Winslow, Dr. Susan Edson, Jane B. Archibald, Julia A. Wilbur, Washington, D. C., Catharine A. F. Stebbins, Mich.

Music—"*Auld Lang Syne.*"

EVENING SESSION.

7.30 P. M.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

Music by the Orchestra.

7.45 Invocation.

HELEN H. GARDENER.

Sex in Brain

8.15 MRS. ASHTON DILKE, Del. Newcastle Women's Liberal Ass'n, England.

8.45 HELEN M. GOUGAR, Pres. Indiana Nat'l Woman Suffrage Ass'n.

Party, Press and People.

Sunday, April 1.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

2.30 P. M.

RELIGIOUS SYMPOSIUM.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Vice-President at Large, Nat'l W. S. A., presiding.

Invocation.

Hymn—*Greeting.*

2.40 MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.

Women in the Early Christian Church.

2.50 REV. ANTONIETTE BROWN BLACKWELL.

Science and Religious Truth.

3.15 CAROLINE H. DALL.

3.25 ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT.

3.35 MARY A. LIVERMORE.

3.45 ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Hymn—*Prayer.*

4.05 ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER.

4.15 JULIA WARD HOWE.

4.25 ELIZABETH G. STUART.

4.35 ZERELDA G. WALLACE.

Hymn—*The Church Universal.*

Benediction.

EVENING SESSION.

7.45 P. M.

CLOSE OF THE COUNCIL.

Invocation.

Music—*The True Fast.*

ZERELDA G. WALLACE.

The Moral Power of the Ballot.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Closing Address.

Music—*Old and New.*

ADJOURNMENT.

Monday, April 2.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

A meeting for the purpose of forming permanent organizations will be held Monday, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Hymns.

Key Bb

1. God Shall Lead Us On.

JULIA MILLS DUNN.

Tune—"John Brown."

1. From Wyoming's rocky valleys to the wild New Hampshire hills,
From our Northern lakes of silver to the sunny Southern rills,
Lo! the clarion call of Freedom all the listening silence thrills!
Our God shall lead us on.

CHORUS.

Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Our God shall lead us on.

2. We have heard the voice of Freedom from that far-off Western shore,
We have heard the echoes calling, as our fathers heard of yore,
Let us sing its stirring music, "Equal rights forevermore!"
And God shall lead us on.—CHORUS.

3. We have watched the dawning splendor of a promise in the skies,
We have heard His accents tender, "Lo! ye faithful ones, arise!"
"Who would equal justice render, I will nevermore despise,"
"Your God shall lead you on."—CHORUS.

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2. Prayer.

JAMES MONTGOMERY.

Music—"St. Agnes."

219

1. Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,
Uttered or unexpressed;
The motion of a hidden fire
That trembles in the breast.

2. Prayer is the burden of a sigh,
The falling of a tear;
The upward glancing of the eye,
When none but God is near.

3. Prayer is the simplest form of speech
That infant lips can try;
Prayer the sublimest strains that reach
The Majesty on high.

3. The Reformers.

92

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Tune—"Ortonville."

1. O pure Reformers! not in vain
Your trust in humankind;
The good which bloodshed could not gain.
Your peaceful zeal shall find.

2. The truths ye urge are borne abroad
By every wind and tide;
The voice of nature and of God
Speaks out upon your side.

3. The weapons which your hands have found
Are those which Heaven hath wrought—
Light, Truth, and Love; your battle-ground,
The free, broad field of Thought.

4. Oh, may no selfish purpose break
The beauty of your plan;
No lie from throne or altar shake
Your steady faith in man!

5. Press on! and if we may not share
The glory of your fight,
We'll ask at least, in earnest prayer,
God's blessing on the right.

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4. Auld Lang Syne.

Key 7

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

Music—"Auld Lang Syne."

1. It singeth low in every heart;
We hear it each and all—
A song of those who answer not,
However we may call.
They throng the silence of the breast;
We see them as of yore—
The kind, the true, the brave, the sweet,
Who walk with us no more.

2. 'Tis hard to take the burden up,
When these have laid it down;
They brighten all the joys of life,
They soften every frown.
But, oh! 'tis good to think of them
When we are troubled sore;
Thanks be to God that such have been,
Although they are no more!

3. More homelike seems the vast unknown
Since they have entered there;
To follow them were not so hard,
Wherever they may fare.
They can not be where God is not,
On any sea or shore;
Whate'er betides, thy love abides,
Our God forevermore!

344

5. Loi He Cometh.

JAMES MONTGOMERY.

Tune—"Missionary Hymn."

1. God comes, with succor speedy,
To those who suffer wrong;
To help the poor and needy,
And bid the weak be strong;
He comes to break oppression,
And set the captive free;
To take away transgression,
And rule in equity.

2 To Him shall prayer unceasing,
And daily vows ascend;
His kingdom still increasing,
A kingdom without end.
The tide of time shall never
His covenant remove;
His name shall stand forever,
His great, best name of Love.

---

6. The Word of the Lord Abideth Forever.

22 or 23 or 70

SAMUEL LONGFELLOW.

Music—"Worthing."

1. God of ages and of nations!
Every race, and every time,
Hath received thine aspirations,
Glimpses of thy truth sublime.
Ever spirits, in rapt vision,
Passed the heavenly veil within;
Ever hearts, bowed in contrition,
Found salvation from their sin.

2. Reason's noble aspiration,
Truth in growing clearness saw;
Conscience spoke its condemnation,
Or proclaimed the Eternal Law.
While thine inward revelations
Told thy saints their prayers were heard,
Prophets to the guilty nations
Spoke thine everlasting word.

3. Lord, that word abideth ever;
Revelation is not sealed;
Answering unto man's endeaver,
Truth and Right are still revealed.
That which came to ancient sages,
Greek, Barbarian, Roman, Jew,
Written in the heart's deep pages,
Shines to-day, forever new!

---

7. Old and New.

P 60

J. G. WHITTIER.

Tune—"Hamburg."

1. Oh, sometimes gleams upon our sight,
Through present wrong, the eternal right;
And step by step, since time began,
We see the steady gain of man.

2 That all of good the past hath had
Remains to make our own time glad,
Our common, daily life divine,
And every land a Palestine.

3. Through the harsh noises of our day
A low, sweet prelude finds its way;
Through clouds of doubt and creeds of fear
A light is breaking calm and clear.

4. Henceforth my heart shall sigh no more
For olden time and holier shore;
God's love and blessing, then and there,
Are now, and here, and everywhere.

8. Nearer, My God, to Thee.

267

SARAH FLOWER ADAMS.

Tune—"Bethany."

1. Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee,
E'en though it be a cross
That raiseth me,
Still all my song shall be,
‖ Nearer, my God, to thee, ‖
Nearer to thee.

2. Though like a wanderer,
Daylight all gone,
Darkness be over me,
My rest a stone,
Yet in my dreams I'd be
‖ Nearer, my God, to thee, ‖
Nearer to thee.

3. There let the way appear
Steps unto heaven;
All that thou sendest me
In mercy given,
Angels to beckon me
‖ Nearer, my God, to thee, ‖
Nearer to thee.

4. Or if on joyful wing
Cleaving the sky,
Sun, moon, and stars forgot,
Upward I fly,—
Still all my song shall be,
‖ Nearer, my God, to thee, ‖
Nearer to thee.

---

9. God is Love.

42

BOWRING.

Tune—"Stockwell."

1. God is love; his mercy brightens
All the path in which we rove;
Bliss he wakes and love he lightens;
God is wisdom, God is love.

2. E'en the hour that darkest seemeth
Will his changeless goodness prove;
From the gloom his brightness streameth;
God is wisdom, God is love.

3. He with earthly cares entwineth
Hope and comfort from above;
Everywhere his glory shineth;
God is wisdom, God is love.

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10. Home, Sweet Home.

Eb

1. 'Mid pleasures and palaces, though we may roam,
Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home.
A charm from the skies seems to hallow us there,
Which, seek through the world, is ne'er met with elsewhere.
Home, home, sweet, sweet home!
There's no place like home, there's no place like home.

2. An exile from home, splendor dazzles in vain.
O! give me my lowly thatched cottage again.
The birds singing gaily that came at my call,
Give me them, with the peace of mind, dearer than all,
Home, home, sweet, sweet home!
There's no place like home, there's no place like home.

11. Thou Grace Divine, Encircling All.

136

ELIZA SCUDDER.

Tune—"Balerma."

1. Thou grace divine, encircling all,
A shoreless, soundless sea,
Wherein at last our souls must fall,
O love of God most free!

2. When over dizzy heights we go,
One soft hand blinds our eyes,
The other leads us safe and slow,—
O love of God most wise!

3. And though we turn us from thy face,
And wander wide and long,
Thou hold'st us still in thine embrace,
O love of God most strong!

4. The saddened heart, the restless soul,
The toil-worn frame and mind,
Alike confess thy sweet control,—
O love of God most kind!

5. And filled and quickened by thy breath,
Our souls are strong and free
To rise o'er sin and fear and death,
O love of God, to thee!

Monday, March 26th.

(Opening.)

12. The Promised Land.

Key G

Tune—"Beulah Land."

Dedicated to the International Council of Women by

ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT.

1. Our weary years of wandering o'er,
We greet with joy this radiant shore;
The promised land of liberty,
The dawn of freedom's morn we see.
O promised land, we enter in,
With "Peace on earth, good-will to men;"
The "Golden Age" now comes again,
As breaketh every bond and chain;
While every race and sect and clime
Shall equal share in this glad time.

2. Toilers in many fields have come
With sheaves for this our "Harvest Home,"
While spirits true in every age
Have won for us this heritage.
O golden dawn, O promised day,
When error's lost in truth's clear ray,
When all shall know that God is love,
His kingdom here, around, above,
The world one equal brotherhood,
And evil overcome with good.

3. Then onward march in truth's crusade,
Earth's faltering ones implore our aid,
The children of our schools and State,
This coming of the mothers wait.
O doubting hearts! O tempted ones!
The shadows fade, the sunshine comes;
Freedom for each is best for all,
The "Golden Rule" our bugle call;
And as to victory on we move,
The banner over us is love.

13. The True Fast.

65

JAMES DRUMMOND.

Music—"Dennis."

1. "Is this a fast for me?"
Thus saith the Lord our God;
"A day for man to vex his soul,
And feel affliction's rod?

2. "No; is not this alone
The sacred fast I choose,
Oppression's yoke to burst in twain,
The bands of guilt unloose?

3. "To nakedness and want
Your food and raiment deal,
To dwell your kindred race among,
And all their sufferings heal?

4. "Then like the morning ray
Shall spring your health and light;
Before you righteousness shall shine,
Behind, my glory bright."

---

14. The Church Universal.

92

SAMUEL LONGFELLOW.

Music—"Bowdoin Square."

1. One holy Church of God appears
Through every age and race,
Unwasted by the lapse of years,
Unchanged by changing place.

2. From oldest time, on farthest shores,
Beneath the pine or palm,
One unseen presence she adores,
With silence or with psalm.

3. Her priests are all God's faithful sons,
To serve the world raised up;
The pure in heart her baptized ones;
Love her communion-cup.

4. The truth is her prophetic gift,
The soul her sacred page,
And feet on mercy's errands swift
Do make her pilgrimage.

5. O living Church, thine errand speed,
Fulfill thy task sublime,
With Bread of Life earth's hunger feed,
Redeem the evil time!

---

15. Greeting.

69

SAMUEL LONGFELLOW.

Music—"Missionary Chant."

1. O Life, that maketh all things new—
The blooming earth, the thoughts of men,
Our pilgrim feet, wet with thy dew,
In gladness hither turn again.

2. From hand to hand the greeting flows,
From eye to eye the signals run,
From heart to heart the bright hope glows;
The seekers of the light are one.

3. One in the freedom of the truth,
One in the joy of paths untrod,
One in the soul's perennial youth,
One in the larger thought of God.

4. The freer step, the fuller breath,
The wide horizon's grander view,
The sense of life that knows no death,
The Life that maketh all things new.

16.
HARK! THE SOUND OF MYRIAD VOICES.

HARRIET H. ROBINSON.

Tune—"Hold the Fort."

1. Hark! the sound of myriad voices
Rising in their might;
'Tis the daughters of Columbia
Pleading for the right.

CHORUS.

Raise the flag and plant the standard,
Wave the signal still;
Brothers, we must share your freedom;
Help us, and we will.

2. Think it not an idle murmur,
You who hear the cry;
'Tis a plea for human freedom,
Hallowed liberty!—CHORUS.

3. O our country! glorious nation,
Greatest of them all;
Give unto thy daughters justice
Or thy pride will fall.—CHORUS.

4. Great Republic! to thy watchword
Would'st thou faithful be,
All beneath thy starry banner
Must alike be free.—CHORUS.

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17. NEW COLUMBIA.

ANNA GARDNER.

Tune—"The Red, White, and Blue."

1. O Columbia, gem of the ocean,
A home for the brave may you be;
A shrine for the people's devotion
Be the land of the just and the free!
Forget not the rights of your mothers,
When Liberty's form stands in view,
Or when proudly you carry her colors,
And boast of the red, white, and blue!

CHORUS.

And boast of the red, white and blue—
And boast of the red, white, and blue—
Or when proudly you carry her colors,
And boast of the red, white, and blue!

2. O Columbia, list to your daughters!
They rally from hilltop and plain,
And a prayer echoes over the waters
That justice and freedom shall reign.
When the banner of freedom floats o'er us,
And her sons to her teachings are true,
We will join in the soul-stirring chorus—
Three cheers for the red, white, and blue!

CHORUS.

Three cheers for the red, white, and blue—
Three cheers for the red, white, and blue—
Then we'll join in the soul-stirring chorus,
Three cheers for the red, white, and blue.

18. THE EQUAL-RIGHTS BANNER.

BY REV. C. C. HARRAH.

Tune—"The Star-Spangled Banner."

1. Oh, say, have you heard of the new, dawning light,
Bringing hope to our land, and its foes all surprising?
Our banner still floats as the emblem of right,
And the day breaks upon us, for women are rising.
And with ballots in hand, at the right's dear command,
They'll be true to the flag and will rescue our land;
And ever the EQUAL-RIGHTS BANNER shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

2. The women for truth and for virtue will stand,
And the country be freed from unjust legislation,
And heaven then will smile on a purified land,
And the Power shall be praised that hath kept us a nation.
Woman's ballot is just, so then conquer we must,
And this be our watchword—"IN GOD IS OUR TRUST!"
And our EQUAL-RIGHTS BANNER in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

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19. THE NEW AMERICA.

ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT.

Tune—"America."

1. Our country, now from thee
Claim we our liberty,
In freedom's name.
Guarding home's altar fires,
Daughters of patriot sires,
Their zeal our own inspires
Justice to claim.

2. Women in every age
For this great heritage
Tribute have paid.
Our birth-right claim we now—
Longer refuse to bow;
On freedom's altar now
Our hand is laid.

3. Sons, will you longer see
Mothers on bended knee
For justice pray?
Rise, now in manhood's might,
With earth's great souls unite
To speed the dawning light
Of freedom's day.

BADGES.

Black and Gold, *Committee of Arrangements;* Purple, *Railroads;* Lavender, *Decoration;* Light Blue, *Enrollment of Visitors;* Dark Blue, *Public Reception;* Brown and Gold, *Music;* Mahogany and Yellow, *Hotels and Boarding Places;* Pink, *Badges;* Red and Gold, *Press;* Grey aud Gold, *Report of Council;* White, *Delegates to the Council;* Green, *Official Guests;* Yellow, *Officers of the N. W. S. A.;* Red, White and Blue, *Treasurer, N. W. S. A.;* Olive Green, *Fraternal Delegates;* Red, *Reporters.*

National Woman Suffrage Association.

The 20th Anuual Convention of the

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Will be held at

THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH,

Cor. of 13th and L Sts.,

TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3D AND 4TH.

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT 10 A. M.

EXECUTIVE SESSION AT 2 P. M.
(Members admitted by ticket.)

PUBLIC SESSION AT 8 P. M.
Admission 10 Cents.

AMONG THE SPEAKERS WILL BE THE FOLLOWING:

CATHERINE B. WAITE,	Illinois.
VIRGINIA L. MINOR,	Missouri.
MARIETTA M. BONES,	Dakota.
MATILDA HINDMAN,	Pennsylvania.
ELLEN W. LYNCH,	Mississippi.
JENNIE F. HOLMES,	Nebraska.
MARY SEYMOUR HOWELL,	New York.
CAROLINE GILKEY ROGERS,	New York.
SARAH M. PERKINS,	Ohio.
MARY B. CLAY,	Kentucky.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY,	New York.
ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,	New York.
MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE,	New York.
ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY,	Oregon.
HELEN M. GOUGAR,	Indiana.

Housekeepers and Servants

Written for the Louisville Woman's Club and read before it December 3rd, 1890

Mrs. President and Ladies:

We, who live on the verge of this, the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, find ourselves confronted by a subject of grave importance—present and prospective—one which affects widely and deeply ourselves and our homes, on which the whole fabric of society depends for its stability and happiness, viz: House-Keepers and Servants. I cannot hope, in our limited time, to do more than touch the salient points of the subject, leaving further thought to any who may be sufficiently interested to continue the study. Nor, can I think, of any more simple method of considering what we call the "Domestic Problem" than first, its present condition; second, the cause; and third, the remedy.

The present unsettled, unsatisfactory, demoralized and demoralizing condition of our household service, and in consequence our housekeeping, is general. From all parts of our Country, North, South, East and West—from Country, Village and City alike, comes a cry of destitution and distress; utter inability to find capable, faithful household servants. Search for them is like the proverbial search for the lost needle.

The condition has become one of ready and unfailing ridicule to newspaper writers, who have needed an item to fill a

blank, "to point a moral, or to adorn a tale," but one also of serious import to those directly affected. Failing to find the capable faithful "help" which we need, if in stress of circumstance we take into our homes those who are inexperienced, hoping to teach them to become helpful, we are fortunate if we do not soon discover a lack of the essential qualities—truthfulness, honesty, etc., which make it worth our while to continue the effort to teach. Indeed we are fortunate if we do not find that they have come into our homes imbued with the spirit which animated the Irishman, who, landing on our hospitable shore at election time was asked how he was going to vote, only knew that it would be "agin the government!" A spirit of antipathy, of antagonism towards the employer, seems to be everywhere; not always audible or tangible perhaps, but none the less real.

We housekeepers seem to have fallen into a state of abject dependence,—a state of lethargy, pitiful to contemplate. Knowing that we are not well served, pleasantly and cheerfully, we do not seem to have the moral courage to assert our rights—to demand that our promises fulfilled to those whom we employ, theirs to us shall be also. Instead, do not some mistresses yield to a request, if not a demand, and give "recommendations" to unfaithful servants, thus enabling them to impose on others?

The condition is serious; it is also anomalous; in that while good homes are open, and good wages are waiting for those who will not enter the one, nor work for the other; our towns and cities are crowded with women who are willing to stand in stores, work in shops and factories, in adverse conditions, for wages which afford few of the comforts, and generally, only the barest necessaries of life. And from all these crowded centers, comes a cry for sympathy and aid in efforts to ameliorate the condition of these much abused, down-trodden, helpless shop-girls! To illustrate this condition, I read a portion of an article which appeared in a recent Christian Union. The article reported a largely attended meeting in Chickering Hall under the auspices of "The Working Woman's Society"—an effort to enlist sympathy in their behalf at which revelations were made of the sad conditions in which many women work—physical and moral as well as pecuniary—in the shops and stores in New York City.

We pity the shop-girls! We lament the ignorance and prejudice which make and keep them 'Prisoners of Poverty' in a land of plenty; but our sympathy goes out also, towards the tired housekeepers; the wornout mothers of little children, sometimes ill as well as worn, who are suffering for the help which these shop-girls might render to mutual advantage.

Children have a right to be well born; but who shall say that multitudes do not come into the world and go through life suffering, physically, mentally and morally from the worry, annoyance, vexation and general domestic discomfort of their mothers during their pre-natal state.

I do not wish to be understood as supposing that there are not capable, faithful servants still in our land; those who are true to their own duty and loyal to the homes and interests of their employers—All honor to them! They should be canonized! The supply of such is to the demand, as a drop of water to an immeasurable quantity! In short, the present condition of domestic service, is such as to cause housekeepers to cry out in anguish of spirit, "Is life worth living?"

Why this state of affairs? Where shall we look for the cause of this manifest lack of adjustment between work and workers? Why should household service, the most healthful, better paid than any other which does not require long educational preparation; always abundant; emphatically women's work and in the direct line of what all women need to know that they may keep their own homes well, why should this work be avoided as if it were contaminating?

The usual reply to those who ask, is, that the work has become intolerable, because of the inconsiderateness of mistresses, their exactions; their arrogance; besides, the work itself, is never done!

It is as well to confess frankly and at once, that there is great need of thoughtful, considerate mistresses; for those who practice, as well as preach the precepts of the Golden Rule. One only needs to hear the ordinary conversation—the comparison of experiences between sympathetic housekeepers, to know that the depth of the problem has not yet been fathomed by them all. Not long ago I heard a housekeeper, an intelligent, and in many ways a sensible woman; say with much earnestness, "It puts me up to all I know, to keep ahead of my cook," meaning, I inferred, that the cook was crafty and dis-

posed to take undue advantage of her mistress. If she had addressed her remark to me I should have been inclined to say, "My dear young friend, as you value your peace of mind, give up the strife! A contest to be fair, should be on even ground. You cannot hope to bring your cook to what your level ought to be. Do not descend to hers—avoid the angles, escape the friction, and see if by tact and kindly feeling, you cannot meet on higher ground." As for the exactions and arrogance of mistresses, compare them with the same qualities in average floor-walkers; in over-seers of business houses generally, and, as reasons for avoiding house-work they need not be considered—they fall to the ground. That the work for a family is never done is partly due to our ever recurring needs, and partly to want of method, of system in the doing.

There is another reason why household work is avoided, deeper and more general than any yet considered; indeed I believe the real reason. It was more perfectly stated some months ago in one of our evening papers, than I remember to have seen it elsewhere. It purported to be a conversation between the writer of the article and one of our representative colored men. The subject was the new town then in contemplation—to be built a few miles outside our city, for colored people. It was said to be a necessity for them because our public schools educate them, and when they are educated they feel as white people do in similar circumstances—above doing menial work.

I did not see a reply, though I looked for one. I hoped somebody would say that any education for colored people, or white, that unfits them for the work which lies next them, and which they need to do, is a mistake. I wished also to ask who would do the menial work of that town?

What is menial work, which is considered so degrading that intelligent women will suffer want even to destitution rather than do it? It is cooking, washing, ironing, chamber-work, house cleaning, etc.; the work made imperative by the conditions of our being. Our daily needs must be supplied, our homes must be made and kept cleanly and attractive unless we lapse into barbarism. Let us call the work manual and not menial—and let us say, and say it reverently, that God made no such mistake as to create humanity with needs which could be supplied only at the expense of the debasement of any of his

creatures. It is the ill, the unfaithful doing of work by those who ought to do it well, that degrades the doer!

Not long ago, no matter how long, or where, the story is authentic, a woman born and reared in affluence, occupying the very highest social position in the town in which she lived, and standing in the fore front of social usefulness, a frequent and gracious hostess, suddenly found herself penniless. She did not sit down "in sack cloth and ashes" and bewail her condition, an object of sympathy for her friends; there was not time to look for the place and the work which she might have chosen, (for she was qualified by education and association for the highest) she must do something at once. While looking for the more congenial, she notified her friends and acquaintances that if any wished to give a breakfast, a luncheon, a dinner or any entertainment without the slightest care, or thought, she was at their service. She soon found herself fully occupied and on her own terms.

A few years ago, a young lady was graduated at Vassar College. Soon after her graduation, her father, who was supposed to be a millionaire, died instantly. The settlement of his estate revealed the fact that instead of being wealthy, he was bankrupt and his daughter penniless. A year later, more or less; she visited a class-mate in a neighboring city. After the first cordial greetings, in response to the inquiry: "Where have you been all this time, that I have heard nothing of you?" she said; "I shall tell you at once, for you could not guess in a whole summer. I am a nurse on Blackwell's Island, and what is more, I like it!" Were these brave women less esteemed than before, by any whose esteem is worth having? To all such exhibitions of moral courage, humanity makes ready and reverent obeisance!

I come to my last point, the remedy, and also to the most hopeful feature in the solution of this difficult problem, viz: that earnest women, like those who compose this club are seriously thoughtful on the subject.

We need reform rather than revolution; that reform which shall bring revolution, and this must come through housekeepers themselves. We alone can redeem our present domestic condition from the ignominious degradation into which we have permitted it to fall and place it where it belongs, in the realm of high art, if not fine art! The process will be slow and difficult;

will require wisdom, perseverance, moral courage, self-control, time, and above, beyond and more than all, the spirit of our Heavenly Master. In her "Philosophy of Housekeeping," Mrs. Emily Huntingdon Miller says: "Some day we shall rate good housekeeping among the fine arts; value first-class cooking above second-class painting and piano playing and feel as thoroughly ashamed of ignorance of household economy, as of lacking acquaintance with English literature."

We need to organize a bureau of domestic service, in the interest of servants as well as of our own; and have occasional meetings to compare notes and experiences and to study methods. We need education on this most important subject. If in war, "Eternal Vigilance is the price of liberty," in housekeeping it is the price of comfort. For the one, we educate our sons and then send them for a long course of special training to West Point. For the other and more important, how do we prepare our daughters? The sons may never be called into active service—the daughters seldom escape it.

We hear affectionate, devoted mothers say, "I wish my girls to have a good time while they are young, and can; home and family cares will come soon enough at the latest, Poor things!" Alas! the thoughtless mother does not realize that she is practicing the very refinement of cruelty on her unsuspecting child, by not educating and preparing her for those very cares and duties.

We need cooking schools, kitchen-garden schools, training schools in domestic economy, and we housekeepers need the higher education of mind and heart which will enable us to control with equanimity, gentleness, and firmness, the undisciplined ones who serve us, so that not one of them all may ever leave the shadow of our homes, without having been made better by our influence. We must feel a degree of responsibility for the well doing, the well being of those who are for the time our wards, so to speak. Our responsibilities are not all met when wages are paid; we should not always be weighing and measuring obligations; we should prefer service from motives of respect, confidence and love, rather than from mere unfeeling obligation. I sometimes think that a housekeeper's teaching, preaching opportunities are equal to those of ministers in our pulpits. The audiences are not so large, but equally impressionable; sometimes not easily won—always easily repelled. I am often reminded of an anec-

dote of John Wesley, which deeply impressed me many years ago. In one of his preaching tours, among the converts was a young man, poor and ignorant, but so deeply imbued with the Holy Spirit, that he felt a strong desire to be a preacher. He consulted Mr. Wesley, who, after a little conversation said: "Young man have you a trade?" To the reply, "I am a broom maker!" Mr. Wesley said: "My friend the Lord hath great need for good broom makers!" So, there is great need for good housekeepers, those who shall carry in their hearts and on their lips the law of kindness for those who do their bidding.

Let us all read often the last chapter of Proverbs and consider well its teachings; and then let us not like the character in Pilgrims Progress, be so intent in raking about our feet that we fail to see the crown above our heads.

SUSAN LOOK AVERY.

The third clause of the Bill is as follows :—"(1.) The mother of any infant may by deed or will appoint any persons to be guardian or guardians of such infant after the death of herself and the father of such infant (if such infant be then unmarried), and where guardians are appointed by both parents they shall act jointly.

"(2.) The mother of any infant may by deed or will provisionally nominate some fit person or persons to act as guardian or guardians of such infant after her death jointly with the father of such infant, and the Court, after her death, if it be shown to the satisfaction of the Court that the father is for any reason unfitted to be the sole guardian of his children, may confirm the appointment of such guardian or guardians who shall thereupon be authorized and empowered so to act as aforesaid."

This clause is altogether good, so far as it goes; but it would have been much better had it applied to both parents.

The only remaining portion of the Bill which calls for remark from us is Clause 5. This runs as follows :—"The Court may, upon the application of the mother of any infant (who may apply without next friend), make such order as it may think fit regarding the custody of such infant, having regard to the welfare of the infant, and to the conduct of the parents, and to the wishes as well of the mother as of the father, and may alter, vary, or discharge such order on the application of either parent, or, after the death of either parent, of any guardian under this Act."

Here, again, instead of a declaration that parents are joint guardians of their children, with co-equal rights and duties, we have a mitigation of the patriarchal rule. But it is a very important mitigation. The mother is to have some right of appeal against an unjust decree of a tyrannical spouse, and the Court, in adjudicating on the custody of the children, is to have regard "to the wishes as well of the mother as of the father." It is scarcely too much to say that, if this provision—as we fervently hope—passes into law, the mother will for the first time emerge in the sphere of legal rights.

Altogether the Bill, though but a step towards a final solution of the problem, is a genuine and a great step in advance, and reflects great credit on Mr. Bryce and the Government which has adopted it. All who desire that motherhood should be treated with more fairness and consideration than at present, should, by petitioning and otherwise, give encouragement and aid to the promoters of the Bill.

Vigilance Association for the Defence of Personal Rights,
2, Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, S.W.
22*nd March*, 1886.

THE GUARDIANSHIP AND CUSTODY OF INFANTS.

I.

AMONG the special literatures of our day, none is more remarkable than that which has rapidly grown up on the history of family life. The works of McLennan, Morgan, Bachofen, Giraud-Teulon, Robertson Smith, and others, have dissipated "The Patriarchal Theory" as an historical explanation of the family. The notion of paternal dominion over children and wife as an all-pervading social fact—Sir Henry Sumner Maine's arguments notwithstanding—may now be relegated to the realm of exploded fictions. Whether that dominion is right or wrong, productive of good or fruitful of evil, it is at least shown not to be one of the permanent conditions of human society. The ground is thus cleared for real argument. Patriarchalism is not *kismet*, but a social growth, which may be wholesome or unwholesome, which we can preserve, prune, or cut down.

The same may be said of recent advances in physiology, which have upset the belief in the exclusive importance of the male element in reproduction. They dissolve the notion of masculine supremacy based on embryological theory, and leave the field clear for more rational discussion of parental rights. It will now be seen by many men whose vision was before obscured by their supposed supreme functional superiority, how utterly irrelevant these matters are to a just judgment on the rights and obligations of parents. They will be able to see that the ethics of parentage is unaffected by the changes in the scientific aspect of reproduction—that if the maternal function could be shown to be merely nutritive, or if it could be proved to be almost exclusive, this could have no legitimate effect on the morals of domestic life.

The facts which are germane to a proper consideration of parental rights and duties are very few and very patent. Twopersons are responsible for the existence of every child. It is they who bring this helpless being into life: it is they, therefore, who are justly required to provide for the necessities of that life during the period of immaturity. The child is not the property either of the father, or the mother, or both. It is a human being, like themselves, with personal rights, like themselves. It is not a chattel, over which any person has a *jus utendi et abutendi*. It is a citizen, in a state through which every citizen passes—a citizen entitled to the protection of the law, and requiring it more than a full grown citizen. It is the man or woman of tomorrow; and upon the way in which it is nurtured and tended will the future of the community depend.

But though no right of property in children exists, either morally or legally, the interest of parents in their offspring is one of the deepest and most absorbing of which men and women are capable. Of the tie or affection which binds together mother and child little needs be said. It is one of the most sacred—if not *the* most sacred—of emotions.

The mother, faint with the pains and losses of parturition, still giving from her impoverished body nourishment to the helpless babe whose one instinct seems to be to nestle to her bosom, is a type of all that is holiest and purest in love. The voice is hushed, the noiseless feet seem all too grossly heavy, in presence of this sweet drama of life. Here at least, one might say, is an emotion which no man will dare bruise. And fatherhood, too, is a sacred tie. Later developed than the mother's love, that of the father marks an immense stride in human progress. It was the last added ingredient of family life—an ingredient without which true family life is impossible. The wounding of paternal love would be less cruel but more fatal than a like wrong to women. The father's affection is a more recent and a less hardy growth than that of the mother. It has generally less sensibility and less vitality; but it would be a great mistake to undervalue its importance, or to do aught which would tend to a reversion to the state in which a child had the care and love of but one parent.

There are, of course, men and women in whom parental feeling is exceedingly weak. These—the blind, the maimed, and the halt—prove nothing against our general thesis. Man is a rational animal, though there are some idiots and lunatics. Love of offspring is an attribute of humanity, though there are some men and women who seem to be destitute of it. These persons naturally and beneficially tend to die out. Other things equal, the better parents are, the better the chance of their children thriving and being successful in life. There is, therefore, a natural tendency to a growth of parental feeling; and, assuredly, of all the prospects of the future there is none to which we can look with more unmixed satisfaction.

The family is the primary social group; and it is accordingly a matter of very great importance that social impulse should not be poisoned at this, its source. The attraction which binds together the units of this group is marital, parental, and filial love. Here is a region in which mere force can do nothing, or less than nothing. Coercion is the bane of love. At the time in ancient Rome when the power of the husband over his wife was at a minimum, and that of a father over his child at a maximum, nothing was more conspicuous than the devotion of wives to their husbands, and the utter callousness of children towards their fathers. To give one of the adult members of the family group dominion over the other is to introduce moral dynamite into society. When we bear in mind that this is done—or, at least, maintained—for the purpose of binding the family together, we can see the utter fatuity of the whole proceeding.

The State should recognise in parents equal rights to the custody and guardianship of their children, and demand from them equal duties according to their capabilities of performing them. If we are asked why, we reply that equity should be the rule of the State in all things—that it should be no respecter of persons. The burthen of proof is not on the advocates of equality, but on those of inequality. It is for them to make out their case. And what is their case? It consists of question-begging metaphors, such as—"If two persons ride

the same horse one must ride behind," or of conjured up difficulties, such as are always brought forward by persons who cannot emancipate their imagination from the thraldom of custom. It is quite true that, in cases of serious difference between parents as to the care of their children, it would be necessary to appeal to the law courts; but this is no reason why the law should be kept in such a state as always to decide in favour of one of the parties, apart from the merits of any particular case. Such appeals would be very infrequent, and would be still more so when the miseducative influence of a bad law had died out. What we plead for is equality in the rights of fathers and mothers. The only exceptions to this should be in cases of proved unfitness to fulfil the duties of parentage or neglect of those duties. The recognition of rights should be conditional on the performance of duties, and on this alone.

II.

The "Bill to Amend the Law relating to the Guardianship and Custody of Infants," introduced into the House of Commons by the Attorney-General, the Lord-Advocate, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Bryce, is not intended to be a legal embodiment of the above principle; but it would do much to lessen the injustice of the present law, and deserves the hearty support of all friends of equity in the marital relations of men and women.

The father of a child may now, by will, take it altogether out of the custody of its mother, on his death; and even when he has made no such disposition of the child in his will, the courts of law may, and do, take a child from its mother, if it can be shown that it was presumably the desire of the father that the child should be brought up in a different religion from that of the mother. On this point the Bill declares that (Clause 2), "On the death of the father of an infant the mother, if surviving, shall be its guardian either alone when no guardian has been appointed by the father, or jointly with any guardian appointed by the father. When *no guardian has been appointed by the father, or if* the guardian or guardians appointed by the father is or are dead, or refuses or refuse to act, the Court may from time to time appoint a guardian or guardians to act jointly with the mother."

The first sentence of this clause would make a great improvement in the present state of the law, though to be just it should run—"On the death of a parent of an infant the other parent, if surviving, shall be its guardian either alone when no guardian has been appointed by the deceased parent, or jointly with any guardian appointed by the deceased parent;" and we would be glad if it were provided that a guardian acting jointly with a surviving parent should interfere only with the consent of the Court. The second sentence, and especially the part of it which we have italicised, and which we hope will be cut out, is clearly unjust. It conveys an unwarrantable aspersion of the parental care of women in general, and stands in marked contrast to the paternal freedom from control under like circumstances.

tion of the just principle for which the promoters of the Bill have always contended, and do now contend, the co-equal parental rights of both parents.

The framers of the clause contend, that it takes practically, a very long step in the direction of the assertion of equality of rights, and the zeal shown by the opponents of the measure in both Houses in endeavouring to restrict the application of the clause to cases where husband and wife were living apart, shows clearly that they understood its full significance.

It remains to be seen, whether the Courts will give full effect to the intention of the clause, and by such a liberal construction, create practically the joint guardianship so much to be desired in the interests of justice and humanity. Yet, without the intervention of the law courts, it has been abundantly proved that the existence of this clause has already had a beneficial effect in a large number of cases, by securing such a full consideration of the claims and wishes of the mother, as would not otherwise have been given. In this way the clause, though wholly wanting as a declaration of principle, does yet implicitly recognize that principle, and is steadily preparing the way for its final triumphant establishment.

Copies of this leaflet and of the Act itself, may be had from Mrs. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY, *Congleton.*

The Guardianship of Infants Act, 1886.

THIS Act, which received the Royal Assent on June 25th, 1886, and came into immediate operation throughout Great Britain and Ireland, effected very important changes in the relations of a married mother to her children. Briefly summarized, the changes made in the law are broadly these :—

1. A mother, upon the death of her husband, becomes now, by law, the guardian of her child or children, and no appointment by the father can set aside her right. She becomes *sole* guardian, when no other guardian has been appointed by the father, and *joint* guardian should any such appointment have been made, and this applies equally to the case of every mother, *widowed before the passing of the Act*, whose children are yet within the age of legal infancy. She can only be deprived of this, her natural and now her legal right, by the action of the Court,—which may, in pronouncing a decree of judicial separation or divorce, declare the offending party unfit to have the custody of the children. In such a case, the parent, *whether husband or wife*, whose misconduct has led to the separation or divorce, will not be entitled as of right to the custody of the children on the death of the other parent.

2. A mother may, now and henceforth, equally with a father, appoint a guardian or

guardians to act as such, after her own death and that of her husband, and where guardians are appointed by both parents, they will act jointly.

3. A mother may also *provisionally* appoint a guardian or guardians to act jointly with her husband after her own death; but the Court, after her death, will only confirm such an appointment, in case it be clearly shown that the father is, *for any cause whatever*, unfit to be the sole guardian of his children.

4. The advantages of the measure are extended to the poor, as well as to those rich enough to have recourse to the superior Courts, since cases under the Act may be heard by the County Courts in England and Ireland, and the Sheriff Courts in Scotland.

5. The Act throughout consistently keeps in view the *welfare of the child* or children as the main determining factor in cases of irreconcileable differences between the parents.

6. By far the most important provision of the Act is, however, that (clause 5) which enables the mother herself, even whilst living with her husband, as well as when separated from him, or after his death, to apply to the Court on any question affecting the custody of her child or children, or the right of access to them, and which directs the Court, in deciding upon such an application, to have "regard to the welfare of the infant, and to the conduct of the parents, and to the wishes, *as well of the mother as the father.*"

An able lawyer, writing on this clause,* has well said "This last sentence is probably the severest criticism that could have been passed upon the proceedings of our Law Courts hitherto. Posterity will observe with amazement that in the year 1886, it was necessary to instruct the Courts that a mother has sometimes 'wishes' regarding her children, and that if so, some attention is to be paid to them. It remains to be seen whether judges will do as they have been directed to do, or whether they will still cling to the effete tradition that the mother is sunk in the wife, and that the wife is merely the property of the husband. At all events, they cannot in future plead that they have no power, and are bound by the barbarous precedents of former ages."

It must be remembered in this connexion, that the original principle of the Infants' Bill was destroyed when the House of Commons struck out the provision that "The parents of any infant shall, during the continuance of their marriage, be its joint guardians;" and that the select Committee of the House of Lords negatived the proposal to restore that provision.

The clause now under consideration was introduced, in Committee of the Commons, to effect, as far as might be practicable, what would have been effected, had the Bill become law in its original form, by the legal recogni-

* *Westminster Review*, Sept. 1887. "The Law in relation to Women."

To the NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONVENTION,
Washington, D. C., February 17—21, 1890:

The chairman of the committee which arranged the first woman suffrage convention at Washington, twenty-one years since, unable to be personally present with you, sends greeting.

The convention of 1869, whose call is given above, was a *union* convention. The division into the National and American organizations took place later in 1869; and from that day to this, there has been no united convention. On the assembling of *this* union convention, the arranger of the *last* sends warm congratulations.

The convention of 1869 was a grand success. Washington was filled with hostile prejudice; but the powerful speeches of Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Clara Barton, Parker Pillsbury, Josephine Griffing, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and many others, drew throngs of hearers, and destroyed local hostility.

The twenty-one years that have passed since have seen a splendid advance of Liberty. Of forty-six States and Territories, twenty-six, a considerable majority, have relieved women from disfranchisement in various degrees. Soon after the convention the undersigned, as chairman of the campaign committee of the Universal Franchise Association, obtained the introduction of the Sixteenth Amendment into the House of Representatives for the first time, and its introduction into the new Congress, March 15. He procured at the same time the introduction of a bill to abolish the disfranchisement of the women of the Territories, and its re-introduction, March 15. Both were introduced by that honored champion of liberty, George W. Julian.

Feb. 27, 1869, the undersigned, on behalf of the Universal Franchise Association, made an argument before the House Committee on Territories, Gov. James M. Ashley presiding, and Gov. Shelby M. Cullom (now Senator) being among the members present, in favor of the Territorial bill. The effect of the publication of this argument was, that a few months' later the Legislature of Wyoming wholly removed the burden and wrong of disfranchisement from the women of that Territory. Now that twenty-one years' of experience have proved the truth of his predictions at that time, and that Wyoming has almost unanimously continued woman suffrage in its new State government, the writer may be pardoned for recalling the origin of woman's emancipation there. The same argument before the Committee on Territories resulted, within a few months, in the Utah Legislature enfranchising the women of that Territory. The writer watched and defended the rights of the Utah women for sixteen years, till, in 1886, an unspeakably tyrannous and wicked act of Congress disfranchised them all, though the polygamists among them had been separately disfranchised before. The non-polygamous women, to their great credit, do not submit tamely to this infamous wrong, but are organizing and demanding their rights. The effort to repeal this inexpressibly outrageous law should be aided by all true men and women; and Senator Edmunds, this villany's author, should be everywhere denounced and despised. The success of the enfranchisement of women in Utah is shown by the fact, that after many years of experience the people of that Territory applied to Congress for admission as a State, with a constitution continuing and securing suffrage in the hands of the women, both Mormon and Gentile.

In 1874–79, the writer largely managed the five years' fight against the absurd and illegal exclusion of women from practicing law in the United States Courts, which ended in the abolition of that exclusion by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress. In 1880 he carried through the New York Legislature the law relieving women from disfranchisement and from disqualification for office, at school elections.

To the convention of the National Association in Washington last year, the undersigned sent a statement (entitled "Freedom's Conquests; the Great Spread of Woman Suffrage Through the World"), prepared with much toil, which showed one hundred and nine States, Territories and provinces where women's right to vote has been in some degree acknowledged. He is now able to add five more—France, where the women teachers elect women to represent them in all the eighty-six departmental boards of education; Missouri, which compels every woman taxpayer to vote whenever it is proposed to license a liquor shop in her block; West Australia, where women have school and municipal suffrage; Delaware, where both exist; and Prince Edward's Island, where municipal suffrage does. The area of these additions to last year's list is a million and a quarter square miles, their population forty-three millions. The total area of regions where woman has some degree of political freedom is thus over SIXTEEN MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES, about as large as the vast continent of Asia; their population is THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHT MILLIONS, about that of all Europe!

Hence it is plain how strangely incorrect are the words of a late extraordinary manifesto, that "the woman suffrage reform advances slowly." Never, in the world's life, did a reform spread so wondrously fast and wide.

The assumption of fact, whereon the manifesto referred to is based, being erroneous, that manifesto and the convention which it calls are of slight importance. But one of its allegations, made to explain the assumption just shown to be incorrect, makes another grave error of fact. It is not true that the Church is woman's foe, nor the cause of the continuance of her disfranchisement; and a more unfit moment could scarce be chosen for such an allegation. When a great army of clergymen, in both America and Europe, is nobly supporting the cause of freedom; when the Vicar-General of the most conservative church publicly avows that he sympathizes with the cause; when the head of that church makes no objection to women's electioneering, and is reported as considering whether he will throw the influence of his church on our side; when Catholic Austria, Catholic Italy and Catholic France join Greek Catholic Russia, Episcopal England and Lutheran Sweden in repudiating the idea that all women must be punished for being women by the odious penalty of disfranchisement—as Chief Justice Jeremiah S. Black well called it,—this moment is not the one to call the Church woman's worst enemy. The Church, like those outside of it, is divided. While creeds are being revised, it is a good time to demand the restoration of the pure and original Christianity of the first few centuries, before the new religion had been perverted and distorted by heathenism, barbarism and statecraft. Pure Christianity, as it came from its Founder and his followers, recognized the equal rights of woman in all things; and therefrom largely came its wide and rapid spread, and women's heroic devotion to it. The Dark Ages changed all this; but even then the Church was the champion of wedlock and chastity, corrupt though many of its members were. Instead of assailing the Church, let us demand that it restore the pure and undefiled religion of the first Christians, with equal rights for woman as one of its foundations.

From thirty-five years' devotion to woman's freedom, with a special labor that no other man has done in this cause, and a special experience that no other worker has had, the writer gives, in this way, the suggestions toward success that he would make could he be present.

FIRST.—In every State and Territory form a "Woman Suffrage Party," such as for ten years we have had in New York; not, under any circumstances, to nominate candidates for office, but to act as a balance of power. Though we can poll a considerable vote for a Woman Suffrage Ticket in many States, that vote cannot come anywhere near success; and, for a separate ticket, would simply be laughed at. But even a handful of votes, standing as a balance of power between Republicans and Democrats, can decide Presidential elections. Take this stand; make the leaders of both parties feel that to nominate for any office a friend of woman's rights is to secure a strong band of workers for his success, while to nominate a foe is to incur those workers earnest, and deadly opposition; and in two years you will compel an amount of respect and acquiescence in your demands that will surprise you. Every rising politician will feel that it is dangerous to side with wrong, and profitable to favor right. Strengthen greatly your State Associations everywhere by organizing a party without a ticket, whose thousands of feminine members can turn votes, though they cannot cast them.

SECOND.—Avoid provoking hostility wherever possible. Attack no party, no church, no interest, no person, where not forced to do so. Seek to win and enlist the friendship of all. When success was impossible, attacks in all directions were needful, to oblige the public to think; but now that years of hard fighting have killed so much of former hostility, that success has been made possible, avoid reviving the former opposition.

THIRD.—Keep your foes ignorant, so far as practicable, of what you are doing, except agitation. They will not let you know their practical work; if you inform them of yours, they will commonly find means to undermine you. Let them know your practical work by results alone.

FOURTH.—Proclaim everywhere the great truths, that the common law affirms, and for ages has affirmed, the right of women to vote for nearly all offices; that the law of nearly all nations, from the time of the famous Queen Neidaker in Egypt five thousand five hundred years ago, has held that womanhood is not a universal bar to a share in public affairs; and that the idea that it is such bar, is an American provincialism and innovation. Repeat everywhere the solemn resolution of the Parliament of England, in the case of Queen Mary the First, that he who says that a woman, merely because of her sex, cannot take part in public affairs, is either traitor or fool.

FIFTH.—The Legislature, in every State, has power to fix and change the requirements for voting. In no State has the constitution taken that power from the Legislature, except in certain specified cases, which in most States are but few. For first proclaiming this in 1880, the writer was fiercely abused; but it is more widely accepted every year. Hence, look to the Legislature for relief. Help elect every friend thereto; if possible defeat every foe. Be not misled and deceived into efforts to amend State constitutions. Never has that method succeeded; probably it never will. The work, cost, time, and difficulty of getting hundreds of thousands of men to vote in favor of sharing power with others, are immense; and in most States needless. Those who tell you that State constitutions disfranchise women, unless—as in Massachusetts—such constitutions say that "no others" shall vote but those to whom they guarantee suffrage—the men who tell you this tell untruth, and if they profess friendship, they are enemies in disguise.

SIXTH.—Treat not the courts with idolatrous reverence. Judges are men. On political points they often make pretexts for deciding to suit their feelings, instead of according to justice and to law. Keep your matters out of court, if possible. If a judge before whom our opponents bring them, overrides law and justice, punish him by any lawful means, however severe; and if possible, drive him from the bench and from the State.

SEVENTH.—Show yourselves TERRIBLY IN EARNEST. Ask no candidate what is his attitude on any other matter. Whether Democrat or Republican, quietly help the man who is our friend, and oppose him who is our foe. Ask no other question about him. Lose no strength on candidates of small parties, who cannot possibly succeed. DISREGARD ALL OTHER ISSUES. The disfranchisement of millions is the greatest public evil and wrong. *Let all other things wait* till *this* is abolished. Such reverses as the cause has had are due to forgetting this vital rule.

By these methods, and probably by no others, can we succeed. Use them, then; force open the gates, let womanhood be free; remove the causes of the deepest social ills, and let the light of true civilization—the millennium—break glorious on the world.

HAMILTON WILLCOX, Chairman,
State Executive Committee N. Y. Woman Suffrage Party.

146 Broadway, N. Y., Feb. 15, 1890.

[OVER.]

CALL FOR THE

FIRST WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONVENTION

IN WASHINGTON,

TWENTY-ONE YEARS SINCE.

A National Woman's Suffrage Convention will be held in Carroll Hall, Washington, D. C., on the 19th and 20th of January, 1869. All societies composed of women, and all associations friendly to Woman's Rights, are invited to send delegates. All friends of the cause are invited to attend and take part.

Contributions in aid of the work may be sent to Wm. Hutchinson, Treasurer, Box 50, city post office, or to Dr. Daniel Breed. Communications may be addressed to Hamilton Willcox, Chairman Committee of Arrangements, Ebbitt House.

JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING, JOHN H. CRANE,
WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, MARY T. CORNER,
LYDIA S. HALL, GEORGE F. NEEDHAM,
HAMILTON WILLCOX,

Managers Universal Franchise Association, Washington, D. C.

(*The following was issued with the above call, October* 1868. *Both the call and the address were prepared by Hamilton Willcox.*)

ADDRESS OF THE

Universal Franchise Association to the Women of America.

WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES:

You sleep surrounded by sufferings, you dream amid dangers!

You are called the weaker sex—and your weakness is forced to bear the heaviest burdens.

Taxation without representation, and despotic government without the consent of the governed—wrongs against which your fathers triumphed on many a blood-soaked field—are still in force against you, despite their victory.

The liberty which they thus won, and which they transmitted to their sons, is yet denied to you—their daughters.

Cruel laws cramp and crush you; powerful prejudices prevent your growth, and shut you in with walls of iron.

Few employments are open to you; and into most of these, social degradation attends your entrance.

When you enter them, you crowd them; and must toil for less than your labor's worth.

To those of you who lack wealth and friends—a misfortune which may at any time fall upon any—there is no escape from this condition but marriage, death, or a life worse than death.

To her, therefore, who must earn her own bread, and whose affections do not prompt her married life, there are but these alternatives: Scanty Earnings, Unloving Wedlock, Death, or Nameless Shame.

If you enter the married state, your children, your property, yourselves, may be foully wronged by changed or false-hearted husbands, without redress from the laws which you must obey. If other men wrong you, you are far from certain of redress.

If public officers are unjust to you, you cannot remove nor punish them.

Laws are enacted; public measures are ordained, of the gravest importance to you; and you are allowed no voice in their consideration or their passage.

Nor are you even allowed to decide whether you will take such part.

Hence your wishes and interests are not important to the politicians who make and administer the laws. They neither know nor respect those interests and wishes; nor do they fear to disregard them.

In a word, your safety depends wholly on the *good will* of your rulers!

Arouse, then, women of America!

Sleep no more while your sisters suffer; dream not yourselves secure while dangers lie in wait!

Though weak be wise! While fortunate, arm yourself against misfortune!

Demand that society cease to make your weakness woe.

Claim the freedom which is at once your right and your education. Insist that the ballot box be open to you, to use if you will. Command thus the respect of the politicians; oblige them to open all employments to you; raise by this means the remuneration of your toil; reform the laws, and let the holy state of marriage be to none a mere means of bread!

Can this good work be done in a day?

No; it needs time and toil from you all.

Gather, then, mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of the Nation, at the Capitol of the Republic, in January next, and demand from Congress and the country freedom to exercise your rights!

PRESIDENT of the Convention,—Lucretia Mott, relieved at times by Robert Purvis, Martha C. Wright and Senator S. C. Pomeroy.

SECRETARIES:—Annie Denton Cridge, George F. Needham and Hamilton Willcox.

SPEAKERS:—Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Clara Barton, Edward M. Davis, Martha C. Wright, Giles B. Stebbins, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, George T. Downing, Susan B. Anthony, Parker Pillsbury, Mrs. Catharine A. F. Stebbins, Dr. Charles B. Purvis, Mrs. Helen Ekin Starrett, Joseph P. Root, Dr. Sarah R. Hathaway, John B. Wolff, Mrs. Virginia L. Minor, Deborah L. Butler, Hamilton Willcox, and others.

PRAYER by the Chaplain of the Senate, Rev. E. H. Gray, D.D.

LETTERS of sympathy from William Lloyd Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Paulina Wright Davis, Caroline H. Dall, Aaron M. Powell, Joseph S. Fowler, William H. Sylvis, Abby Hopper Gibbons, Harriet Beecher Stowe, James M. Scovel, Ernestine L. Rose, and others.

[The money to secure Carroll Hall was furnished by Mr. Albert O. Willcox, of New York, the oldest known Suffragist in the world, who began his advocacy in 1831.]

OFFICERS OF NEW YORK WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY, 1889-90.

CHAIRMAN STATE COMMITTEE.—M. Louise Thomas.

SECRETARIES:—Dr. Ida Louise Dildine, George Pellew.

TREASURER.—Dr. Abm. W. Lozier.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:—Hamilton Willcox, Kate Palmer Stearns, Bronson Murray, M. Louise Thomas, Sophia Curtis Hoffman.

[OVER.]

treason, felony, bribing or receiving bribes in the matter of the elective franchise."

Second. Persons who at the time of election are in confinement, under judgment of a court for some penal offense.

Third. Idiots and insane persons."

One half the population of the State is ignored entirely; they are neither included in the right of franchise nor excluded from it. Certainly all classes should be recognized, and as women are not recognized as citizens or people or included in that elastic word *all*, the third section should read:

"*Idiots, insane persons and women* are excluded from the franchise," for under our present system all the educated, law-abiding, Christian women in Kentucky are in the political company of the criminals, idiots and lunatics. So carefully are the rights of even the enemies of society guarded, if they are of the masculine gender, that an amendment has been adopted to the effect "that persons excluded from the right of suffrage by the commission of crime of which they had been convicted, might be restored to their civil rights by executive power." Blackstone says "the elements of sovereignty are three, wisdom, goodness and power." As women share these virtues equally with men, who shall say they are not ready to assume the rights and duties of self government? *Whether the suffrage is a conferred or an inherent right, it is an axiom that right has no sex.*

Woman Suffrage is not a question that can be met with prejudice or mere objection. It comes into our civilization armed and equipped with arguments that have been unanswerable by American and English statesmen for half a century. It is not a question as to the wisdom women would display in the use of political power. It is not a question as to whether women are weaker, more dupable, or more purchasable than men. It is not a question as to whether or not women have fitness of body, brain, heart or tendency. It is not a question as to whether women know enough to want to vote, or the use they would make of it if they possessed it. It is exactly this, a simple question as to whether the ballot is useful to mankind as a proper instrument to guide human affairs, the guardian of individual rights, interests and liberty, whose fidelity is unswerving. The grandest statesmen of the ages have proclaimed that the rights and liberty of the individual are always safest in his own hands. If this is true then the ballot is as useful for women as for the stronger sex, and is their right and responsibility on all grounds which make it such for men. Will our Kentucky statesmen be so short-sighted as to lock the door against Kentucky women and throw the key away, and compel Progress at the command of National law to force the portal and teach them what true Democracy means?

The women of Kentucky will never have occasion to go to another Constitutional Convention to ask the poor boon that an open clause be left in the organic law, for before that time women will be clothed with citizenship, and they will have an equal voice with their brothers in selecting the framers of the next Constitution. Frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is an evidence of wise statesmanship. The voice of the majority may now resound through our legislative halls and they may endeavor to entrench themselves behind their interpretation of the principles of democracy, namely, that *one-half* "the people means "*the people*," and that the consent of men alone is necessary to enact laws to govern and tax women, but God is raising up great and grand men in Kentucky who are not afraid to battle for right and justice and to strike for liberty for the women who are now so greatly wronged. A democracy is safe as long as the people feel they are having justice rendered to them. The truest champions of republican institutions are those who recognize the rights of both men and women, and with every debate in our Legislative bodies on this subject of Woman Suffrage, the voices of the remonstrants become fainter. The fidelity of minorities has made social progress a fact. The Kentucky Equal Rights Association asks for an open clause in the new constitution, so that when justice possesses the hearts of men, Kentucky women may come into possession of their *birthright* which true Democracy guarantees to *all the people.*

Kentucky Women and the New Constitution.

—BY—

JOSEPHINE K. HENRY.
Superintendent of Legislative and Petition Work.
VERSAILLES, KY.

Published by Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

1890.

THE justice of the cause we advocate nerves my heart with courage to perform this duty my co-workers have assigned me that of appealing to the highest law-making body of the Commonwealth for justice to Kentucky women. The day has arrived when Custom is being constantly arraigned before the bar of Justice and Common Sense. Custom no longer awes the multitude. All nations, ranks and classes in turn are questioning and repudiating his authority. Custom has always been a tyrant; but since civilization is wresting his sceptre from his grasp, timid woman, on whom he has riveted heavy shackles, comes to look him in the face, and to ask of our fathers, husbands and sons who have struck stout blows for liberty, if in the great changes that are being wrought in our civilization, women shall not be acknowledged as a component part of a Commonwealth that proclaims a government "of, by and for the people," and that its highest aim is to deal out "equal rights to all, exclusive privileges to none." With these declarations given to the world, let us look for a moment at the real position of Kentucky women.

We are one-half the people; we are persons, native-born citizens, property holders, tax-payers; yet we are denied the right to the elective franchise in a government that proclaims it derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. We support ourselves, and in part your schools, colleges, churches, your poor-houses, jails, prisons, the army, navy, and whole machinery of government, and we have no voice in a single law that manages our affairs and demands our tax money. We have every qualification required by the Constitution necessary to the legal voter, but the one of sex. We are moral, law-abiding and intelligent, of sane mind and full age; but we who have guided great movements of charity, established missions, edited papers, published works on history and economy, taught philosophy and mathematics, and are required by law to teach civil government to future lawmakers and statesmen, are denied the most sacred rights of citizens, because forsooth, we came not into this Republic crowned with the dignity of manhood.

Every discrimination that has ever been made against woman in the laws of the Greeks, Romans, and old English law up to this grand and glorious day when she is reaching her hand to press the latch that opens the door of perfect equality, she has been told has been for her good. Now, the spirit of true democracy is capturing the hearts of this nation, and it does not recognize sex. The law of heredity says the daughters are like their fathers, and the women who have inherited the spirit of liberty from their fathers are utterly opposed to every form of doing good to people against their will. How readily we recognize paternalism in government which seeks to do good to people against their will, as in the case of King George and the American colonies, or the Czar of Russia! Yet custom has declared this paternalism right for the mothers, wives and daughters of this nation. If woman does not suffer from the absence of political power, it is the only instance in history where a class deprived of political rights have not been

wronged because of political disability. The church ballot could not stand, the property ballot could not stand, the race and color ballot could not stand in this representative government. Step by step has the franchise been extorted from its exclusive possessors, until now it embraces practically the entire human family of the male sex, if they are of sane mind and full age; and if the principles upon which these advances have been made are true, women cannot be much longer excluded. The world acknowledges now that it is wrong in principle to lay down laws telling women what avenues of activity shall be open to them, and the kinds of employment they are privileged to engage in to make an honest living for themselves and dependents, since their ability has let down the bars in almost every channel, from practicing before the Supreme Court of the United States to the humble calling of a farm laborer. It is just as wrong to close the single gate of political preferment as it was to shut them out from any lawful occupation.

We come before the honorable gentlemen bringing the first assurance this government gives to its people, in these words: "We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." John Adams said: "That they who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes." As the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that women are citizens, and standing on the fundamental principle of this government, the Kentucky Equal Rights Association knocks at the door of the Constitutional Convention and says: We come, gentlemen, in the name of one half the people of Kentucky to ask if the principle that every member of this Honorable Body has avowed his highest aim "to frame an organic law giving equal rights to all, exclusive privilege to none" is not to have a literal interpretation, and apply equally to the men and women of Kentucky. The rights of the men of Kentucky result solely from the fact that they are rational beings, susceptible of acquiring moral ideas and reasoning on those ideas. Women having the same powers, have in this Democracy the same rights. We come to this Convention not as the representatives of a dying, gasping civilization, but as the heralds of a new.

We come and ask you to display both wisdom and justice by dealing fairly with Kentucky women. We ask that inasmuch as the women of the State are amenable to the laws, and their names are on the tax books, that their rights and liberties be guaranteed to them in the organic law. We come in the name of that large class of poor and ignorant women whose lives and property are dominated over so unjustly, and whose ignorance and subjection lead them to believe that their condition is as God has decreed it, because they are women. We come in the name of that large class of fortunate women who are surrounded by wealth, and sheltered from many of the wrongs of our system, by the love and justice of good and noble men, but who through indolence and often ignorance wrap themselves in the robes of ease and take all that fortune showers upon them, without a thought for their less fortunate sisters, because they have many privileges that good men concede to them, which the law does not compel.

We come in the name of those Kentucky women who know the principles of this government well enough to know they are unfairly dealt with, when they are made the subjects of ignorant white and black men, and the refuse of European governments that are blest in being rid of them. To deal out Democratic justice the word "male" should be stricken from the organic law. We will doubtless be told that the time is not ripe for such legislation in Kentucky. It is hard to conceive that time has to ripen to apply the fundamental principle of our government, and it is difficult to conceive of evil following in the exact train of justice. If this justice is not accorded, surely this Convention cannot do less than leave an open clause in the instrument giving the Legislature exclusive power to extend the suffrage to Kentucky women when the time is ripe. If this is not done, the day is in the future when the convention of 1890 will appear before the world as a reflection of the short-sighted men, who engrafted as they thought, an iron clad slavery clause in the Constitution of 1849. An amendment to the National Constitution blotted out that slavery clause. Can Kentucky afford to commit so grave an error a second time? For twenty-five years after National legislation wiped out slavery, we have been living under a slavery constitution and the world has been smiling at the weak bars our statesmen tried to place in the path of civilization. Let us hope for the honor of the State that there are farsighted men enough in the convention of 1890, to prevent Kentucky being for the second time dragged at the wheels of progress. All persons of intelligence who are watching the signs of the times, admit that the time is not far distant when woman suffrage will be a feature of our government. It is already an established fact in its fullest privilege in one State, half the loaf has been given in another, in two States the question has been submitted to the legal voters and defeated by the vicious elements of society, and in twenty-one States and Territories, some degree of suffrage now exists, and in every legislature in the Union, without an exception, the demand is being made that some degree of suffrage be extended to women. The National Congress is deluged with petitions for woman's enfranchisement. It is said that there are more petitions in Congressional archives praying that the elective franchise be granted to women than on all other questions combined. If an appeal had been made to the Convention of 1849, asking that an open clause be left, so when the time was ripe for such a measure, the Legislature could confer the suffrage on the black man, our statesmen would have scorned the proposition, as they thought that such a measure was not only improbable but impossible. Can the wisest statesman predict what the condition of Kentucky or the Republic will be when the sun rises on the new century? Is it half as improbable that citizen queens will approach with citizen kings the ballot-box, and send the influence of woman into our government, as it seemed five years before the black man became a voter, that the master and his slave would have an equal voice in the affairs of state and nation?

Woman suffrage is no longer an experiment. It has been tried and not found wanting. It has worked good and only good where it has been tried in our own country, and those who scoff at the very idea, when they come face to face with its workings, remain to pray that a sixteenth amendment will speedily be added to the national Constitution. England, Scotland, many parts of continental Europe, all the Canadian provinces, Australia, and even islands of the sea, have municipal or taxation woman suffrage, more or less limited. Every law enacted in the civilized world granting this justice to women, is a new conquest for freedom. *There can be no denial that women are taxed without representation and governed without their consent.* If the principles of democracy as they are administered to the women of Kentucky will bear full and free discussion, the Kentucky Equal Rights Association asks the members of the Constitutional Convention to reconcile the denial to Kentucky women of a voice in the laws that govern them, and the taxation of Kentucky women without representation, with the fundamental principles of our government. Before any tenable ground is reached, it must be proven that women are not *people, citizens*, or included in the word *all*. If the legal voters are all the people, then women cannot claim the franchise, because they are people. Kentucky recognizes its women as citizens only the brief space of time the assessor is listing their property on the tax-book, and when they are paying their taxes to the sheriff, but the United States Supreme Court has decided they are citizens every day in the year. Kentucky democracy claims to deal out "equal rights to *all*, special privileges to none." If women cannot be included in the word *all*, where can they find a refuge? The lengthy discussions in the convention as to the clause disfranchising voters for crime, bribery and receiving bribes, cannot fail to send deep humiliation to the hearts of thinking women, who have the good of the State at heart. The section that makes every male citizen, twenty-one years of age, native born or naturalized, a voter, is followed by the decree that disfranchises—

First—"Persons convicted in any court of competent jurisdiction of

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. Caswell, From the Committee on the Judiciary, Submitted the Following Report:

[MAY 29th, 1890.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.]

[To accompany H. Res. 60.]

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the resolution (H. Res. 60) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women, have had the same under consideration and report in favor of its passage.

The Committee is fully impressed with the magnitude of this question, and of the radical change in the elective franchise, which would result from its adoption and final ratification by the legislatures of the States. It would so extend the right of suffrage that the voting population would be nearly doubled. It is doubtful, however, if so large a proportion of the women as of the males would vote if they had the opportunity.

This resolution presents the question of submission to the States, and it demands a most careful consideration at our hands.

The resolution has over and over again been brought before the American Congress. Up to this time, however, it has met with adverse action from the committee, if any action were had. This is the first time a favorable report has ever been made. It is proper therefore to assign some of the reasons which have led us to this conclusion.

The Declaration of Independence recites that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. A republican form of government is based upon that principle.

It can not be denied but the women of this country are a most conspicuous part of the people who are governed by our laws. They constitute nearly one-half of the people, and are citizens with an individuality in the States, equal to men except in this one particular. And the question is presented whether we will remove that barrier and place them on an equality with men, or whether we will continue them in their shorn condition, with property and homestead rights in the States as well as on the public domain, without a vote or voice in making laws to protect their possessions. They have as much interest in the public welfare and the happiness of the people as is possible for the opposite sex to have. It is difficult to see how and in what way they assent to the laws which are enacted to govern them. Certainly not all of them through their husbands, for they do not all have husbands.

By the census of 1880 it appears that the male population of the States, and of sufficient age to vote, was 12,830,349, and the females in number were nearly equal to the males. At the last election there were 11,392,382, votes cast for President, all of which were by the males. We may then fairly assume that there are in this country to-day 12,000,000 women of suitable age and citizenship who might exercise the right of suffrage if it were extended to them. Professing as we do great liberality towards our fellow beings, and a humane policy towards all, how can we close our eyes to the many appeals which come to from some at least of the 12,000 000 disfranchised citizens of the United States praying for a submission of their rights to the legislatures of the States for action in their sovereign capacity. Certainly Congress does not wish to assume the attitude of denying justice to any one, much more to so large a class of people as are interested in this proposition. We do not suppose that all women would vote, if they could, nor do all of the men vote.

It is a question more material to us to know whether we are unjustly withholding a privilege from such as do care to take part in the elections.

It is objected that if women become voters they will seek and sometimes hold office. If the people wish them to act as public servants, and they are willing to accept the trust, it is not easy to explain why they should not.

It would not be the first time women have held positions of trust and honor. They have been absolute rulers in some countries, and where the women were not held in such high esteem as in this country. Victoria has ruled England for over a half a century, and with marked success. Josephine was more acceptable to France with Napoleon banished. History is full of examples of the reign of women, and in the most civilized countries of the world.

It can not be said our women are deficient in intellect or in education.

By the last census it appears that 89 per cent of our females could read and write, while a large proportion of the men who vote can not read the ballot they cast.

In many of the States a woman may vote for school purposes. She is trusted in this most important branch of the Government service. She may vote money for the erection of a school-house, but not for the building of a court-house or jail. She participates in the selection and support of teachers for our children, in whose welfare we are so much interested, but she can not take part in choosing the jailor who has the custody of criminals. She can discharge the higher duty, but is disqualified for the lower. Is not this a distinction without a reason? Does it not look like absolute inconsistency? Should we not sit down and reason together, to see if deep-rooted prejudice does not lie at the foundation of the opposition to female suffrage? It is better to be somewhat flexible and yielding than to be set in a rut that knows no progress.

It is said if the women could vote discord and domestic troubles would find place in our homes. This is only theory, and the evidence fails to support the plea. The bright intelligent women of this country will discuss the political and economic questions that interest the people at home and through the press whether they can vote or not. It is reasonable to suppose if they could vote their sentiments and make themselves felt in that way they would have less occasion to force their views upon their husbands. Now it is the only way in which they can be heard or represented. If the men are to vote for the women they must expect to listen to their appeals, deeply interested as they are in the laws which are made to govern them, nor can we see that it would impair their womanly nature to attend the

polls and cast their vote.

If the polling places are not orderly it is time they were, and we know of no remedy more effectual than frequent visits of ladies during the hours of election. There exists no reason why these proceedings should not be conducted with as much order and decorum as any other branch of business, or at least public assemblies. Men do not often so far forget themselves as to abuse the presence of ladies on public occasions.

With perfect propriety women visit stores, mercantile houses, banks, and other places of business. They attend fairs and public meetings of all kinds, commanding respect wherever they go. They may become stockholders in banks and other corporations, and with perfect freedom attend their meetings, voting the same as men for directors, to make rules, and transact the business in which these institutions are engaged. It will not be claimed that in these visitations or by the exercise of a suffrage in selecting officers for these important trusts, woman loses in any degree her refinement, or that her domestic qualities or habits are in the least impaired.

If such acts effect her at all, they would acquaint and better fit her for the many duties of life which she must discharge. Experience, cultivation, and the acquisition of knowledge, in business as well as in other lines, tend to broaden the mind and refine the manners of all classes of people, and the women are no exception to this rule. Until recently, married women could not hold and enjoy a separate e tate; her existence was merged in her husband, for purposes of this kind. It was said that to give her an estate separate from her husband would create discord in the family. The same objections were raised which are now urged against female suffrage. But as States have progressed, in the enactment of liberal laws, they have nearly all given married women the right to acquire and hold separate properties, the same as if sole. It has not been discovered that such right has destroyed or impaired the domestic relations of married people. But, on the contrary, in numerous instances the wife has furnished shelter and a home, with the estate, which a frugal life and regard for her children has enabled her to acquire; and more, she has furnished a home for the less successful husband, showing conclusively that it were better and more consistent if the ballot were placed in her hands, rather than in his.

This authority to acquire and hold property, in her own right, has transformed her to that extent, and made her a much more useful and valuable member of society, both for the public and for the individual. We refer to this legislation and success on the part of woman, not to illustrate or prove her ability to transact business or to vote wisely, for that needs no argument or illustration. But, by the reference, we illustrate the prejudice which was so long entertained by the men, and thereby the right to acquire and hold separate estates, and the consequent blessings which flow from it were withheld from them. Shall we stop to inquire whether it is not the same prejudice that withholds from woman the elective franchise at the present day? One by one, as the people progress towards a more perfect form of government, these inequalities and relics of a barbaric system of government will be cast off and rejected. They descended to us from an ancestry born in the atmosphere of oppression.

In the sunlight of religious liberty and civilization we will move onward and secure a greater equality for all our people, and in a few years we shall not stop to inquire of what sex they may be.

In the Forty-sixth Congress the present Speaker of the House, then a member of this committee, submitted the views of the minority, with great force and clearness, in favor of the passage of a resolution like the one before us.

In the Forty-ninth Congress, Mr. Ezra B. Taylor, the present chairman of the committee, expressed the views of the minority with an argument which can not be excelled or answered. From his report we quote the following paragraph, which so well expresses the views of this committee:

We believe that they are now entitled to immediate, sure, and absolute enfranchisement.

First. Because their own good demands it. Give woman the ballot and she will have additional means and inducements to a broader and better education, including a knowledge of affairs, which she will not fail to avail herself of to the uttermost; give her the ballot and you add to her means of protection to her perso and estate.

The ballot is a powerful weapon of defense, sorely needed by one too weak to wield any other, and to take it fr m such to give to one already clothed in strength and fully armed would appear to be unjust, unfair, and unwise, to one unaccustomed to the sight. Long usage "sanctions and sanctifies" wrongs and abuses, and causes cruelty to be mistaken for kindness.

The history of women is, for the most part, a history of wrongs and outrage. Created to be equal companion of man, she early became his slave, and still is in most parts of the world. In many so-called Christian nations of Europe she is to-day yoked with beasts, and is doing the labor of beasts, while her son and husband are serving in the army, protecting the divine right of kings and men to slay and destroy. In the farther East she is still more degraded, being substantially excluded from the world.

The disfranchisement of twelve millions of people, who are citizens of a republic, should command from us an immediate action. If the women of this country are unjustly deprived of a right so essential to complete citizenship in a republic as the elective franchise, common justice requires that we should submit the proposition for a change in the fundamental law to the States, when the correction can be made.

It should be stated, however, in this report, that some members of the committee who joined in it do not wish to be understood as committed to its final passage, but, rather, to a presentation of the subject to the House, for further consideration.

The committee report the resolution back to the House; with a recommendation that it pass. If we err, we prefer it shall be upon the side of liberality in the form of our Government.

From THE WOMAN'S TRIBUNE, Beatrice, Nebraska. One dollar per annum. Send ten cents for five sample copies.

"I consider THE WOMAN'S TRIBUNE the best woman suffrage paper ever published.—*Elizabeth Cady Stanton.*"

SOME THINGS THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

Of 1889 and '90 did for men, who have votes, contrasted with what it did for women, who have no votes.

BOSTON, JUNE 17, 1890.

The Massachusetts Legislature has adjourned. It was remarkable for many things. It dealt with the gypsy moth, and appropriated thousands of dollars on its account. It saved the scalp of the woodchuck, and left the little beast to devour the clover in summer time and to hibernate in the winter. It left the dogs to go unmuzzled, and the sheep to shift for themselves. It measured the length of a salable lobster, and saved his carcass from being broken in two, so that the purchaser may not be cheated with two halves that do not belong together. It left the little baby trout with his five small inches, to swim till he gets to be six inches long, and then he may be fried, poor thing! It made the feathers fly while it went after the chicken thieves, even venturing into the province of the courts to fix the penalty for the thief who gets away with five dollars' worth of fowls, and for him who steals only one dollar's worth. It trifled with the rights of the courts again in trying to settle the punishment of burglars who enter by day, and of those who enter at night. It spent much time upon butter and lard and oleo, and it pursued the English sparrow, and tried to find the weight of a dozen of eggs.

But the most remarkable action of the Legislature is found in the care it took of the right of men to vote. Hitherto, if a man changed his residence, it involved the possible loss of his right to vote at the next election. But, to save to the human male his right to vote every time, the Legislature guarded him by a law, so that no change of residence can affect his right to vote at any election.

Several gentlemen from Lowell and Lawrence and Lynn appealed to the Legislature for protection from a class of gentlemen who have a habit of changing their residence often and of never paying rent. They have the names of a thousand such "dead-beats." The gentlemen who had houses to rent got no protection from these frequent movers. But all the same the "dead-beat" had his right to move and to vote kindly cared for.

Then came up the case of men "guilty of infamous crimes," with the question whether, as a punishment for these crimes, the right to vote should be withheld from the criminal for ten years. But the right of the human male to vote was respected, and even with infamous crimes upon him he can still go unquestioned and deposit his vote.

It was proposed that the men who need "assistance to mark their ballots," presumably because they cannot read well enough to distinguish the party names readily, should have the assistance of a member of their own party to help them mark their ballots, but this did not pass. Still, however, there was the poll-tax which a man must pay before he could vote. But the Legislature declared by a majority vote of both branches that the paltry tax of $2 must not stand between a man and his right to vote. All this for men, who have votes.

Now, note the different treatment this remarkable Legislature gave to women, who have no votes.

We asked that women may vote who have no need of assistance to mark their ballots, who have not been convicted of crime, and who have been in the country long enough to understand somewhat of its institutions. We did not ask for full suffrage, but only that women qualified as above stated might vote for the men who would levy taxes upon their property and have the spending of their money, and that in the cities and towns where they live they might vote on questions of common interest to men and women. But the Legislature, so tender to suffrage for men, turned its heart to stone, and the House of Representatives, by a large majority, denied to all women the smallest shred of suffrage. There was indeed "a saving remnant" who stood for equal rights for women. God bless them! But, for the others, the historian has set down their shameful action, and the recording angel will not forget it.

Then women asked that a married mother may have the same legal right to her child that its father has, so that neither parent may dispose of the custody of the child without the consent of the other. But their petition was refused.

Then they asked that when a husband or wife borrows money of the other, the obligation to pay may have the same legal validity that it would in other cases of borrowed money. But their petition was refused. Now a husband may borrow the money of his wife and never pay a cent.

They asked that a woman whose husband is dead may have more than the forty days the law now allows to a widow to stay in the house without paying rent, while she adjusts herself to her new and hard conditions, with no man to help her. But the petition was refused.

Thus this Legislature has distinguished itself. It remains to be seen whether the same men can be returned another year. Meantime we have Bunker Hill, and Concord, and Lexington, and the harbor where the tea went over. We have the memory of noble men who "pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" for the defence of the very principle for the application of which women have sought in vain for many years. The heroes of that old time redeemed their pledges with their lives. Surely, somewhere, they must have descendants who believe in representative government, who know that taxation without representation is tyranny no less to-day in the case of women than it was in the case of George III. and the colonists a hundred years ago. Where are they?

LUCY STONE.

AN APPEAL FROM

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association,

TO THE

Constitutional Convention of Kentucky,

BY

MRS. JOSEPHINE K. HENRY,

Superintendent of Legislative and Petition Work,

VERSAILLES, KY.

Published by Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

1890.

To the Honorable Members of the Constitutional Convention of Kentucky.

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association through its Superintendent of Legislative and Petition work, makes this earnest appeal to the Constitutional Convention to protect the property rights of married women in the organic law of the State. This subject has received a large share of public attention during the last year. No subject was more freely discussed in the last General Assembly. An equitable law framed by that able lawyer, Hon. Wm. Lindsay was passed by a large majority in the Senate, and was only defeated in the House by the opponents leaving their seats and breaking a quorum. Our leading lawyers have declared that our laws on this subject are a disgrace to the Kentucky Code. Our Bill of Rights declares that the "right of property is before and higher than any Constitutional sanction," but as far as married women are concerned, they have been placed beyond the pale of this protection. Under the general law they have no more control or disposition of property they have earned or inherited than if they were trees or stones. The honorable members of this Convention have been chosen by the people, because of their peculiar fitness to frame the organic law of the Commonwealth in accordance with the needs of our modern civilization, and to render justice to all classes as far as possible. Let them not forget to compare the declaration in our Bill of Rights which has never protected the property rights of one married woman in the State, with the specific clauses in the Constitutions of most of the States in the union, and we ask that they place the married women of Kentucky on an equality with the women of other States. We will have nobler and better men, and grander and more useful women, when the laws that reduce wives and mothers to pensioners and civil nonentities are abolished. Then, and not till then, will Kentucky enter the road of true progress. There is not a man of good mental balance in the State who does not know it is unjust for the law to lay hands on a woman's property as soon as she assumes the elevated position of wife. If husbands had to resign the ownership of all earthly possessions even to their clothing, with the marriage ceremony, the institution would soon become as dead as slavery is to-day. The remonstrants against liberalizing the laws on this subject have used only such pleas as the incompetency of women, or that it would not be good for society, or for women themselves. They have been studiously silent in regard to justice. No matter how plausible or well gilded the pretext to retain the laws as they now stand, justice will not, and cannot be the defence. Women with no voice in human affairs, and their property in the guardianship of the law, can only plead with those who are their natural protectors for simple justice. The wisdom of the past declared the old Common Law, "the perfection of human reason," but the time has past when perfection is associated with any law promulgated by man that does not rest on the teachings of the Divine Exemplar. The hard and unequal laws for women in the Common Law, and the remnants that we are living under to-day, are warring against and cursing our Kentucky civilization. They weaken the influence of wives and mothers, and lower them in the estimation of the stronger sex. The impression left on law students, fresh from our statute books is most unfavorable, since they read on the brow of every woman they meet the words "femme covert," "dower," "widow's claim," "incumbrance" and "incapacity." Incompentency is only applied in the law to married women, for it does not manage and dispose of the estates of single women or widows. It is urged that the law considers it wise to throw safe guards around married women. Does it not seem just that if the law discriminates against married women to protect them, that it should protect them in fact, as well as profession, by debarring them from entering into surety ships, or conveying away their property through the importunities of relatives or friends. If married women are perpetual minors, should they not have the same protection as minors? Does it not seem rather like over-protection to take the property of persons of same mind, and full age, and debar them the privilege of collecting the rent of their own real estate, or disposing of it at death? Is it fair for the law to endow the husband, be he worthy or unworthy, with all the real and personal property the wife possesses, even to the exclusion of her own children, and give the wife but one-third of the husband's estate, which more often than otherwise she has aided to accumulate? It is gross injustice for the law to discriminate against the woman as the world discriminates against her, if she is forced into the ranks of breadwinners. Custom may do these things, but men of wisdom and broad views who are the chosen guardians of human rights cannot afford, for the honor of the State, to thrust justice into the background, and longer allow our statutory law to trample on the rights of women. The evils that haunt the brains of narrow minded men, should the laws be liberalized in relation to married women's property rights, are mere illusions. No evil has materialized in all parts of the country where justice has been done them, and we claim that Kentucky women are the equals of those of any State. In the spirit of chivalry that is claimed is abroad in our State in a refined degree, Kentuckians would refute any accusation that Kentucky women were not the peers of those of other States, while at the same time we have laws for these same women that reduce them to the intellectual level of infants or idiots. We have investigated, to some extent, the working of equal property rights laws in various States in which they are in force. Mississippi was the first State to take an advance step in 1838, and they have continued to advance till they have reached perfect equality. An inquiry as to the working of their laws made to Chief Justice Thomas H. Woods brings the following reply; "I can best answer your inquiry by saying that no evil results have followed the full emancipation of woman as to her property rights in this State. We are perfectly content with the operation and effect of our laws on the subject referred to by you, and I have never heard a suggestion from any man in Mississippi of a return to the hard and unequal common law rules." We find the property rights of married women protected in the Constitutions of Florida Georgia, Kansas, Michigan, Mississippi, Nevada, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Texas, West Virginia and California, and in a large majority of the other States statutory law secures this equality. How can great and grand men come from mothers under such a ban? A train of evils can be traced to these unjust laws. It is the next step to being allowed to breathe and think for one's self, to have the control and disposition of one's property, and yet Kentucky women are denied this right. The world is looking on while our law-makers deliberate, and though justice has been long delayed by Legislatures whose members were often times servers and echoes of wily politicians, the women of the State who have not been trusted by them with their own property are looking for justice from the members of this Convention as an inevitable sequence of their dignity as stewards and guardians of the rights and liberties of the whole people. Good sense, good judgment, reason, not to speak of fairness, appeal for the women of Kentucky. The Kentucky Equal Rights Association pleads for the women of the State. Will this Honorable Body deny the appeal? Justice to wives and mothers will be an extension of Christian civilization.

CO-EDUCATION
OF THE SEXES,

BY

MRS. S. H. SAWYER,

Superintendent of Bible Study,

LONDON, KY.

Published by Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

1891.

CO-EDUCATION.

No subject has been discussed in the past fifty years with greater fullness than the education of women. Bishops, Clergymen, Moderators of General Assemblies, Moralists and Scientists have given their views pro and con on the vexed question.

Erasmus in the 15th century declared that, "The education of girls is as necessary and important as the education of boys," and Sidney Smith, in the beginning of the present century, said that the immense disparity between the knowledge of men and women admitted of no defense, because, he said, "Nature has been as bountiful of understanding to one sex as the other." In the present time it has not only been generally conceded but proven by woman's capability and the use she has made of her opportunities and education, that she is fitted for and entitled to the highest education, and the question to be discussed in this leaflet is whether she shall attain this education in colleges and universities for women *only*, or shall we have co-educational institutions, where, side by side, brother and sister may, with equal advantages and equal requirements, assist and stimulate one another in the pursuit of knowledge? There is almost no question as to the successful working of co-education in the public schools of this state. The State University was made co-educational last year and so far there are no unfavorable results. All normal schools are co-educational, and in the report of the Commissioner of Education we find that the number of Academies, Seminaries, and other private schools of second grade in Kentucky to be 33; of these 19 are co-educational, 8 for boys only and 6 for girls only. Number of institutions for the superior instruction of women 19, Colleges of Liberal Art 13; of these six admit both sexes and four of the six belong to the Church of Disciples and two are non-sectarian. We have one School of Science, Agricultural and Mechanical College at Lexington, and it is co-educational, beside we have one School of Pharmacy for women.

There are many reasons why the best system of education is co-educational.

1st. We will consider the pecuniary aspect of the case. Why multiply colleges for boys and colleges for girls both with the same end in view and both, as is frequently the case, struggling for an existence, poorly endowed and with small patronage? We have in the State male colleges under the patronage of the various churches as follows: Baptist 2, Presbyterian 2, M. E. Church So th 1, Roman Catholic 1, and Non-Sectarian 1. Colleges for women: Baptist 3, Presbyterian 3, M. E. Church South 3, Disciples 1,

Roman Catholic 1, and Non-Sectarian 7. What a saving of money if the 8 non-sectarian schools with their 600 pupils and 60 instructors were merged into one or two good co-educational institutions. The same money that educates our boys could and should educate our girls.

2d. What a benefit to the sister would be the protection of of her strong, manly brother, and what a moral restraint would the very presence of the sister be to the brother, beside co-education is natural and begins in the family where God places both boys and girls to be trained up together for Him. Of the 389 colleges in the United States 237 are co-educational, 17 Agricultural and Mechanical schools, 3 Scientific, and 38 Medical schools admit women. [These statistics are given from the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1887-88, and do not include several universities that have since opened their doors to women.] Kentucky University admitted women to all classes the same as men in 1889 and Columbian University, of Washington, D. C., in 1890.

The first co-educational institution to give equal advantages to women with men was Oberlin College in 1833. Michigan University at Ann Arbor in 1870 was the first example of a strong and well endowed institution opening its doors to women on the same terms with men, and Boston University is the first ever organized from foundation to cap-stone without discrimination based on sex.

As to its advantages the testimony of those who have actually conducted co-education with success is of more value than all that can be said by those who only theorize. We will now give testimonials from some of the educators of the United States who have practiced co-education and who give their reasons for doing it:

FRANKLIN COLLEGE (Baptist),
FRANKLIN, Ind., Jan. 9th, 1891.

MADAM:—Our College adopted co-education in 1869. While it may require more care and solicitude on the part of those in charge, we are emphatic in favor of it.

1st. It is economical. The *same* institution will do for both the sons and daughters.

2d. It is *natural* and so does away with the abnormal desire to associate with the other sex. Being together day by day eliminates the abnormal.

3d. The young men are made gentler, and the young women stronger.

4th. The young women are as capable of the college course as are the young men.

We have them together in Literary Societies, as well as in college classes.

Most Truly,
W. S. STOTT, President.

Two of the faculty of this College are women, Professor of Mathematics and Professor of Painting.

DEPAUW UNIVERSITY (Methodist),
GREENCASTLE, IND., Jan. 3d, 1891.

MADAM:—Ladies were admitted as regular students in "Asbury," now "DePauw University" 25 years ago. From the first they have been entiled to all the privileges of, and held to all the work and regulations as the other sex. For some years past they

constitute about one-third of our students. The aggregate of all last year exceeds 1,000.

The change has been productive of *good*, and of that only. There are some young men, and women also, who are not fit for college halls. Our course has hitherto been, as soon as this was clearly seen, to get rid of such. For the rest the young women who attempt a college course are generally of the better class—better in *every* way. In physical health, mental power, and ability to accomplish all lines of our very thorough Courses of Study they have shown themselves to be quite equal to the young men. We have not yet had a single instance in which there was occasion to regret the arrangement. On the contrary it tends to make the young men more manly, and the young women more womanly. In the home, in society, church, Sunday-school, etc., they associate, why not in College? There is undoubtedly more clandestine and improper conduct in schools exclusively for the separate sexes than where by co-education their association proceeds on correct and honorable principles. The sexes exercise a healthful stimulus on each other and in study and conduct the tendency is toward the best things.

While I doubt not the day will come that co-education will generally prevail—when people will look on ideas that still obtain in some schools and sections of the Nation as relics of the dark ages of monks and nuns, still so much depends on the character and good sense of the community, and of those in charge of such institutions, that a good many things should be taken into account before one could say what in any case is the best course to pursue, and know how far and fast a desirable change can be accomplished, or even attempted.

Very Respectfully Yours,
A. MARTIN, President.

The Faculty of the De Pauw University also includes one woman Professor of Modern Languages and two of its instructors are women.

THE UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA,
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA, Jan. 6, 1891.

Women were admitted to the University of Indiana in 1867. There is no question whatever as to the success of the change. The girls in the first place have as good a right as the boys have to be educated. The boys do better work and are vastly better in their manners and behavior than before girls came, and the girls do more serious and thorough work than usually in schools for them alone. In no school where co-education is established is it ever likely to be abandoned for monasticism.

Very truly yours, DAVID T. JORDAN, President.

In this institution women have served as instructors and tutors, but have never filled a professorship.

In a pamphlet published by the Association for promoting the Higher Education of Women in New York, and compiled by W. Le Conte Stevens, there are testimonials to the good effect of co-education from the Presidents of five of the prominent Universities in the United States in answer to a series of questions sent them, and as one of the questions is as to the effect of co-education on the health of women students, and this, we believe, of all the objections that have been offered, is of the most permanent importance, I quote

extracts from the testimonials, and especially in answer to this question. President Andrew D. White, of Cornell University says: "If co-education has affected the standard of scholarship at all it has improved it. * * * On the whole, the effect upon the health of women has been favorable. The thoroughly educated woman obtains knowledge which enables her to preserve her health. Her education renders her less likely to ruin her health by a merely aimless, frivolous life."

There is another point in President White's testimonial that I must quote for the benefit of those who think women incapable of mastering the Greek roots. "The student of this institution who took the Greek prize at the first inter-collegiate competition was a young woman."

Prof. John Le Conte, former President of the University of California, says:

"Effect of co-education—I do not think it has had any perceptible effect upon the standard of scholarship in the University. I think it has improved the manners and morals of both sexes. * * * In a limited number of cases in which the young women have come into sharp competition with the young men for the highest honors, it seems to me that in every case the health of the female competitor has given away more or less completely during the last, or senior year. In such cases the superior physique of the male seems to have a perceptible effect. It is true our experience has not furnished many cases of this kind; perhaps not sufficient to furnish the basis of a fair induction."

President John W. Beach, of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., says: "Our young ladies are good scholars; generally exceptionally good. In several instances they have been in the very front of their classes. Our course is a severe one, but they endure their work well. They are rarely ever on the sick list. I think in this respect they do much better than the young men. * * * Fortified as they are, by the proprieties of their sex, from which they will not and cannot well break away, they ought to be in college, and I think will be found to be, the hardier sex; with their habits they do not need the strength the ordinary collegian does. * * * I could not ask for a healthier body of students than ours would be if only the young men graded in health with the young women."

President William F. Warren, of Boston University, Boston, Mass., says:

"Co-education has been practiced from the beginning. The University counts it an honor to have been the first in the world to organize from the start and throughout without a single discrimination on the ground of sex. No year has elapsed since that begining which has not brought fresh evidence and illustrations of the wisdom of the course. * * * * * The presence of female students has in no case depressed the standard of scholarship in any department of the University. * * * * * With respect to tne refining and elevating effect of the collegiate association of the sexes, it would be difficult for me to express my full convictions without apparent extravagance. If ever college manners and morals are reformed it will be by abolishing the unnatural sex-isolation out of which an unnatural academic life has grown. To the question of health,

a brief answer may be given, since I cannot recall a single instance in which a young woman has been broken down or even set back in her course in consequence of over-exertion in the effort to master the curriculum. I attribute this result very largely to the exemption of our young women from the unendurable nervous strain and restriction of personal freedom experienced in all great boarding schools." President Warren also says in a document published by the Boston School Committee: "In my opinion, the co-education of the sexes in high and grammar schools, as also in colleges and universities, is absolutely essential to the best results in the education of youth. I believe it to be best for the boys, best for the girls, best for the teachers, best for tax-payers, best for the community, best for morals and manners and religion."

Boston University has a College of Liberal Art, College of Music, College of Agriculture, School of Theology, School of Law, School of Medicine and School of All Sciences, and women are admitted to all departments on precisely the same terms as men, and have exactly the same course of study.

President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan—"I can hardly say that co-education has produced any effect upon the scholarship of the University. The presence of women in the College halls has doubtless been conducive to quiet and order in the buildings, because the men in the presence of women exercise the courtesies shown in this country by all well-bred men to the other sex. I was originally very solicitous in respect to the effect of college life on the health of young women. Now and then a young woman has been admitted who was not in the proper physical condition to go on with college work. But our experience has brought us to the conclusion that a woman who is in good health on beginning her course, and who exercises a fair degree of prudence, can perform her alloted task without harm. Indeed, the regularity and pleasant excitement of the life proves conducive to health, and most women are more vigorous at their graduation than on admission. * * * I believe it would be hard to find an equal number of young in better health than the female students of the University."

In answer to an inquiry concerning the workings of co-education, more especially in the Medical departments of this University, the writer received the following:

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
ANN ARBOR, Feb. 10, '91.

Dear Mrs. Sawyer:—

Co-education has been carried on here successfully for the past twenty years. The question of its feasibility here is past the stage of discussion. So far as I know the women of ability, industry and purpose have succeeded as well in their medical studies and in all their studies as the men, and many of them have had brilliant success as practitioners. Yours truly,

JAMES B. ANGLL, *President.*

We now submit a few short testimonials published in School Document No. 19, by the Boston School Committee, refered to above.

DELEWARE, OHIO, May 16, 1890.

"We have had co-education in the Ohio Wesleyan University since 1876. No evil effects have resulted here. Our young men

are more gentlemanly and our young ladies more vigorous in their work because the two sexes recite together. Upon the whole, our experience is decidedly favorable to co-education.

J. W. BASHFORD," *Pres. O. W. U.*

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY,
COLUMBUS, O., May 10, '90.

"An experience of twenty years has convinced me that for nine-tenths of college students, education of the sexes together is better than education separately. The presence of those of the opposite sex is a stimulus in study and a restraint in conduct.

W. H. SCOTT," *Pres. University.*

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY,
BOSTON, June 3, 1890.

I was educated in a school and college where none of the other sex were admitted, and naturally was of the opinion that such a course was not desirable. When compelled to admit ladies to my classes I regarded it as a mistake, and endeavored as far as possible to keep them apart, and only with great anxiety, and by slow degrees allowed any intermingling in the class room. The results obtained have been so advantageous that now I have thrown off all restraint in the class-room and labratory, and subject all students to exactly the same discipline and rules, no attention being paid to sex. * * * THOMAS E. POPE.

There are so many good testimonials in this little pamphlet from College Presidents, Supervisors, Superintendents, Physicians, Clergymen and Teachers, that we regret the want of space forbids us copy any more. Of the eight hundred and fifty-six replies received from these circular letters of inquiry to the above named classes, there were five hundred and sixty-five answers favorable to co-education.

I now will call brief attention to a circular of information published by the Bureau of Education on the co-education of the sexes. In order to answer inquiries from foreign countries concerning co-education in American schools, the Bureau of Education issued a circular of inquiry to the school officers of those cities and towns known or supposed to have graded public schools, the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th inquiries were as to the time co-education had been practiced, the reasons for adopting or prefering the practice in vogue, if any changes were proposed, &c. Answers were received from three hundred thirty-seven places and three hundred twenty-one preferred and practiced co-education, the reasons were given under the following heads:

Co-education of the sexes is preferred because it is—

1. Natural, following the ordinary structure of the family and of society.
2. Customary, being in harmony with the habits and sentiments of every day life and the laws of the state.
3. Impartial, affording one sex the same opportunities as the other enjoys.
4. Economical, using the school fund to the best advantage.
5. Convenient, both to superintendent and teachers, in assigning, grading, teaching and discipline.
6. Beneficial to the minds, morals, habits and development of the pupils

Fifty gave the 6th as their sole reason, because it was beneficial to both sexes, and ninety-seven gave this as one reason.

I must now close this leaflet with some pages from Mrs. Christine Ladd Franklin's article on "The Education of Women in the South," in the forth-coming volume on "Woman's Work in America":

"I have received the most emphatic testimony as to the good standing of the women in the best of the men's colleges to which they have been admitted. Professor Adison Hogue, of the University of Mississiopi, writes me: 'Women are admitted here because the Board of Trustees gave them the privilege some years ago. I know no other reason than that. Not many avail themselves of the opportunity, especially as the State for some years past has had at Columbus an Industrial Institute and College solely for women. This year we have eleven in attendance here; in each of my previous three years the number was five. Their standing averages above that of the boys, I think. In '85 and in '87 the first honor was taken by young ladies; and in our present sophomore class a slender girl is spoken of as the 'first honor man.' Their social standing is in no way impaired by their coming here, although the plan of mixed education is not greatly in favor, as the small number shows.'

Professor Halstead, of the University of Texas, says in his report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction: 'Several young ladies have shown marked ability in the acquirement of the newer and more abstruse developments of mathematics—for example, quaternions.'

The testimony in favor of co-education, by all those colleges which have tried it, is very emphatic. The President of Rutherford College (N. C.) says: 'This school (established in 1853) is the first experiment in the South, of which we have any information, in which an attempt has been made to train the two sexes together in the course of college education. Its results prove the experiment to be a *complete success*.'

The President of Bethel College (Tenn.) says: 'The mutual refining influences of co-education, socially, mentally and morally upon the sexes is unquestionably good.'

The President of Vanderbilt University, which is the most important University in the South, after the University of Virginia, writes me that, although co-education has not been formally adopted there, yet women have never been refused admission into classes, that degrees would always be conferred upon those who had taken the proper examinations, and that one young woman has actually completed the course and received the degree of A. M. What more can the women of the central southern states desire? It is not necessary that every male college should be open to them; there may be parents who think that the conventual life is best suited to the moral and social development of their sons, and such parents should have an opportunity for carrying out the plan which commends itself to them. All that women ask is that they should have freedom of access to the *best* men's colleges. In that way a *standard* for a woman's education will be fixed, and every woman will be able to reach that standard if she desires it, the second-best colleges may then be allowed to be as exclusive as they please.

There is one more bright spot in the educational outlook for Southern women. Bishop Hurst writes me that in the new Methodist University, which is about to be founded in Washington on a large scale, every department will be open to women on exactly the same terms as to men."

Our pamphlet is already too long, or we would like to say more in regard to co-education in the medical schools, but we think this part of the education of woman for our Southland was practically settled when the trustees of John Hopkins University decided by a unanimous vote to admit women to the medical department on same terms as men. We give an extract from the letter from the President, D. C. Gillman, of that institution, to Mrs. Henry Minter Davis in regard to the action of the trustees:

"Without doubt, the University and the Hospital here founded are to be a great power in the advancement of medical education, and it is but right that the women who wish to study and practice the healing art should have, if properly prepared, the highest opportunities that can be afforded."

We trust that the medical schools of Kentucky will offer to the daughters of the State the opportunity to prepare to practice the healing art, and that they will not need to go to other States to have the advantages of a medical education as they are now doing. With such an array of evidence in favor of co-education, will not the best colleges in the State lay down the prejudice that belongs to the darker ages, certainly not to the enlightenment of the nineteenth century, and throw open their doors to the daughters as well as to the sons of the Commonwealth.

In the name of the women of the State, we beg that the best Colleges be open so that the daughters may have the best possible advantages intellectually to fit them for the great vocations to which they will be called.

ance [illegible] the great and growing importance [illegible] country. We believe that no true lover [illegible] country or his kind can desire or afford to ignore the cry which is coming up from the ranks of the oppressed children of labor.

We yield hearty allegiance to that great doctrine of constitutional freedom which declares that all men and women are entitled to life and the means whereby to live; to liberty to be, to do, and to grow, with no other limit but such as the true welfare of all imposes; to the utmost measure of happiness which is consonant with the general good; but we exhort you to remember that above all human laws stand those great natural laws inherent in the universe, which no man nor body of men can contravene, and that these laws have forever established a difference between the powers and privileges of the sexes, to disregard which is to invoke the penalties by which they are relentlessly enforced.

We beg you to consider that that immense power called the Revolution of France could not override these laws, but fell crushed under the burden of the attempt; that in so far as any political body in this country has attempted to do so it has suffered defeat, and we believe that no greater misfortune can attend the forming labor-party of this country, in its attempt to secure legislation in the interests of the farmer, the artisan, and the laborer, than that it should espouse the false and pernicious doctrine of the political rights of women.

We pray you, therefore, that no matter what arguments to the contrary may be urged upon you, as legislators for the common weal, you will stand fast by that ancient bulwark of liberty—the Home—remembering that the same Power which says to all men "Behold God is your Father, and all ye are brethren," and of the suffering poor, "These are they for whom Christ died," has joined also the husband and wife as one flesh for the orderly bearing and rearing of children and the maintenance of society, and has given to each their own distinctive and equally honorable share in the labors and rewards of life.

The undersigned have held counsel with many women of intelligence and influence in different parts of the State, and feel assured that the above represents the wishes of an overwhelming majority of the women of Illinois.

Very respectfully,

THE COMMITTEE OF TEN.

CHICAGO, February 9, 1891.

[Feb 9, 1891]

An Appeal from the Homes of Illinois.

TO THE HONORABLE THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS:

Gentlemen:—A Bill having already been presented to your honorable body, the object of which is to bestow upon women the right of Municipal Suffrage, we take the liberty of enclosing to you a document having a bearing upon the subject, and asking for it your careful perusal.

Permit us to say that the position of home-loving, conservative women in this matter is one of great embarrassment. Busy with the cares of their homes, they have neither the time, strength, nor inclination to enter the public arena, and defend themselves against doctrines which they earnestly believe to be pernicious, and destructive of the true power and influence of women in their homes. They therefore have no resource but to appeal to the men before whom their case is to be tried in their absence, to stand by them faithfully, and see to it that these new responsibilities, foreign to their nature and habit, be not laid upon them against their will.

As an assurance that we do not appeal to you without a careful study of the case and deep convictions upon the subject, we ask your attention to the following statement of facts:

The doctrine of the political rights of women had its first public expression amid the horrors of the French Revolution, when in their determined effort to break down all the institutions of civilized society, the Revolutionist proclaimed the absolute equality of all men and women, their identical rights to all the functions and privileges of life and civil order, and their equal obligation to labor. This declaration carried with it, in full intent and purpose, the disruption of all family ties, the absolute sexual freedom alike of men and women.

The direct and legitimate outcome of the madness of the French Revolution was State Socialism, and these doctrines of the equal sexual and political freedom of men and women are today held by the great

mass of Socialists or Communists in Europe and America. In proof of this statement, we beg leave to offer the following evidence:

Mr. Theodore Woolsey, in his book entitled "Communism and Socialism," says:

"In the year 1872, a new section of *L'Internationale* was founded at Geneva. * * This Union was called the Alliance of Social Democracy. The following programme was adopted,

"The Alliance declares itself atheistic. It desires the abolition of worship, the substitution of science for faith, of human justice for divine justice, *the abolition of marriage so far as it is a political, religious, judicial, or civil institution.*"

Such an abrogation would of course leave the individual woman upon the same footing as the individual man—compelled to work for herself, entitled to vote for herself.

In the *German Workingmen's Union*, Hasenclever, now deceased, but for many years before his death a leading Socialistic member of the German *Reichstag*, said:

"The woman question would be taken by the developed, or more correctly speaking, the Communistic State, under its own control—for in this State, when the community" [composed of individual men and women equally entitled to the privileges of citizenship] "bears the obligation of maintaining the children and no private capital subsists, * * the woman need no longer out of regard for her children be chained to one man. The bond between the sexes will be simply a moral one, and if the characters did not harmonize could be dissolved."

Jörissen, a speaker upon the same platform, expresses similar ideas in language so coarse that we can not quote it; while Karl Marx and Engels, acknowledged preëminent leaders among Socialists, in their Communistic manifesto of 1847, became absolutely brutal in their speech upon the subject. We can only say that the principle affirmed by them is more decently stated by J. H. Noyes, founder of the Oneida Community at Oneida, New York, when he says, in his "History of Communism and Socialism":

"We affirm that there is no intrinsic difference between property in persons and property in things, and that the same spirit which abolished exclusiveness in regard to money would abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it[illegible]en."

At the head of the *Social Democrat*, pu[illegible] and the organ of the large and powerful Social Democratic Union of Denmark, stand certain mottoes, among which are these: "All men and women over twenty-two should vote. There should be institutions for the proper bringing up of children." Which, of course, indicates the disruption of family ties.

To come nearer home, the *Chicago Tribune*, of February 2, says of "Freedom," the new Chicago monthly, devoted to revolutionary, communistic, and anarchistic doctrines: "It declares for the abolition of class rule, the establishment of a free society, and equal rights for all, without distinction of race or sex."

We might go on indefinitely and quote from Hyndman, the leader of English socialists; we might instance the late Robert Dale Owen, a pronounced communist and woman suffragist and the author and instigator of that system of divorce in Indiana which for years made the state a hissing and a byword; we might point you to the historical fact that all the great communistic experiments like that of the Fourierites in France, the Economites and Shakers, and the Oneida Community in our own country, have found it necessary to break up the family relation and put men and women upon the basis of individual rights, only withholding citizenship from women because that was not in their power to bestow. The experience of all communistic societies goes to prove that equal rights of citizenship imply the disruption of the family relation. The two are historically and logically dependent upon each other, and never have been and never can be for any great length of time separated in practice. When women share with men the burdens of labor and government, communism, with all that it implies, is already begun. Human nature is so constituted that, while family relations endure, the headship of the family must be vested in the man, and upon him must rest the burdens of labor for the support of the home and of government.

We regard the question of the property rights of a comparatively few women as one of minor importance compared with the vastly greater right of women in general to maintenance and protection in the home, while they are engaged in the absorbing offices and duties of womanhood; and this paramount right of woman is threatened with entire destruction by the socialistic doctrines above cited.

for the kitchen. Can it be supposed that a woman of such disposition would care for the interest of her employer?

Americans have the reputation of paying a higher price for poor and wasteful cooking than the people of any other nation.

Mrs. Kelley says: "Next to the resentment because of contrast of social position in the family, comes the objection of long hours of work. If a cook begins to get her fire ready at 7 A. M., she is 'fixing' it at 9 P. M., after fourteen hours of intervening labor." I think one might look far to find such a condition without intervening hours of rest and recreation. Suppose the cook were happily married and keeping her own house. She might not be "fixing her fire at 9 P. M.," but she would have to do it long before 7 A. M., for her bread-winning husband must have had his breakfast and begun his work by that time.

Again, Mrs. Kelley says: "There prevails widespread skepticism among wage-earning girls as to the healthfulness of housework." There is no room for skepticism on the part of physicians or observant people who compare the faded appearance of shop-girls, seamstresses, and those whose occupations are sedentary, with houseworkers, who have plenty of fresh air and exercise.

"The broken-down, middle-aged women who applied to the Bureau of Woman's Labor for situations," had (I infer) been broken down in an effort to live in their own homes; for if capable, faithful and "at service," to middle age, they would have "laid by" too much money to be obliged to apply for situations. Moreover the situations would have applied for them!

The feeling of "resentment" apparently cherished by house-working girls against their mistresses, is to be deplored. There are, doubtless, some—there may be many—frivolous, unthinking, foolish mistresses; but the large majority are kind and considerate, practicing towards all whom they employ, the precepts of the Golden Rule.

This subject cannot be justly considered without a study of both its sides. We must not forget that "work is the law of life" for all—for rich and poor alike. Servants are employed because their work is needed, not for their companionship. I use the word "servant" advisedly. We are all servants in one way or another. If my cook or my maid serves me with her capability and strength, I serve her with a good home, good wages, and kindly consideration. She may not find all the arrangements of my house precisely as she would wish to have them; she might not find them so in her own father's house; but "carking care" does not trouble her. Whether food, fuel, and rent be dear or cheap, are questions about which she is not concerned.

We need careful thought on this subject, and the courage of our convictions. I am sorry for those who believe, and I marvel at the unwisdom of those who teach, that faithful, cheerful household service injuriously curtails the freedom, or adversely affects the social position of those who perform it.

HOUSEHOLD LABOR

A Criticism by Florence Kelley
May 7th, 1892

After canvassing the subject of household labor with more than three hundred girls in search of work, it is clear to my mind that the underlying cause of their world-wide, instinctive revolt against housework is a social one.

Their democracy is social; and this democracy is their dominant characteristic. Though they justly object to the long hours, hard work, and low wages involved in household labor, these objections are subordinate to the main one, which is, rebellion against social contrast in family life.

Said an efficient girl the other day: "Of course I can cook, I have cooked for years; but why should I? I get a dinner ready that is going to give pleasure to every person who sits down at the table, and then shut myself up in the kitchen alone! No; no; I won't be any lady's cook. I would work for four dollars a week at anything else, rather than cook for six dollars! If I work in the same gentleman's office, he don't invite me to lunch with him any more than he would in his own house. That is true; but then, I lunch with a lot of girls of my own kind, and I am as good as anybody I'm thrown with. But in his house I'm not good enough to eat with the only people there are there, and I'm shut up by myself in the kitchen alone!"

This girl voiced merely the feelings of her mates, a little more tersely than most of them can for themselves. Every month broadens the opportunity for girls to do laundry work in groups of a dozen to a hundred members, working stipulated hours, earning at piece-work wages determined apparently by their own skill, and passing their days and evenings among fellow-workers, with Sundays free. Therefore the position of laundress in a family of which they form no part, seems to them lonely, monotonous, and repugnant by contrast.

So with cooking. Positions in restaurants afford from seven

to fifteen dollars a week with meals thrown in, and a restaurant kitchen is never "lonesome."

"Lonesomeness" is one of the ever-recurring words used to explain the persistent unwillingness of the city girl to undertake housework, and this "lonesomeness" the employer cannot overcome by tendering her own society, for the socially inferior position enforced three times daily in the meals taken in the kitchen, cannot be made good by any fragments of conversation volunteered by the most affable of employers between meals.

Next to the resentment aroused by the contrast of social position within the family comes the objection to long hours of work.

If a cook begins to get her fire ready at 7 A. M. she is surely "fixing" the same fire at 9 P. M., after fourteen hours of intervening work. And there are very few cooks whose day begins as late as 7 A. M. It is the same with a waitress, although she may not be equally hard at it throughout all the hours of the day, she is "on call" from 7 A. M. to 9 or 10 P. M., to answer the door-bell at need.

Nor are there more than a vanishing minority of homes in which a daily free hour is guaranteed the girls, and the guaranty faithfully lived up to. Indeed, the mere inquiry whether such an arrangement will be made, often calls into use the words, "presuming," "independent," "grasping," "high-toned," and others, indicating disapproval of the undue demands of social inferiors.

There prevails widespread skepticism among wage-earning girls as to the healthfulness of housework. Two circumstances would seem to justify this attitude of mind: First, the middle-aged women who have applied for situations during the past three months, since the opening of the Bureau of Woman's Labor, have all been more or less broken down by overwork. And second, the word which recurs uniformly in applications from employers is, "strong." A weak girl has no chance of procuring and keeping a position in a household. Girls who are strong, neat, punctual, courteous, and conscientious, are at a premium in all occupations, and can command regular, stipulated hours with the companionship of others of their own age and taste in every manufacturing and commercial centre of this country. But these qualifications are expressed or implied in every application of an employer for a household worker as a matter of course.

In short, household labor, according to the standards applied to-day, calls for a high grade of work, and offers in return for efficiency, the accentuated consciousness of socially inferior position together with long hours.

This applies to household labor under the most favorable conditions, and does not take into account the grave incidental causes of dissatisfaction, such as bad and insufficient food, unwholesome sleeping arrangements, and wages dishonestly withheld, complaints far more frequent and well-grounded than can seem possible to any one who has not for several months studied the household labor question day after day as confidant of both employer and employed.

THE CRITICISM BY THE BUREAU OF WOMAN'S LABOR

A Reply to Mrs. Florence Kelley

by Susan Look Avery

To the Editor of Figaro:

I find in your paper of May 7th, under the head of "Household Labor," an article, which from such a source, surprises and pains me.

Earnest women are studying this "domestic problem," with the sole desire of adjusting work and workers to mutual advantage. Household service is the imperative work of the world, made so by the conditions of our being; and any word or deed which brings it into disrepute, is an injury to those who need to do it, as well as to those who must have it done. If the writer's object had been to discredit household labor, I do not see how she could have written more effectively for inconsiderate readers.

Necessary labor is essentially dignified. If well done it dignifies the doer in the estimation of all intelligent, thoughtful people. It would seem to be wise for those who must make their living by manual labor to do that which is best and most profitable to themselves.

What can be suggested that offers greater advantage to women than household labor? It is generally acknowledged by physicians and others to be the most healthful work; is better paid than any other which does not require long educational preparation; is better protected; is always and everywhere in demand; and is what all women need to understand, that they may keep their own homes economically and well.

Mrs. Kelley need not have canvassed the subject with half the "three hundred girls" to find that "the revolt against household labor is social," and not inherent in the work itself. "The efficient cook who voiced the feeling of her mates," was dramatic and ill-tempered because she could not be in the parlor—instead of glad that she had the blessings of good health, plenty of work, ability to do it, and good pay. Four dollars a week is large pay, with board and lodging, and too many good homes are open to make it necessary for a capable, faithful, cheerful girl to stay in any other. She has large opportunity for choice.

The cook who said she was "not good enough to eat with the family," knew it was not a question of excellence, but one of convenience, of business. Her ill-temper proved her unfitness even

was our sister State of Tennessee, whose last legislature raised the age of consent from 10 years to 16 years by unanimous vote, yet this degraded state of morals is found in many of the States of the Union.

The age of consent in Delaware is but 7 years, think of the horror of such a law. It is enough to horrify and sicken the soul of humanity. In the States of Minnesota, Colorado, Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Texas, Idaho and South Dakota the age of consent is only 10 years, while all the rest of the States and Territories range from 12 to 18 years. Both Wyoming and Kansas have raised the age to 18 years. New York was the first State to raise the age of consent from 10 years to 16 years. We have been told that this is too delicate a subject to bring before the legislature.

It is a significant fact that in every State where this moral advance has been secured, women have brought it about, men seem to be so absorbed in material progress and the pursuit of place, power and gain, that they give little thought to moral progress, and only do so when urged to their duty by women. Hypocrites and prudes have so stifled free discussion on the subjects that most vitally concern the race, that we are a nation of moral paralytic pigmies. Since girls are the victims of this degraded condition the Kentucky Equal Rights Association appeals to the General Assembly for a more just and humane law. Every city, town and neighborhood has its victims. Does the law step in when girl children need the most protection, declaring in the name of justice, that he who pollutes and degrades these defenceless minors shall suffer a punishment commensurate with the terrible crime? Nay Verily! the innocents are sent to doom, degradation and despair. The present law reserves its protection for libertines in their pastime of despoiling a maidenhood.

Gentlemen of the Legislature of Kentucky, you are not responsible for the laws you found in our code, when the interests of the people became your sacred trust, but you *will* be responsible for the laws you leave on our statutes. Do not forget that every wrong done to woman is visited with terrible vengeance on man. The race is stamped by its mothers, and mothers were girls before they were mothers. Even your own daughters may be the victims of the diabolical law now on our statutes. If not your own daughters, the helpless child victims are some one's daughters. Designing libertines with the law to shield them are no respectors of person or position. In the name of humanity we plead with you to think of the helpless negro girls who emerge from hovels of ignorance and poverty, who are the prey of this law in every community in the State. God only knows the number that have been sent to the lowest depths of human misery, "with no eye to pity and no hand to save."

> "There are deep wrongs men dare not have revealed,
> And in our midst insane barbaric hordes
> That make the law their shield."

Can any man in the General Assembly of Kentucky defend the present law of the age of consent, and then look into the eyes of his innocent daughter without quailing, or face the mother who bore him without self condemnation?

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association voices the sentiment of all good men and women in the State when pleading with the legislature to at once enact a law raising the age of consent from 12 years to 18 years. We petition for this law in the name of humanity and justice. God is just and He will not let His justice sleep forever. May you be the instruments to bring justice and protection to the defenceless. For the honor of Kentucky we plead with you to enact this just and humane law.

To the General Assembly of the State of Kentucky:

We, the undersigned, citizens of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, do most respectfully petition your Honorable Body to enact a Law for the protection of girls, by raising the age of consent from twelve years to eighteen years.

AN APPEAL

FROM THE

Kentucky Equal Rights Association

TO THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF KENTUCKY.

BY

MRS. JOSEPHINE K. HENRY,

Superintendent of Legislative and Petition Work,

Versailles, Ky.

Published by the Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

1893.

To the People of Kentucky:

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association makes an appeal to all good men and women in the State to aid in securing from the Legislature a law raising the age of consent from 12 years to 18 years.

All persons who will circulate or sign petitions praying for such a law, please address,

MRS. MARY K. JONES, Newport, Ky.

or MRS. SARAH G. HUMPHREYS, Versailles, Ky.

Special Committee.

To the Honorable Members of the General Assembly of Kentucky:

If Kentucky would maintain a proud position in the federation of States she must keep pace with the ideas and laws which evolve a grander race of men and women. The barbarous laws that crouch in our statutes ready to spring upon the defenceless must be expunged to give place to those better suited to the conditions of today. The Kentucky statutes still contain some disgraceful laws, and the victims of these laws are women and girls. To our honor be it said that the general public, and even some of our lawmakers do not know of the existence of these laws, for the reason that the law and its victims may not have cros ed their paths, but that they are there in all their darkness and disgrace cannot be denied, and nowhere is it more vividly illustrated than in the law which is known by the name of "age of consent," by which legal statute fixes the age of twelve years at which a female child may consent to her own ruin.

In the words of Editor B. O. Flower of the *Arena*, one of the grandest moral reformers of our time, "If a government has any legitimate function it is that of defending the weak, from the outrages of the strong, and securing as far as possible equal justice for her citizens. When a government legislates in the interest of one class and to the injury of another, it has clearly exceeded its function, but when it goes beyond this and deliberately legislates in the interest of the lust of men, and against the most defenceless of its citizens, legislates to place little children whose lives have not yet opened into the flower of maturity, in the hands of moral lepers to be despoiled, and forever ruined, it inaugurates a policy as suicidal as it is unjust, as destructive as it is infamous," yet this is the status of Kentucky law where the age of consent is fixed at 12 years which is only a step beyond infancy.

Kentucky law takes particular care to guard a girl's property until she is twenty-one years of age, claiming she as a minor is not competent to manage her property. The State debars her from making a contract owing to her minority, and if she wishes to marry before legal age the State interposes and says her consent is not valid. If the girl be possessed of fortune, and those nearest and dearest to her be in absolute want, she is not permitted by the State to use a penny of her abundance to relieve the needs of parents or relatives. The child is protected in her property, and though she is not allowed honorable marriage where parents or guardian object, she may consent to her spiritual, moral and physical ruin, and the guilty one who thus robs her of the crown of womanhood—her virtue—is protected behind this infamous law, giving libertines license to prey upon little girls. Was ever travesty on justice greater, or has law ever touched a lower depth of degradation? Comparatively few of the mass of virtuous home-loving people of Kentucky know this awful fact, but whether they know it or not, it is high time for some one to try and retrieve our honor by asking our lawmakers to wipe out this foul blot from our code.

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association has taken upon itself this task. We do so trusting in the integrity of our lawmakers in the matter of justice, and the conception of the duty they owe the defenceless, and society at large. We are hoping they make this task an easy one by raising the age of consent in Kentucky from twelve years to eighteen years, by unanimous vote. Should the women of Kentucky expect less from the men who hold all the interests of the women and children in the State in their power, while they are debarred the poor privilege of raising any protest against tyranny and injustice that can be crystalized into law to prevent wrong? Surely not! or we are sadly mistaken in the moral stature of the men the voters have sent to our legislative hall. It is encouraging to note the fact that since the work and heroic sacrifice of Josephine Butler, and Mr. Stead's revelation in the London Pall Mall Gazette only a few years ago, by which hundreds of thousands of girls were saved from ruin, that the spirit of moral reform along this line has invaded our own country and many states have raised the age of consent The last to fall in line

THE TRUE CHRISTIANITY

OR THE

RELIGION OF FREEDOM

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD:

Equal Rights to All Citizens: Special Privileges to None.

[Matt. xx. 1-16, 25-28; xxiii. 8-12; II. Cor. i. 24; I. Pet. v. 3; James iii. 1.]

THE SOURCE OF FREEDOM:

The Truth Shall Make You Free.

[John viii. 32.]

Dedicated to Every Lover of Freedom.

Read, Digest and Proclaim to All Inhabitants of the Land!

THE TRUE CHRISTIANITY;

OR

THE RELIGION OF FREEDOM.

A free government is confirmed and perpetuated by a free religion.

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, RELIGION and MORALITY ARE INDESPENSABLE SUPPORTS. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. * * * Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect THAT NATIONAL MORALITY CAN PREVAIL IN EXCLUSION OF RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES."—GEORGE WASHINGTON, Sept. 17th, 1796.

"The great comprehensive truths, written in letters of light on every page of our history—the language addressed by every past age of New England to all future ages is this,—Human happiness has no perfect security but freedom; freedom none but virtue; virtue none but knowledge: and neither freedom, nor virtue nor knowledge has any vigor, or immortal hope, except in the principles of the Christian faith, and the sanctions of the Christian religion."—JOSIAH QUINCY, Sept. 17th, 1830.

LAGRANGE, KY.:
THE INDEX JOB PRINT.
MDCCCXCIII.

Excuse typographical errors

THE TRUTH.

[To the Reader: 1. Consider each reference separately.
2. Consider them collectively.
3. Bear in mind that hundreds of proof texts have been omitted which will be noticed as you read the New Testament.]

I. God created man to be an obedient and happy creature.
Acts 14 : 15-17 : 17 : 26, 27.

II. Man was, for the above reason, endowed with *a religious nature.*
Rom. 1 : 18-25 ; 2 : 13-15, 28, 29.

III. Man's religious nature and happiness needed the religion which GOD *has made known* to him.
Acts 17 : 30-31 ; Heb. 1 : 1, 2 ; 2 : 1-4 ; Rom. 1 : 16-20.

IV. This revealed religion is made known by the Bible.
Rom. 3 : 21, 22 ; 15 : 4 ; 16 : 25-27; II. Tim. 3 : 15-17 ; II. Pet. 1 : 20, 21.

V. The Bible consists of two parts :
1. The Old Testament, or The Jewish Writings.
Rom. 3 : 21 ; I. Pet. 1 : 21.
2. The New Testament, or The Christian Writings.
Rom. 3 : 22 ; I. Pet. 1 : 19.

VI. The Old Testament *proves itself true,* by proving that its Author *is the Allwise God*

VII. The Old Testament proves that its Author is the Allwise God,

1 By its Types.
2. By its Symbols.
3. By its literal Prophecies.
4. By its Unity.
5. By its sublime Morality.
6. By its radiant Theology.
7. By its combined Simplicity and Incomprehensibility.

VIII. The New Testament proves itself true *by proving that Jesus of Nazareth is the promised mediatorial King*, by the following invincible testimonies :

1. By the testimony of John, son of Zachariah.
John 5 : 32, 33.

2. By the testimony of God Himself in the following miracles :
Matt. 16 : 17 ; John 5 : 37 ; I. John 5 : 9-11, and others ; Heb. 2 : 4.

(1) The virgin-birth of Jesus.
Matt. 1 : 20-23 ; Lk. 1 : 35 ; John 1 : 14.

(2) The recognition of Jesus as the Son.
Matt. 3 : 16, 17 ; Mk. 1 : 10, 11 ; Lk. 3 : 21, 22 ; John 1 : 32-34.

(3) The installation of Jesus as Guide
Matt. 17 : 1-6 ; Mk. 9 : 2-9 ; Lk. 9 : 28-36 ; II. Pet. 1 : 16-18.

(4) The crucifixion of Jesus as King of the Jews.
Matt. 27 : 45, 51-53 ; Lk. 23 : 44, 45 ; Mk. 15 : 33-38 ; John 19 : 16-37.

(5) The resurrection of Jesus.
Matt. 28 : 1-8 ; Mk. 16 : 1-8 ; Lk. 24 : 1-48 ; John 20 : 1-18 ; Acts 2 : 24, 32 ; 3 : 15, 26 ; 5 : 10 ; Rom. 1 : 4 ; Eph. 1 : 19, 20.

(6) The ascension of Jesus.
Lk. 24 : 50, 51 ; Acts 1 : 9.

(7) The enthronement of Jesus.

Acts 2 : 23, 36; Eph. 1 : 20, 21; Heb. 12 : 2, and many other passages.

3. By the testimony of Jesus himself.

II. Tim. 1 : 8.

(1) In his Teachings.

Matt. 13 : 54, 7 : 29, 22 : 16; Mk. 6 : 2; Lk. 2 : 47, 4 : 22; Jno. 3 : 2, 8 : 28.

(2) In his Deportment.

Acts 10 : 38; Lk. 23 : 4; II. Cor. 5 : 21; I. Pet. 2 : 22; Heb. 4 : 15, 7 : 26, 9 : 14.

(3) In his Disposition, or Spirit.

Matt. 11 : 29; II. Cor. 10 : 1.

(4) In his Asseverations.

Matt. 26 : 64; Mk. 14 : 61, 62; Lk. 22 : 70; Jno. 4 : 26, 6 : 35, 3 : 12, 24, 28, 58, 13 : 19, 10 : 24, 25.

(5) In his Miracles.

Mk. 1 : 27; Jno. 2 : 23, 3 : 2, 6 : 2, 7 : 31, 9 : 16, 11 : 47; Acts 2 : 22.

(6) In his Wisdom.

Matt. 12 : 42, 13 : 54; Lk. 2 : 40, 52; I. Cor. 1 : 24, 30; Col. 3 : 16.

(7) In his Character.

Matt. 27 : 19, 24; John 1 : 4, 9, 20, 21, 8 : 12, 29, 4 : 34, 5 : 30, 9 : 5; I. Pet. 3 : 18; Heb. 7 : 26.

4. By the testimony of the Jewish Writings.

Jno. 1 : 45, 5 : 39, 46; Acts 3 : 18, 24, 18 : 28, 10 : 43, 13 : 28, 26 : 22; I. Cor. 15 : 3, 4; Gal. 3 : 8; Eph. 2 : 20; Rom. 1 : 2, 3 : 21, 16 : 26; I. Pet. 1 : 10-12; II. Pet. 1 : 21.

5. By the testimony of the Holy Spirit.

Jno. 15 : 26; I. Jno. 5 : 6; Heb. 10 : 5; Acts 5 : 32.

6. By the testimony of Apostles and Disciples.

Lk. xxiv 48, Acts i 8, ii 32, v 32, x 41, xiii 31, xxvi 22, I. Cor. xv 5-8, II. Tim. i 8, II. Pet. i 16, I. John iv 14.

7. By the testimony furnished by the establishment and spread of THE KINGDOM OF GOD. *See the whole book of Acts.*

Matt. xxiv 14.

IX. The Relation of Religion as revealed through the Jewish Writings to Religion as revealed through the Christian Writings is the relation of Type to Anti-Type.

Rom. ii 20, v 14, I. Cor. x 6, 11, Heb. viii 5 [New Version], ix 9, 24, x 1, I. Pet. iii 21 [New Version].

Or of Shadow to Substance.

Col. ii 16, 17, Heb. viii 5, x 1, xi 1.

Or of Preparation to Perfection.

Mtt. xi 10, xx 23, xxii 4, xxv 34, Lk. i 17, ii 31, Rom. ix 23, I. Cor. ii 9, Eph. ii 10, Heb. x 5, xi 16, Rev. xii 6, John xvii 23, Rom. xii 2, I. Cor. ii 6, Eph. iv 13, Col. i 28, iv 12, Heb. ii 10, v 9, vii 19, ix 9, 11, Jas. i 17, 25, I. John iv 17, Lk. vi 40 [Margin], Heb. x 14, I. John ii 5, iv 12, II. Cor. xiii 9, Heb. vii 11, Col. iii 14.

Hence, the True Religion is made known by the New Testament, or, to speak with exactness, THE CHRISTIAN WRITINGS which make up the New Testament, TEACH THE TRUE RELIGION.

Rom. iii 21, 22, Heb. i 1, 2, I. Cor. xiv 37, I. Pet. i 22-25, II. Pet. i 15-21, I. John i 1-4, ii 8, 21, v 11, 13, 20, I. Tim. vi 3-5, Jude 3.

X. The only religion which can make perpetual and beneficial both individual and national liberty is the Religion taught by the New Testament writings.

Rom. viii 21, I. Cor. viii 9, x 29, II. Cor. iii 17, Gal. v 1, 13, John viii 32, 36, I. Cor. vii 22, Gal. iv 31, v 1, James i 25, I. Pet. ii 16.

XI. The Christian Writings, or New Testament, consists of four parts, viz.:

(1) The Gospels or Histories of the formation of the renewed KINGDOM OF GOD.

(2) The Acts of the Apostles, or the History of the Proclamation and Establishment of THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

(3) The Epistles, or Letters of the King's Ministers to the King's People.

(4) The Revelation of the Apostle John.

XII. The Gospels set forth:

1. The subject-matter to be believed, to-wit: THE KINGDOM OF GOD as renewed through Jesus. *For Proof see references under Art. XVI.*

2. The proof of the Kingship of Jesus.
John xx 30, 31, Lk. i 1-4, Heb. ii 3, II. Pet. i 15-18.

3. The truths taught by Jesus, being in fact a proclamation of the New Covenant or CONSTITUTION of THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

4. The exemplification and illustration of perfect righteousness by Jesus.
John xiii 15, Rom. xv 5 [Margin], I. Pet. ii 21, Mtt. iii 15, John xvi 8, 10, Rom. v 18, I. Cor. i 30, Phil. i 11, iii 8, 9, I. John iii 7.

5. The perfect rules of life to be obeyed.
[For want of space references to these rules must be omitted].

6. The perfect promises to be enjoyed.
Mtt. xii 50, xiii 43, xix 29, 30, xxi 22, xxiv 46, 47, xxv 31-34, 46, John vi 39, xiv 14, 23.

7. The perfect sanctions of the eternal law.
Mtt. vii 26, 27, xiii 40, 41, xviii 7-9, 35, xxi 44, xxiv 48-51, xxv 41-46.

XIII. The Acts of the Apostles sets forth :

1. An account of the establishment of THE KINGDOM OF GOD—the time, place, manner and effects of the Beginning.
Acts ii, viii 4, 12, 14, 25, 35, ix 20, x 33.

2. A statement of *what was preached.*
Acts ii 14-36, iii 12-26, iv 8-12, v 29-32, vii 2-53, viii 5, 12, 14, 25, 35, ix 20, x 33-43, xiii 23, 32, 33, 38, xiv 7, xv 36, xvi 32, xvii 22-31, xix 8, xx 25, xxii 15, xxvi 22, xxviii 23, 31.

3. A statement of *what was required* of Jews and of Gentiles who believed or accepted the word preached, and desired to become citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD.
Acts ii 38, iii 19, viii 12, 36, 37, ix 18, x 48, xiv 21, 22, xv 28, 29, xvi 14, 15, 33, xviii 8, xix 18, 19.

4. A statement of *how* the initiatory obedience was performed.
Acts ii 41-47, viii 38, xviii 18, 19, xvi 33, 34.

5. A statement of the *conduct, spirit* and *character* of the citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD.
Acts ii 42-47, iv 31-37, v 41, 42, viii 4, xi 29, xii 5, xiii 52, xvi 34, xx 7.

6. A statement of the manner in which THE KINGDOM OF GOD was established both in Asia and in Europe, and by whose agency it was done.

Matt. xxvii 16-20; Acts i 7, 8; ii 1-42; iii 12-44; vi 7; viii 1, 3, 4-17, 25, 27-40; x; xi 19-21-26; xiii; xiv; xv 36-41; xvi; xvii; xviii; xix; xx; xxvii; xxviii.

7. A statement of the exemption of Disciples of Gentile origin from the observance of the Mosaical Law, or in other words, the Law of the Shadow Kingdom; and a statement of the origin of the *new people* and of their *new name.*

Acts xv; xi 19-26.

[NOTE TO THE READER.—Up to this point the passages of Scripture supporting each affirmation of Truth have been given, but as the object of this pablication is to place before you, for your examination and judgment, the Articles which set forth the Christisn Truth, hereafter the citations will be omitted; but the number of passages embodying the proof will be given in plain figures. In the forthcoming edition of this work all passages will be named: therefore, when you see a plain number, for example 15, at the close of a sentence or paragraph, you will understand that fifteen passages sustain the statement.]

XIV. The epistles were written by the King's Ministers, called Apostles, for the instruction and guidance and comfort of the citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD. 21.

XV. The Revelation of John is a sublime rehearsal of the Providence of God in the experiences and triumphs of THE KINGDOM OF GOD. 2.

XVI. The Organization or Structure contemplated and substantiated in the Gospels and made the subject of record

in the Acts of the Apostles is THE KINGDOM OF GOD. 31.

XVII. As an Organization THE KINGDOM OF GOD is composed of the following:

1. GOD: The Supreme PROPRIETOR and Paramount RULER of THE KINGDOM. 64.

2. JESUS: The ever reigning Mediatorial King. 42.

3. THE HOLY SPIRIT: THE KINGDOM'S demonstrator, advocate, illuminator, guide, comforter, seal and witness. 15.

4. THE CONSTITUTION: The New Covenant made by God and ratified for man by Jesus with his own blood or death. 14.

5. THE MINISTRY: The Apostles, the King's Ambassadors who have no *successors* in office. 30.

6. THE CODE, or The Perfect Law of Liberty, embodying the Constitution, the Law of Naturalization, the Laws of Worship, and the Laws of Conduct, according to the requirement of the New Covenant. 6

7. THE PEOPLE, i. e., The Church: All persons (and no others) who accept Jesus as their King, by the appointment of God, and who obey his laws. 21.

8. THE TERRITORY: Heaven, Earth and Hades. 16.

XVIII. THE KINGDOM OF GOD is an indivisible and indestructible Organization. 11.

XIX. Seven constituent elements of THE KINGDOM OF GOD, viz., God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, the Constitution, the Ministry, or the Apostles, the Code and the Territory are *permanent* and *unchangeable* and admit of no *succession*. 16.

XX. The seventh constituent element of THE KINGDOM, viz., THE PEOPLE, as individual persons, lives and departs out of earth life in continued succession; but THE PEOPLE as a Holy People, a Royal Nation, *endures forever*. 19.

XXI. 1. THE KINGDOM OF GOD is God's organized way or method and means of bringing all responsible beings into their proper and true relations to Himself and to one another; by which he bestows upon and secures to them, who are sincere, *both now and forever*, all of the things of a complete salvation or eternal life.

2. Therefore, citizenship in THE KINGDOM OF GOD secures, both now and forever, to every sincere or actual Christian or citizen of THE KINGDOM OF GOD the following things, to-wit:

a. The supremacy of God's Law in the mind and in the heart.

b. The gracious relation of a God and a People.

c. A full knowledge of God.

d. God's mercy towards their inability and failure to do right at all times.

e. A radical separation from the intentional and habitual practice of wrong-doing.

f. The full and positive pardon of all former, past, or confessed sins.

g. The relation of a Father to His children—a Father who is always with them.

3. All these gracious favors being actually and formally secured *to every citizen* of THE KINGDOM OF GOD BY THE ENGROSSED PLEDGES of God [see Heb. viii. 8-12; x. 16-18; II. Cor. vi. 16 18], and by the surety [see Heb. xviii. 20-22] of Messiah Jesus, the people of THE KINGDOM OF GOD have no need of creeds, priests, ecclesiastical dictators or masters, mediators, altars, sacrifices, penance, absolutions, nor any other worthless contrivances of men.

4. And not one of these gracious favors is bestowed upon any responsible person who rejects God's organized way or method of salvation, but every such person by such rejection fixes the character of such person's guilt and condemnation, and cannot escape the punishment which *God*, by His Son [Heb. i. 12] and His prophets *has declared shall*

come upon all OBDURATE, DISLOYAL, APOSTATE, UNJUST *and* WICKED *persons.* 178.

XXII. The grand and immediate object of THE KINGDOM OF GOD is to promote and to perpetuate happinoss by bringing all human beings [Lk. iii. 5, 6], into their proper and true relations to God and to one another; therefore, it is both the duty and service of every citizen of THE KINGDOM to subordin te all personal (or selfish) interests and efforts to the general welfare; to practice the following principles:

1. Fraternity. 15.

2. Equality. 15.

3. Fellowship. 8.

4. Esteem. 15.

5. Forbearance. 12.

6. Sympathy. 7.

7. Beneficence. 28.

And to honor the words of THE KING: "*It is more blessed to give than to receive.*"—Acts XX. 35.

XXIII. No voluntary association of fellow-citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD can be recognized as THE KINGDOM; hence all such voluntary denominational

associations are the creatures of the persons who make them, are temporary, are changeable and are not necessary for salvation, because salvation is secured by *citizenship in* THE KINGDOM OF GOD, and *not by membership in party associations*, which are forbidden by God. 10

XXIV. No aggregation of persons, however numerous, or extended, who claim to be the people of THE KINGDOM OF GOD can alter nor in any way change any one of the constituent elements of THE KINGDOM OF GOD, for example, the Founder, the King, the Advocate, the Consritution, the Ministry, the Code, the Territory; because *these all are* FIXED *and* ETERNAL; therefore, no organization, rules or regulations made or enacted, prescribed or enjoined by men who are not original Apostles have any religious authority over any persons except such persons as needlessly allow themselves to be controlled by them. 13.

XXV. Every person who, according to his best understanding, voluntarily complies with the Law of Naturalization [Jno. iii. 3] as set forth in the New Testament Scriptures, is constituted or made a citizen of THE KINGDOM OF GOD. 18.

XXVI. The Law of Naturalization is as follows:

1. The "Word of God" must be heard. 9.

2. The "Word of God" must be understood. 5.

3. The "Word of God" must be believed. 13.

4. There must be Repentance, or in other words, The conduct must be voluntarily conformed to the "Word of God". 6.

5. There must be Confession, or in other words, The "Word of God" in the mind and in the heart must proceed from the mouth. 5.

6. There must be Baptism, or in other words, an actual acceptance of the Domination of Jesus, the Mediatorial King. 10.

7. There must be calling on the name of the Lord, or in other words, Living in the Fellowship of God, of Jesus and of the Holy Spirit. 6.

Free, cordial and *sincere* compliance with these seven elements of "the new birth" as honestly understood makes each one a citizen of THE KINGDOM OF GOD and a joint heir of all its grace, benefits, privileges, honors, services and rewards, all of which are granted according to the CONSTITUTION of THE KINGDOM. 14.

XXVII. The transitional steps which are set forth in Article XXVI are entirely voluntary on the part of every person

who seeks citizenship and are to be done through *a personal conviction of duty only.* 6.

XXVIII. As all "aliens and strangers" are made citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD by one and the same Law of Naturalization, therefore all who submit to it are made equals in THE KINGDOM OF GOD, and possess and should enjoy *all things of* THE KINGDOM in common or *joint-fellowship*, as fellow-citizens. 16.

XXIX. Citizenship in THE KINGDOM OF GOD involves the divine honor and office of Priesthood under the High Priesthood of Jesus; therefore, Christians have and need no Priests but the High Priest. 8.

XXX. Citizenship in THE KINGDOM OF GOD involves the divine honor and office of Kinghood under the domination of Jesus; therefore, no such thing as sovereignty, lordship or mastery in some citizens over other citizens can by any possibility, rightfully exist, as each and every citizen is directly governed by Jesus, THE KING, through his Ministry, the Apostles, and is exclusively answerable to him and to God. 15.

XXXI. Complete freedom or liberty is the inviolable right of every citizen of THE KINGDOM OF GOD; therefore, any interference with the exercise of this *right of liberty* by any person or by any assemblage is a crime against God's people and is productive of evil only. 16.

XXXII Citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD, in order to secure and promote happiness and prosperity, do not need ecclesiastical, sect, partizan or denominational organizations which God has prohibited, because happiness and prosperity are the fruits of loyalty to God's laws and authority, and not the products of parties and of party machinery. 6.

XXXIII All religious forms, ceremonies, acts, pretensions and claims are null and void where they are not the fruit of a conscientious adoption of THE KINGDOM OF GOD, and of *the practice of right-doing in all things* which are commanded by Jesus, THE KING, through his Apostles. 26.

XXXIV. Citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD construct their individual character by the deliberate choice and adoption and practice of New Testament principles or rules of conduct, hence every citizen is responsible to THE KING for any and for all defects in character and in conduct; and, therefore, the services of persons destitute of Christian *character* are not acceptable to God. 10.

XXXV. Christian conduct is the outward expression of Christian character [Matt. vii. 15-20]; and is a bond of Christian companionship; but the only power which one citizen or Christian has over another is to advise, warn and refuse to hold companionship with him when his conduct is not according *to God's laws*. Nor does any person or

body of persons ~~has~~ have the right nor the power to exclude or excommunicate anyone from THE KINGDOM OF GOD. 20.

XXXVI. Every Christian is bound by the spirit and by the laws of THE KINGDOM OF GOD to endeavor by kindness, patience, teaching and giving needed things, to make every other Christian as complete and happy as possible, but not so as to encourage any kind of idleness and begging. 32.

XXXVII. The capital law of Sentiment, always predominating and always characterizing every citizen of THE KINGDOM OF GOD is this: to love or esteem God with every mental and bodily ability, and to esteem all others as one esteems one's self. 14.

XXXVIII. The capital law of Conduct at all times holding all citizens to accountability in THE KINGDOM OF GOD is this: To behave towards all other creatures as they would desire any others to act towards themselves under like circumstances. 17.

XXXIX. All citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD being free [Matt. xvii. 26] and equal, each one, therefore, has the right of *free opinion* in *all matters of opinion*, and to God only is one answerable for any and for all of one's mental states. 20.

XL. The employment of *any kind of force*, at any time, to compel

any person or persons to acquiese in convictions of truth, or in party association (Mk. ix. 38-41) is hostile to the Spirit and laws of THE KINGDOM OF GOD, if that effort extend any farther than a fair and candid statement of sound reasons in support of such convictions. 6.

XLI. The unity of the Church is not subject to the will of men. It is infallibly concurrent with citizenship in THE KINGDOM OF GOD; and its absence is proof that all persons and parties destitute of it, have not become *in fact*, citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD. 18.

XLII. The whole of the Christian religion is contained in and taught by the New Testament Scriptures. 18.

The kindness of God has given the New Testament Scriptures to all; therefore every person has the right to study them and according to his several ability to derive from them every matter taught by them, and he has the right to impart, both publicly and privately, *whatever he may learn of their teachings*, and no men nor body of men can hinder, or forbid his freedom of speech without violating guaranteed Christian liberty; thefore, God has forbidden all controversies about matters of opinion.

XLIII. All citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD are under obligations to God, to their KING and to their fellow-creatures to use all their gifts, powers, abilities, riches and

opportunities for securing the recognition of and submission to the supremacy of THE KINGDOM OF GOD, by every person, community, state, government and country on earth, and this *right* and *duty of service* attaches alike to both sexes, regardless of colors, conditions or social relations. 32.

XLIV. Citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD are, by the laws of God, required to be perfectly loyal and obedient to all the civil authorities and institutions of the country in which they dwell. 7.

XLV. Citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD must not practice any of the vices of secular society, but they must perpetually live in accord with their actual relations to God and to Jesus, their mediatorial King. 44.

XLVI. Citizens of THE KINGDOM OF GOD should voluntarily and frequently meet together, both publicly (Acts xx 6) and privately (Acts xii. 11, 12) for the following objects: (*Read carefully I. Cor. xii. chap.*)

1. For mutual improvement in all good things. 9.
2. For mutual encouragement 5.
3. For mutual instruction in all good wisdom. 4.
4. For the promotion and confirmation of social equality and happiness. 2.
5. For co operation in the work of spreading as widely

as possible the knowledge of GOD'S KINGDOM. 5.

6. For celebrating together, both publicly and privately, the memorials of THE KINGDOM. 6.

7. For the public recognition and worship of GOD, in the name of Messiah, the Lord.

Proof of this Article at large, 12 passages.

XLVII. The Christian home is exclusively the product of THE KINGDOM OF GOD, and the most important and vital trust of God's people. Children born to Christian parents sustain to THE KINGDOM OF GOD a peculiar and happy relation, *being children of* THE KING'S *subjects;* therefore, the Christian home is the object of special solicitude and should be maintained as the fountain of piety, the nursery of godliness and holy discipline, the charge and service of the People of God. 27.

XLVIII. THE KINGDOM OF GOD is regnant and dominant over all empires, kingdoms, lordships, governments, magistracies, countries and peoples; therefore, everyone holding or using any office, authority or power is answerable to God's King for his conduct, and for this reason should to perform the duties of his station, office or government as to have the assurance of his own heart that his actions are in accord with the spirit and principles of THE KINGDOM. 17.

LXIX. All of the benefits arising from citizenship in THE

KINGDOM OF GOD, are conditional on two things:

1. On an honest and sincere acceptance of THE KINGDOM OF GOD as man's immediate and paramount government. 47.

2 On a constant and cordial obedience of God's will as taught, enjoined and enforced by Jesus, the Mediatorial King.

Therefore, no person is nor can be entitled to recognition as a citizen nor to any of the advantages or benefits of citizenship in THE KINGDOM OF GOD who practices any of the following evils: 112

1. Adultery.
2. Covetousness.
3. Drunkenness.
4. Emulations.
5. Envying.
6. Extortion.
7. Fornication.
8. Hatred.
9. Heresies [or Parties].
10. Idolatry.

11. Lasciviousness.

12. Murder.

13. Reviling.

14. Revellings.

15. Strife.

16. Sodomy.

17. Sedition.

18. Thievery.

19. Uncleanness.

20. Wrath.

21. Witchcraft.

ADDRESS TO THE READER.

You have carefully read this little book. You have learned that our religion is a real, simple, efficacious power which enlightens, purifies, exalts and frees from every species of bondage every person who accepts and practices its principles.

You have, furthermore, perceived this fact: That when this religion, which is God's best gift to humanity, shall prevail, then the horrible evils, which debase and make miserable so great a portion of the human family, shall be uprooted and destroyed,

and the era shall dawn in which shall be realized the earnest hopes of all who have been and are striving for the complete emancipation of man from the "tyranny and inhumanity of man" and in which shall be effectuated the angelic prophecy: "Glory to God in the highest; on earth, peace, good will to men."

Can you do a better work for your suffering race than to spread as widely as possible a knowledge of THE KINGDOM OF GOD? God wants you to work for Him and for your suffering cotemporaries. Jesus, THE KING, has brought in "the perfect law of Liberty", and he wants you to aid in the work of putting it into the mind and heart of the people. Yes, "the Spirit and the Bride say, Come! And let him that heareth say, Come! And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will let him take the water of life freely" and let him give it to all who need it.

Keep this little book on its mission. Having read it, if you do not wish to keep it for further study, put it into the hands of another person, and thus let it be sent onward to do its glorious work.

What a grand work you can do for God and for your country by aiding to place this book in every home. It tells the Truth as it is. It will silently do its work, for "Truth bears away the victory."

Reader, if you have mastered the contents of this little book, THE RELIGION OF FREEDOM, think about it, talk about it, write about it, and to you shall come in full fruition this promise: "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and *they that turn many to righteousness*, AS THE STARS FOREVER AND EVER."—Daniel xii. 3.

THE NEW LIBERTY BELL.

It rings! The mighty Bell of God.
It thrills the hearts beneath the sod,
And spirits of our Patriot Sires
Kindled again the sacred fires.
Hallelujah!

It rings! And from its tones of truth
Bursts the victorious shout of youth;
The Martyrs smile, the Warriors cheer,
The star of Woman's frozen tear.
Hallelujah!

It rings!! And Angels from the heights
Salute the Flag of *human* rights;
As upward soars that radiant wing
Seraphs and men unite and sing,
Hallelujah!

It rings!! And with its tongue of flame
It writes upon the sky a name—
The name of *Freedom!* Kneel, O Earth!
God struck the hour that gave it birth.
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!!

—*Alice S. Mitchell.*

[Aug 10 1898]

From THE ARENA, May, 1897.

THE STATUS OF WOMAN, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

BY SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

A REQUEST from THE ARENA to state what really has come of our half-century of agitation, and what is sure to come in the near future, will be used as the basis of this article.

Fifty years ago woman in the United States was without a recognized individuality in any department of life. No provision was made in public or private schools for her education in anything beyond the rudimentary branches. An educated woman was a rarity, and was gazed upon with something akin to awe. The women who were known in the world of letters, in the entire country, could be easily counted upon the ten fingers. Margaret Fuller, educated by her father, a Harvard graduate and distinguished lawyer, stood preëminently at the head, and challenged the admiration of such men as Emerson, Channing, and Greeley.

In those days the women of the family were kept closely at home, carding, spinning, and weaving, making the butter and cheese, knitting and sewing, working by day and night, planning and economizing, to educate the boys of the family. Thus the girls toiled so long as they remained under the home roof, their services belonging to the father by law and by custom. Any kind of a career for a woman was a thing undreamed of. Among the poorer families the girls might go about among the neighbors and earn a miserable pittance at housework or sewing. When the boy was twenty-one, the father agreed to pay him a fixed sum per annum, thenceforth, for his services, or, in default of this, he was free to carry his labor where it would receive a financial reward. No such agreement ever was made with the girls of the family. They continued to work without wages after they were twenty-one, exactly as they did before. When they married, their services were transferred to the husband, and were considered to be bountifully rewarded by food, shelter, and usually a very scanty supply of clothes. Any wages the wife might earn outside of the home belonged by law to the husband. No matter how drunken and improvident he might be; no matter how great her necessities and those of the children, if the employer paid the money to her he could be prosecuted by the husband and compelled to pay it again to him.

Cases were frequent where fathers willed all of their property to the sons, entirely cutting the daughters out. Where, however, the daughters received property, it passed directly into the sole possession

of the husband, and all the rents and profits belonged to him to use as he pleased. At his death he could dispose of it by will, depriving the wife of all but what was called the "widow's dower," a life interest in one-third of that which was by right her own property. She lost not only the right to her earnings and her property, but also the right to the custody of her person and her children. The husband could apprentice the children at an early age, in spite of the mother's protest, and at his death could dispose of the children by will, even an unborn child. The wife could neither sue nor be sued, nor testify in the courts. The phrase in constant use in legal decisions was, "The wife is dead in law," or, "Husband and wife are one, and that one the husband." According to the English common law, which then prevailed in every State in the Union except Louisiana, a man might beat his wife up to the point of endangering her life, without being liable to prosecution.

Fifty years ago no occupations were open to women except cooking, sewing, teaching, and factory work. Very few women were sufficiently educated to teach, but those who could do so received from $4 to $8 a month and "boarded round," while men, for exactly the same service, received $30 a month and board. Every woman must marry, either with or without love, for the sake of support, or be doomed to a life of utter dependence, living, after the death of parents, in the home of a married brother or sister, the druge and burden-bearer of the family, without any financial recompense, and usually looked upon with disrespect by the children. Women might work like galley slaves for their own relatives, receiving only their board and clothes, and hold their social position in the community; but the moment they stepped outside of the home and became wage-earners, thus securing pecuniary independence, they lost caste and were rigidly barred out from the quilting bees, the apple-parings, and all the society functions of the neighborhood. Is it any wonder that a sour and crabbed disposition was universally ascribed to spinsterhood, or that those women should be regarded as most unfortunate, doomed to a loveless, aimless, and dependent existence, — universally considered as having made a failure of life?

Scarcely less under the ban was the woman who dared venture into the field of literature. No pen can depict the scorn and derision that expressed themselves in that word "bluestocking." The literary woman placed herself forever beyond the pale of marriage, for no man would be brave enough to take for a wife a creature who had thus unsexed herself. If she could write, it followed without question that she could not cook, sew, manage a house, or bring up children, and her name in such connection suggested at once an appalling scene of

disorder and discomfort. This belief prevailed, to a great extent, in regard to a woman who attempted any vocation outside of domestic service, that by so doing she became at once and forever unfitted for the duties of wife and mother. Of all the old prejudices that cling to the hem of the woman's garments and persistently impede her progress, none holds faster than this. The idea that she owes service to man instead of to herself, and that it is her highest duty to aid his development rather than her own, will be the last to die.

In that day not even woman herself had so much as a dream of entering the professions of law, medicine, and theology. When the genius of Harriet Hosmer impelled her to take up sculpture, she travelled from one end of the country to the other begging for an opportunity to make the necessary study of anatony. When Elizabeth Blackwell determined to consecrate her life to medicine, not one of the standard medical colleges would admit her as a student, and society ostracized her. After Antoinette Brown had graduated with high honors from Oberlin College, even that institution placed every possible obstacle in the way of her entrance into the Theological Department, and one of the faculty said: "If there were any by-law, Miss Brown, by which you could be shut out, you would not be admitted."

As for the profession of law, nobody lived in those times who had even a vision of a day when woman would enter that domain which seemed so sacredly the exclusive possession of man. Politics seemed a great deal farther away than paradise, and the most radical reformer had not the prophetic eye which could discern the woman politician.

Such was the helpless, dependent, fettered condition of woman when the first Woman's Rights Convention was called just forty-nine years ago, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. Half a century before this, Mary Wollstonecraft had written her "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," that matchless plea for the equality of the sexes. A quarter of a century before, Frances Wright, in connection with addresses upon other subjects, demanded equal rights for women. In 1835, Ernestine L. Rose and Paulina Wright Davis circulated the first petition for property rights for women, and during the next ten years Mrs. Rose addressed the New York Legislature a number of times asking political equality. Mrs. Stanton also had circulated petitions and addressed the Legislature during this period. In 1847, Lucy Stone, on her return from Oberlin College, made her first woman's rights address in her brother's church in Gardner, Mass.

While there had been individual demands, from time to time, the first organized body to formulate a declaration of the rights of women was the one which met at Seneca Falls, July 19–20, 1848, and adjourned

to meet at Rochester two weeks later. In the Declaration of Sentiments and the Resolutions there framed, every point was covered that, down to the present day, has been contended for by the advocates of equal rights for women. Every inequality of the existing laws and customs was carefully considered and a thorough and complete readjustment demanded. The only resolution that was not unanimously adopted was the one urging the elective franchise for women. Those who opposed it did so only because they feared it would make the movement ridiculous. But Mrs. Stanton and Frederick Douglass, seeing that the power to make laws and choose rulers was the right by which all others could be secured, persistently advocated the resolution and at last carried it by a good majority.

The proceedings of this convention were ridiculed by the press and denounced by the pulpit from one end of the country to the other. Its demands were considered the most absurd and preposterous that could be made, and so severe was the storm which raged that many who had signed the Declaration made haste to withdraw their names. Now, at the end of half a century, we find that, with few exceptions, all of the demands formulated at this convention have been granted. The great exception is the yielding of political rights, and toward this one point are directed now all the batteries of scorn, of ridicule, of denunciation that formerly poured their fire all along the line. Although not one of the predicted calamities occurred upon the granting of the other demands, the world is asked to believe that all of them will happen if this last stronghold is surrendered.

There is not space to follow the history of the last fifty years and study the methods by which these victories have been gained, but there is not one foot of advanced ground upon which women stand to-day that has not been obtained through the hard-fought battles of other women. The close of this nineteenth century finds every trade, vocation, and profession open to women, and every opportunity at their command for preparing themselves to follow these occupations. The girls as well as the boys of a family now fit themselves for such careers as their tastes and abilities permit. A vast amount of the household drudgery, that once monopolized the whole time and strength of the mother and daughters, has been taken outside and turned over to machinery in vast establishments. A money value is placed upon the labor of women. The ban of social ostracism has been largely removed from the woman wage-earner. She who can make for herself a place of distinction in any line of work receives commendation instead of condemnation. Woman is no longer compelled to marry for support, but may herself make her own home and earn her own financial independence.

With but few exceptions, the highest institutions of learning in the land are as freely opened to girls as to boys, and they may receive their degrees at legal, medical, and theological colleges, and practise their professions without hindrance. In the world of literature and art women divide the honors with men; and our civil-service rules have secured for them many thousands of remunerative positions under the Government.

It is especially worthy of note that along with this general advancement of women has come a marked improvement in household methods. Woman's increased intelligence manifests itself in this department as conspicuously as in any other. Education, culture, mental discipline, business training develop far more capable mothers and housewives than were possible under the old régime. Men of the present generation give especial thought to comradeship in the selection of a wife, and she is no less desirable in their eyes because she is a college graduate or has learned the value and the management of money through having earned it.

There has been a radical revolution in the legal status of woman. In most States the old common law has been annulled by legislative enactment, through which partial justice, at least, has been done to married women. In nearly every State they may retain and control property owned at marriage and all they may receive by gift or inheritance thereafter, and also their earnings outside the home. They may sue and be sued, testify in the courts, and carry on business in their own name, but in no State have wives any ownership in the joint earnings. In six or seven States mothers have equal guardianship of the children. While in most States the divorce laws are the same for men and women, they never can bear equally upon both while all the property earned during marriage belongs wholly to the husband. There has been such a modification in public sentiment, however, that, in most cases, courts and juries show a marked leniency toward women.

The department of politics has been slowest to give admission to women. Suffrage is the pivotal right, and if it could have been secured at the beginning, women would not have been half a century in gaining the privileges enumerated above, for privileges they must be called so long as others may either give or take them away. If women could make the laws or elect those who make them, they would be in the position of sovereigns instead of subjects. Were they the political peers of man they could command instead of having to beg, petition, and pray. Can it be possible it is for this reason that men have been so determined in their opposition to grant to women political power?

But even this stronghold is beginning to yield to the long and

steady pressure. In twenty-five States women possess suffrage in school matters; in four States they have a limited suffrage in local affairs; in one State they have municipal suffrage; in four States they have full suffrage, local, State, and national. Women are becoming more and more interested in political questions and public affairs. Every campaign sees greater numbers in attendance at the meetings, and able woman speakers are now found upon the platforms of all parties. Especial efforts are made by politicians to obtain the support of women, and during the last campaign one of the Presidential candidates held special meetings for women in the large cities throughout the country. Some of the finest political writing in the great newspapers of the day is done by women, and the papers are extensively read by women of all classes. In many of the large cities women have formed civic clubs and are exercising a distinctive influence in municipal matters. In most of the States of the Union women are eligible for many offices, State and County Superintendents, Registers of Deeds, etc. They are Deputies to State, County, and City officials, notaries public, State Librarians, and enrolling and engrossing clerks in the Legislatures.

It follows, as a natural result, that in the States where women vote they are eligible to all offices. They have been sent as delegates to National Conventions, made Presidential electors, and are sitting to-day as members in both the Upper and Lower Houses of the Legislatures. In some towns all the offices are filled by women. These radical changes have been effected without any social upheaval or domestic earthquakes, family relations have suffered no disastrous changes, and the men of the States where women vote furnish the strongest testimony in favor of woman suffrage.

There is no more striking illustration of the progress that has been made by woman that that afforded by her changed position in the Church. Under the old régime the Quakers were the only sect who recognized the equality of women. Other denominations enforced the command of St. Paul, that women should keep silence in the churches. A few allowed the women to lift up their voices in class and prayer meetings, but they had no vote in matters of church government. Even the missionary and charity work was in the hands of men.

Now the Unitarians, Universalists, Congregationalists, Wesleyan and Protestant Methodists, Christians, Free-Will Baptists, and possibly a few others ordain women as ministers, and many parishes, in all parts of the country, are presided over by women preachers. The charitable and missionary work of the churches is practically turned over to women, who raise and disburse immense sums of money. While many of the great denominations still refuse to ordain women,

to allow them a seat in their councils or a vote in matters of church government, yet women themselves are, in a large measure, responsible for this state of affairs. Forming, as they do, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the membership, raising the greater part of the funds and carrying on the active work of the church, when they unite their forces and assert their rights, the small minority of men, who have usurped the authority, will be obliged to yield to their just demands. The creeds of the churches will recognize woman's equality before God, as the codes of the States have acknowledged it before man and the law.

By far the larger part of the progressive movements just enumerated have taken place during the last twenty-five years, and the progress has been most rapid during the last half of this quarter of a century. With the advantages already obtained, with the great liberalizing of public sentiment, and with the actual proof that the results of enlarged opportunities for women have been for the betterment of society, the next decade ought to see the completion of the struggle for the equality of the sexes. The hardest of the battles have been fought, and, while there is still need for both generals and soldiers, the greatest necessity is for the body of women to take possession and hold the ground that has been gained. It is not sufficient that women should fill positions as well as men, they must give vastly better satisfaction in order to prove their claims. There is an urgent demand for women of the highest character and intelligence, because the whole sex will be judged by the few who come forward to assume these new duties.

While by the momentum already gained the reforms demanded would eventually come, women have learned the value of organization and united, systematic work in securing the best and speediest results. It is no longer necessary to make an effort for further educational facilities. The few universities which still close their doors to women will ultimately be compelled to open them by the exigencies of the situation. There are no longer any fences around the industrial field, although men will continue to have the best pickings in the pasture so long as women are disfranchised. There will be a gradual yielding of the laws in recognition of woman's improved position in all departments, but here also there never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect law-makers. In view of this indisputable fact, the advanced thinkers are agreed that the strongest efforts should be concentrated upon this point.

From that little convention at Seneca Falls, with a following of a handful of women scattered through half-a-dozen different States, we have now the great National Association, with headquarters in New York City, and auxiliaries in almost every State in the Union. These State bodies are effecting a thorough system of county and local organi-

zations for the purpose of securing legislation favorable to women, and especially to obtain amendments to their State Constitutions. As evidence of the progress of public opinion, more than half of the Legislatures in session, during the past winter, have discussed and voted upon bills for the enfranchisement of women, and in most of them they were adopted by one branch and lost by a very small majority in the other. The Legislatures of Washington and South Dakota have submitted woman-suffrage amendments to their electors for 1898, and vigorous campaigns will be made in those States during the next two years. For a quarter of a century Wyoming has stood as a conspicuous object-lesson in woman suffrage, and is now reinforced by the three neighboring States of Colorado, Utah, and Idaho. With this central group, standing on the very crest of the Rocky Mountains, the spirit of justice and freedom for women cannot fail to descend upon all the Western and Northwestern States. No one who makes a careful study of this question can help but believe that, in a very few years, all the States west of the Mississippi river will have enfranchised their women.

While the efforts of each State are concentrated upon its own Legislature, all of the States combined in the national organization are directing their energies toward securing a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The demands of this body have been received with respectful and encouraging attention from Congress. Hearings have been granted by the Committees of both Houses, resulting, in a number of instances, in favorable reports. Upon one occasion the question was brought to a discussion in the Senate, and received the affirmative vote of one-third of the members.

Until woman has obtained "that right protective of all other rights — the ballot," this agitation must still go on, absorbing the time and the energy of our best and strongest women. Who can measure the advantages that would result if the magnificent abilities of these women could be devoted to the needs of government, society, home, instead of being consumed in the struggle to obtain their birthright of individual freedom? Until this be gained we can never know, we cannot even prophesy, the capacity and power of woman for the uplifting of humanity. It may be delayed longer than we think, it may be here sooner than we expect, but the day will come when man will recognize woman as his peer, not only at the fireside, but in the councils of the nation. Then, and not until then, will there be the perfect comradeship, the ideal union between the sexes, that shall result in the highest development of the race. What this shall be we may not attempt to define, but this we know, that only good can come to the individual or to the nation through the rendering of exact justice.

dential circular was sent by English capitalists to influence our legislation, a portion of which I copy: "Slavery is likely to be abolished. * * * This we favor, for slavery is but the owning of labor, and carries with it care for the laborer. The European plan, led by England, is capital control of labor, by controlling wages. This can be done by controlling money.

"The great debt that capitalists will see to it is made out of the war, must be used as a measure to control the volume of money. To accomplish this, the bonds must be used as a banking basis. We are now waiting to get the secretary of the treasury to make his recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the greenback, as it is called, to circulate as money any length of time, for we cannot control that!!!"

The history of the greenback *alias* paper money, is an exceedingly interesting and instructive study in finance. Paper money can be valuable only when issued by a government strong and stable enough to make it a legal tender. Sir Archibald Alison tells us that "coin failed in Rome ages ago, that the senate issued paper currency which equipped the legions that gained the victories of Metaurus and Zama.

"In 1171 coin failed in the Republic of Venice. The government adopted a paper credit money which made Venice the centre of the world's commerce for six hundred years.

"In 1776 coin failed in this country, and our fathers adopted a paper currency which gave us our American liberties.

"In 1797 England paid out her last sixpence, and Parliament adopted a paper currency which Alison says 'saved England from becoming a province of France.'

"In 1813 coin failed in Europe, and England, Russia and Prussia issued a joint paper money which saved the continent from the power of Napoleon."

The Hon. John Davis, M. C., in closing an excellent article on "Honest and Dishonest Money," says: "Thus it appears, in view of all the facts, that paper and not coin, is the savior and developer of nations. It saves in time of danger and begets prosperity in time of peace." Sir Archibald Alison suggests that "a safe and honest money must be adequate and retainable. It must not be based on exportable coin, subject to the fluctuations of the world's commerce and the wild schemes of the gold gamblers. It must be issued by government and by government only."

From all this, and much more, it will not be difficult to understand why money-lenders antagonize greenbacks and other forms of government paper money, and leave untried no effort to retire them.

Near the close of the late war, President Lincoln wrote in reply to a friend: "Yes, we may all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war its nearing its close. * * * But I see in the near future a crisis approaching, which unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow. The money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working on the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my fears may be groundless!"

A mine in wealth of information on this whole subject of finance is easily accessible to all who desire it. A few small books contain it. One need not go to a university to study it. Unfortunately some of our universities, like many of our newspapers, seem to be influenced, not to say controlled, by the power which is enslaving us.

Current articles in the *Arena* are interesting and educational. In the November, '95 number, Senator Morgan's "Why the South Wants Free Silver," and in the March, '96, number, Senator Butler's on the same subject, make the need very clear. "The Bond and the Dollar" in the January, February and March, 1896, numbers give information which should startle every true patriot.

It is well known that England does not purpose to pay her national debt. Why? It is too good an investment for her moneyed class! Her laboring class toils faithfully and hopelessly to pay the interest.

Nevertheless, to pay one's debts is as wise for nations as individuals. As a first step in that direction, let us remonetize silver. Thus shall we rescue ourselves, our children and our children's children from the terrible bondage impending and which can be averted only by immediate and earnest action! For, while we sleep, our fetters, already forged, are being fastened, which shall make us, instead of a free people, a nation of slaves.

Whoever controls the money of a nation, controls its liberty and its destiny.

1896. SUSAN LOOK AVERY.

Money-Finance

A prize was once offered for the best definition of money. It was awarded to Henry E. Bagg of Sheffield, England, who said—"Money is a universal provider of everything but happiness—a universal passport to everywhere but Heaven."

Though this is strictly and literally true, it is neither a definition nor a description.

Money is *anything*—gold, silver, paper—any substance on which a government places its stamp and makes it a legal tender for debt.

It is a medium of exchange—a measure of values, and should never be used as an *object* of traffic or merchandise.

Few subjects are receiving more earnest consideration at the present time than our methods of finance; few studies are more interesting and instructive than its history, and none is more vital to our welfare, whether as individuals or as a nation.

All wealth comes primarily from the ground—is brought out of it by the labor and the toil of the farmer and the miner.

When, as now, and for a long time past, the farmer and the miner fail to receive a just share of the profit of their labor; when men, willing and anxious to work are idle, and a general blight has fallen on industry, we shall do well to study causes, and make an effort to apply a remedy.

Money is as necessary to the body politic, as blood is to the physical organism. Like that, it must be good and abundant, and it must flow freely and uniformly to all parts of the commercial system. Whatever differences may exist in theory with regard to the attributes of our monetary system, all agree in the cardinal principle that to be just in its operation it must be stable in its character. It must afford assurance to the buyer and the seller, the debtor and the creditor, the producer and the consumer, that no essential, sudden rise or fall in the value of money shall disturb their arrangements, to the end that they may buy, sell, contract and plan for the future on a safe basis.

The study of finance, so far as is necessary for a general, intelligent understanding of it, will not be found difficult if a few salient points be kept in mind.

First, the difference between money and commodities. The value of money is fixed by law, and the demand is unlimited; always and everywhere greater than the supply.

The value of commodities is not fixed by law, but fluctuates with supply and demand.

Gold and silver were both money and commodities—commodities when used for manufacture and for other purposes than money, but always commanding their value as money. Since the demonetization of silver in 1873 that has been a commodity only and subject to the fluctuations of supply and demand, like wheat, corn, etc.

Since money is the measure of values, a good illustration of the relation which exists between money and commodities is that which places money in one scale of a balance and commodities in the other. It will readily be seen that the more money we place in one side, the higher will commodities be raised in the other.

This illustrates and emphasizes the mistake of destroying one-half of our primary money by demonetizing silver.

Especial interest attaches to this point from the fact that in a time of profound peace with ourselves and all the world, our barns bursting with grains and our vaults with silver (as good "coin" as gold with which to pay our debts), we had incurred within two years before the last issue of bonds a debt of nearly $300,000,000 (exactly $287,093,880). A large part of this debt, by its conditions, cannot be paid for thirty years, should we wish to do so. We must therefore leave it a burden on our children, if not on our children's children.

That our long and general industrial and commercial stagnation is due to the destruction of silver as money is proven by observation and experience. It is verified also, by the literal fulfilment of conditions predicted by Senator (now Secretary) Carlisle. In a speech before the United States Senate he said: "I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever be so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce and industry.

"According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed, here and in Europe, to destroy by legislation and otherwise, from ~~three-fourths to~~ one-

half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences and famines that have occurred in the history of the world.

"The absolute and instantaneous destruction of one-half the movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads and all commercial appurtances, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must result from the permanent annihilation of one-half the metallic money of the world."

This speech will be found in the Congressional Record of January 15th, 1878.

In the same Record will be found Senator Vorhees' speech, in which he said: "In the entire catalogue of crimes against human society, not one can be found so awful in its consequences, both immediate and remote, as a government commits when it deliberately destroys the money of its citizens. Wherever, in all the regions of time, such measures have been accomplished, the horrors of history have taken place."

Could Senators Carlisle and Vorhees have proven truer prophets?

Current events all over our country verify their predictions with terrible and tragic force.

The history of our monetary laws is interesting, and ought to be instructive now, when financial calamity is imminent, if, haply wisdom may be learned from experience and impending danger averted.

During our first few years as a free and independent nation we continued to use the English method of reckoning in pounds, shillings and pence. In 1792, after long and careful consideration and debate, our decimal system was planned and the laws governing it were formulated.

Gold and silver were made our money metals, with copper or its equivalent, for smallest coins. Both were to be received at our mints and coined on equal terms—fifteen ounces of silver the equivalent of one of gold, both to be legal tender for all debts, the debtor to have the option of paying in silver, or gold, or both.

While both coins were equally the measure of values, it was necessary to make one the money unit, and measure the other by it to avoid the double yardstick, bushel and other measures. After earnest consideration and discussion, the silver dollar was made the unit of money. In 1834, when it became desirable to change the ratio from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1, no change was made in silver coins—twelve grains of gold were taken from each "eagle"—i. e., a little more than a grain was taken from each gold dollar.

As a matter of fact, few gold dollars have ever been coined—the danger of passing them for dimes or half dimes, due to their size and color, especially at night, when yellow and white are so nearly indistinguishable, has prevented.

From the beginning of our government till 1873; indeed from 1687 to 1873, nearly two hundred years, the free coinage of gold and silver maintained their commercial parity, with never a variation of more than three per cent. and that caused by the different ratios fixed by different governments, and the cost of the exchange.

In 1873 when silver was worth three per cent. more than gold, it was "demonetized." From that day to this we have been reaping the fruit of the infamous iniquity—the conspiracy, as Mr. Carlisle justly characterized it—in poverty, sorrow and desolation for the money producers; riches, luxury, power and enjoyment for money lenders and their coadjutors!

From the day that silver was degraded it began to depreciate in value, or, rather, gold began to appreciate; till quite recently thirty-four ounces of silver was the equivalent of one of gold, and now and for many months 32 to 1 is the accepted ratio.

We hear much of "sound money," "honest money," which ought to mean "stable" money, of uniform value, instead of which mercury itself is not more sensitive to change in temperature than is gold in its fluctuations since its acting "balance wheel" of silver is removed! A gold dollar is not an "honest" dollar when two must be paid for the one borrowed!

With both coined, as before 1873, "a fifty cent silver dollar" would be as impossible as a fifty cent gold dollar!

We are frequently and gravely told that "silver is not demonetized; that more is in use than ever before." Then why not use it as of old to cancel our obligations? Why create enormous debts? Why mortgage ourselves and generations to come in a vain effort to free ourselves and them from bondage?

The question naturally arises: Why was silver demonetized? "Thereby hangs a tale!"

Many years ago England made observation of herself. She saw that she was a small country. She could not raise her bread. She could manufacture, but much of the raw material for that she must import. She saw no way by which she could gain her much coveted supremacy of the world, except by finance. Thereupon she devised and executed plans, which, whatever their effect on other nations, have proven eminently successful to herself! She first demonetized her silver and then bought every ounce of gold that she could find for sale, after which in a quiet way she persuaded other people to demonetize their silver and buy her gold!

Precisely when this occurred, the tale does not unfold. It is well known however, that England demonetized her silver in 1816. It is known also that in 1844 she passed a law obliging the Bank of England to buy every ounce of gold offered her at £3-s17-d9 per ounce. That is her law to-day.

Why England demonetized silver the foregoing narrative makes clear. *How* she accomplished it was told by the Hon. Alexander Del Mar, a delegate to the bi-metallic convention which met in Memphis in June last. Mr. Del Mar was a member of the monetary commission appointed by Congress in 1876 and spoke from knowledge. He said:

"That commission reported that the acts of 1873 were passed, one of them surreptitiously and the others on fake or erroneous assurances. This has since been vehemently denied. I am going to show you not only that the commission was right, but that these acts were the issue of European intrigue and precedent. The act of 1815 demonetizing silver in England contained a clause permitting its re-instatement by the King. In 1871 that clause was *surreptitiously* repealed, and the act in which it was repealed was within two weeks in the hands of Mr. Knox, the comptroller of the United States treasury! That act was in part the basis of the act of demonetization in this country."

In the *Bankers Magazine* of 1873 is the following: "In 1872 silver being demonetized in England, France and Holland, a capital of $500,000 was raised, and Ernest Seyd of London was sent to this country as agent of the foreign bond holders and capitalists to effect the demonetization of silver here, which was accomplished."

In the *Congressional Globe* of April 9th, 1872, we read: "Ernest Seyd of London, a distinguished writer and bullionist, who is now here, has given much atttention to the subject of mint and coinage. After having examined the first draft of this bill for demonetizing silver, he made various sensible suggestions, which the committee adopted and embodied in the bill!"

A writer says: "Evidence is not wanting that the original draft of the demonetizing bill was in Ernest Seyd's handwriting," and adds: "God of our Fathers! A British capitalist sent here to make laws for the American people! England failed to subjugate us by the *bullet*, but she stole into our Congressional halls, and by the crafty use of gold, obtained possession of the *ballot*, and today American industry pays tribute to England, despite our blood-bought seal of Independence!"

Since the day that Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, crafty men have taken advantage of their less careful brothers. From the days of Esau to the present, two classes of people have lived in the world—the one by *honest labor*, the other a parasite, sucking its life-blood!"

It is well for people and nations to take an occasional retrospective survey of the way by which they have come, to study the history which they and others have made. Thus only can they learn and profit by experience and observation.

Let *us* look back a few years. At the beginning of our Civil war, our national treasury was empty. Appleton's Cyclopœdia for 1861 tells us, page 296, that "the money Kings of Wall street were patriotic and generous enough to tender loans to the Government in her distress, at from 24 to 36 per cent!"

It has been said by financiers as apology for the money-lenders, that "the interest asked was reasonable, because of the doubt whether the Government could survive!" Have money-lenders, then, no patriotic duty? Must money be protected and its highest value assured, while *life* is endangered? Verily, the influence of money lending is degrading!

President Lincoln said, "We cannot afford to pay that interest. Government will act on its Constitutional right and make its money." $60,000,000 were immediately made, bearing no interest and legal tender for all debts public and private. This was the first issue of greenbacks, the best money we have ever had, "to which the millionaire took off his hat, and the banker made obeisance." The issue of these notes alarmed the money-lenders. In four days a delegation of ten reached Washington! Whatever the influence brought to bear on the President and his Cabinet, no money was afterward issued without an "*exception clause*," President Lincoln said, "I cannot fight two wars at once—rebels in the field and money-lenders at home." That exception clause is one of the seven conspiracies which have enslaved the American people.

At about this time, in the dark days of 1862, a *confi-*

[June 4, 1887]

A. A. W.

THE FIFTEENTH WOMEN'S CONGRESS.

Of this annual meeting held in New York on the 26th, 27th and 28th of October, the *Tribune* of the 28th reports, under heading of "*Women who Talk and Think*":

The first public meeting of the Fifteenth Annual Congress of the Association for the Advancement of Women was held Wednesday afternoon in Masonic Hall. Portraits of Mrs. Croly, Mrs. Thomas and Mrs. Wilbour, former presidents of Sorosis, were hung about the room, and an oil-painting of Alice Cary, the first president of that organization, was prominently displayed on the platform. Four or five hundred women burst into hearty applause when the distinguished president, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, called the meeting to order and began her address of welcome. "Women are as much bound," said Mrs. Howe, "to cultivate public spirit as they are to foster domestic duties. The heart of woman is needed to send its warm pulsations through the body politic." She then gave an account of the work of the association, its aims, its progress and its history.

"The Responsibility of Women for the Tone of Public Sentiment" was the title of the first paper, contributed by Miss Laura B. Clay, daughter of Cassius M. Clay, and read by the President of Sorosis, Mrs. M. Louise Thomas. The paper pointed out the disadvantages of "inferior education, dependence, poverty and political disability" under which women were laboring, and showed that the remedy lay in the education of popular sentiment to the belief that the true liberty of woman consisted in her emancipation from "dependence upon others for the means of subsistence." The theme was further discussed by the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, of Elizabeth, N. J., who declared that "the hearts and thoughts of women remold society in a decade." Mrs. Rebecca N. Hazard of St. Louis contributed a brilliant paper on "Home Studies for Women," which was read by Dr. Julia Holmes Smith of Chicago. It was a criticism of the old education for women as compared with the new system of "Home Clubs" for the pursuit of all sorts of knowledge. The paper was ably discussed by Mrs. Howe, Miss Mary F. Eastman and Mrs. Henrietta L. T. Wolcott, of Boston.

A RECEPTION BY SOROSIS.

At this point the Association adjourned to attend the reception tendered by Sorosis at Delmonico's, from five to eight o'clock. About one hundred and fifty women and a few men were present. Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, President of Sorosis, delivered the address of welcome, and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe responded in behalf of the Association.

In the evening the members met again to listen to two papers—one on "Women in Relation to Labor," by Miss May Rogers of Dubuque, Iowa, and one on "Scientific Charity," by Mrs. Frances Fisher Wood. Miss Rogers's paper was an intelligent discussion of woman's sphere in the great labor question. Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney and Miss Eastman discussed the paper with considerable vigor and humor. Mrs. Wood's paper was a plea for a system by which the evils of indiscriminate charity might be eliminated. Among those present yesterday were Mrs. Annie J. Miller, Ella Dietz Clymer, Ednah D. Cheney, Mary C. Peckham, Mrs. Emma C. Bascom, Miss Ella C. Lapham, the Rev. Ada C. Bowles, Harriet A. Townsend, Mrs. J. C. Croly, "Jennie June," Mrs. Lita B. Sayles and Mrs. Mary A. Newton.

ENCOURAGING REPORTS SUBMITTED.

The second day's session began with an executive meeting of the Board of Directors. Mrs. Howe presided. Mrs. H. L. T. Wolcott, as Chairman of the Committee on Science, submitted an encouraging report, which was supplemented by further reports on "Journalism," by Miss Lilian Whiting, of the Boston *Traveller*; "Education," by Miss Mary F. Eastman, of Massachusetts; on "Reforms and Statistics," by Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, of New Jersey; on "Industrial Education," by Dr. Anna D. French, of New York City; on "Art," by Mrs. Howe; and on "Publication," by Mrs. Sayles, of Connecticut. Reports from Vice-Presidents of States, of which twenty-six are represented, were also presented. The membership of the Association was reported to be rapidly increasing, and already about one hundred and fifty new members have been added.

In the afternoon the Congress met in public session in the large auditorium. The attendance was much larger than on the first day, and during the afternoon the aisles were lined with many interested listeners. Mrs. Howe presided, and Prof. Maria Mitchell, of Vassar College, the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, and Mrs. Thomas, the President of Sorosis, occupied seats on the platform. The exercises opened with a poem by Mrs. Rebecca A. Hathaway ("Grace Appleby") representing the cause of the women, advancing to the tune of "John Brown." The first paper was contributed by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, of Lansingburg, who is sufficiently able, when occasion requires, to fill the pulpit of her husband, the Rev. William H. Spencer. It was a strong plea for the "need of intellectual sympathy among women" on all points of belief, character and morals.

In speaking of "the immense value of women's spiritual suffrage" she said: "The downfall of sectarian spirit in the Christian religion will be due to the entrance of women into the ministry."

The subject was ably discussed by the President and Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, of Chicago, both of whom advocated "unity of spirit, and sympathy in every direction." The session closed with a discussion of "The Responsibility of the States to their Dependent Children," by Mrs. Mary E. Cobb, of Germantown, who for several years has been an active worker in the cause of prison reform and industrial education. The paper was a practical treatment of the relations which the State shall hold with the orphans, the children in reformatory schools, and other public wards. The theme was further discussed by Mrs. Frances E. Harper, of Philadelphia, a colored woman, who has been a conspicuous worker for the education of the freedmen.

The papers read at the evening session were "Thought, Hope and Consolation from Browning," by Mrs. Mary E. Bagg, and "Egyptian Women," by Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour, of Paris. Both papers were carefully discussed.

The Sun of the 29th continues the report, and prints the election of officers for the ensuing year, as follows:

"Men, unaccompanied by women, were very rare at the Congress of the Association for the Advancement of Women yesterday. There were just as many women in attendance, though, as on the day before. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe was named for President against her protest.

The Association, however, would have nobody but Mrs. Howe, and elected her by acclamation. Miss Ella C. Lapham also withdrew, and Miss Letchworth of Buffalo was elected as Secretary. Mrs. Henrietta L. T. Wolcott was reëlected Treasurer, and Mrs. Sophia C. Hoffman and Miss Sarah J. Eddy of Rhode Island were elected Auditors. New Vice Presidents are Mary C. Peckham, Rhode Island; M. Louise Thomas, Tacony, Pa.; Elizabeth T. Graham, Maryland; Jane M. Lander, Washington; Susan H. Avery, Kentucky; and Caroline M. Brown, Illinois. The new directors are Romelia L. Clapp, New York; Harriet A. Townsend, New York; Caroline A. Kennard, Massachusetts; Susan Woodman, New Hampshire; Helen Campbell, New Jersey; Dr. Ella V. Mark, Maryland; Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Illinois; the Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Iowa; Dr. Laura R. Wolcott, Wisconsin; and Dr. Alice McGillvary, Canada.

The first paper of the day was by Mrs. May Wright Sewall, the head of a young ladies' school at Indianapolis and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. Her subject was "Women as Educators." "Men closed their monopoly as educators," she said, "in 1879. Since then women had so run them from the field that the last census showed 170,000 women teachers in this country against 73,000 men. The first change woman has made has been in school discipline. Though she may be lacking in force, she has substituted gentleness and love. Schools are no longer dreaded places of chastisement."

Mrs. Sewall complained that women themselves believe in woman's inferiority, but if they would accomplish anything they must realize their own generous gifts and aid, without jealousy, all progressive women. For her preëminence as an educator, if for nothing else, women should be enfranchised. "I believe a great danger," she said, "exists in confiding education to a disfranchised class."

Miss Mary F. Eastman read a paper from Mrs. Mary E. Wing of Nebraska, on "The Development and Growth of Art in the West."

From 5 to 8 o'clock the Association was entertained at the home of Mrs. William Jennings Demorest, at 21 E. Fifty-seventh street.

The evening session was called to order by Vice-President Mary C. Peckham. The first paper was by Mrs. Ellen M. Mitchell of Colorado, on the subject, "The Freedom of Fate." It was read by Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney. Mrs. Howe read the final paper "On Aristophanes."

Mrs. Mitchell, as well as Mrs. Cheney of Boston, and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, are by common consent named as three of the prominent Concord Philosophers, as they always take an active part in that School during its summer sessions. Mrs. Howe's paper on Aristophanes, was very humorous and interesting, and elicited much applause.

The Press of New York were very courteous, and gave fair and correct reports: the most extended ones being found in the *Tribune* and *Sun*.

At a Conference held at the house of Mrs. Mary A. Newton, Chairman of Local Committee, on Saturday morning, the following Committees for the work of '87-'88 were elected by the new Board:

On Topics and Papers: Mrs. Mary C. Peckham, Rhode Island, Chairman; Mrs. Brown, Wells, Lapham, Fisher, Wood, members.

On Science: Prof. Maria Mitchell, of Vassar College, Chairman, with power to fill her Committee.

On Reforms and Statistics: Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, of New Jersey, Chairman; Mrs. Wendell, Browning, Mosher, M. D., and Trout, M. D., members.

On Education: Miss Mary F. Eastman, Massachusetts, Chairman; Mrs. Hamilton-Durley, Mrs. Mitchell of Colorado; Mrs. Sewall, and Mrs. Garlin-Spencer, members.

On Industrial Education: Dr. Anna D. French of New York City, Chairman; Miss Varnum of Florida; Mrs. Cobb, Pa., Mrs. Townsend of Buffalo; Dr. Cleaves of Iowa; Mrs. Harper, Pa., and Mrs. Wakeman of Illinois, as members.

On Art: Mrs. Mary E. Bagg of Syracuse, Chairman; Mrs. Wing, Adsit, Hallowell, Williams, and Miss Eddy, members.

On Journalism: Miss Lilian Whiting of Boston, Chairman; Mrs. Mary A. Bundy of Chicago; Miss Giles of Wisconsin; Mrs. Loughborough, of Arkansas; Mrs. Allen of Buffalo, and Miss May Rogers of Iowa, members.

On Publication: Mrs. Sayles and Mrs. Wolcott.

Mrs. Lita Barney Sayles, of Killingly, Conn., is *Custodian*, to whom all requests for books should be addressed.

The Congress was received with much enthusiasm, and will doubtless be the means of good. It was invited and entertained by Sorosis, the Women's Club of New York City, who also issued the complimentary and beautiful *souvenir* of the Congress, which the members have received.

LITA BARNEY SAYLES,
Chairman of Publication.

in woman is also sin in man. They must be made to understand that what women need from men is candor, not compliments—fairness, not favor; that justice is better than chivalry; that independence is a stronger safeguard for honor than any man's protection; and that equality is the only plane on which men and women can stand pure and strong.

The statistics of intemperance are no less appalling than are those of immorality. Archbishop Ireland (than whom there can be no better authority on either subject), says: "One thousand millions of dollars are annually spent in these United States in the direct traffic in intoxicating liquors, and the indirect waste is much greater."

This malign influence dominates legislation, state and national. A manufacturer of liquor said to Mrs. Zereldar G. Wallace: "I agree with you perfectly in the right, justice and wisdom of full political equality for women—but I shall vote against it to the bitter end, for it would be the death-knell of my business!" An organ of the Liquor Dealers' Association, in instructing its agents says:

"License, high or low, is immaterial—we sell as much under one as the other—but set your foot on woman suffrage, always and everywhere—for when that comes our occupation goes!"

Immorality and intemperance have grown under laws made by men alone—some of them in the direct interest of vice. For example in Kentucky a child may aquiesce in her personal ruin nine years before she can legally control one dollar of her property. In Delaware seven years is what is known as the "Age of Consent." Only Wyoming and Kansas have raised that age to eighteen years. In New York efforts to raise the age to sixteen years were strongly opposed and they had scarcely proven successful, when wily attempts to appeal the law were discovered and frustrated.

Whatever has been gained in this direction in any state is due to the importunate, persistent efforts of women.

The cardinal doctrine of those who are dissatisfied with present social and political conditions, is that whatever is wrong, will be made right, when the enlightened conscience of man and woman is free to act together. A woman's sphere is that in which she can do the best and highest work for herself and humanity.

A man's sphere is that in which he can do the best and highest work for himself and for humanity. Their orbits may not be the same, but they will move and act in perfect harmony.

I repeat therefore, without qualification—moral sanitation must come through the social and political elevation of women! And the air is everywhere full of the sound of its coming! No one thing was more gratifying to those who believe in the need of woman's political freedom and influence, than the unanimity on this subject expressed by the World's Representative Women at their recent congress in Chicago. They were woman suffragists for the most logical and philosophic of reasons—they were representative, because of their interest in, and efforts for, others and in their work, whether industrial, educational or moral, they had found their limitation without the ballot, an insurmountable barrier.

Mrs. Lucy Stone said at one of the meetings of the congress, what others had before observed: "It seems to matter little what is the subject of any paper, or discussion, as 'all roads lead to Rome,' so all subjects lead to, and end in, woman suffrage."

Professor Swing says: "Woman has entered on a mission from which she cannot be recalled. No one on earth knows what robe, or head-dress the woman of the future will wear, but we know that she will be splendid in her education, and beneficent and mighty in her moral power."

Woman cannot be recalled! Nor can she retreat—for the Spirit of God which first inspired, still impels her. She is in His hand as clay is in the hand of the potter! Woe be to her if she do not work with God in the fulfillment of his purposes!

When in the evolution of events, men and women shall be equal in the home, in council and in government—when both fulfilling God's intention, shall realize their highest possibilities, then will be born a race such as the world has not seen—the children of which shall grow in spiritual grace as they grow in stature. Then "shall righteousness exalt the nation" and none shall say "Know the Lord," for all shall know him from the least even unto the greatest.

SUSAN LOOK AVERY.

Moral Sanitation

Written for the Louisville Woman's Club and read before it January 3, 1898

When God in His wisdom made man, he gave him a dual nature, each necessary to the other, and both to the perfect man and woman—one physical, animal, of the earth, earthy—the other moral, spiritual—knowing good and evil—little lower than the angels.

Physical laws, perfectly adjusted to the needs of mankind have been discovered by long study, and even now are little understood except by students.

Not so the moral law. That was written in the heart and graven on the conscience of mankind. It was given also amid thunderings and lightnings from Sinai, with the imperious command, "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not." Must we not infer that God will hold us as much more strenuously to the observance of the moral than of the physical law—that the penalty for its violation will be as much greater, as the method of giving it was more emphatic and sublime?

In the beginning God gave man dominion over the animal creation—from which we learn by anology that He intended man's higher, or moral nature should dominate his lower, or physical being. That it does not—that his lower nature often takes and holds captive his higher, we have abundant evidence. In consequence of this perversion of God's law, the world is full of sorrow and suffering—vice and crime are everywhere wanton, and moral and physical wretchedness prevail.

The prevention of this vice, crime and suffering—the healing of this sorrow and the cleansing of this condition—of moral and physical wretchedness is, as I conceive, MORAL SANITATION.

Let us come reverently to this grave subject, which concerns us and those who shall come after us, more vitally than can any other. Let us also thank God and take courage, that women, through whom sanitation must come, if it come at all, are thinking and speaking on this subject as never before; with an earnestness born of conviction of responsibility, and fervent desire to meet it.

When God said to the serpent (the emblem of all evil) "I will put enmity between thee and the woman and between thy seed and her seed," he made woman the natural enemy of wickedness, as she has been in all ages and in all lands the leader in effort to ameliorate the suffering which it has entailed.

The sanitation which we need must come from women; from the mothers of to-day and those who may be the mothers of tomorrow; and since "a fountain cannot rise higher than its source" our first duty is to see that education be not wanting to place the source on the highest level. Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, president of the Chicago Women's Club, says: "The childhood of this generation is crying out, "educate our mothers!" We have learned in the study of heredity, that any class of influences will in time develop a certain trait of character. This is a blessed assurance to us that if we are diligent in setting in motion good influences we may outstrip the evil and bridge over the dangerous places. As a rule, as the child is, so will be the man, or woman. Cannot the mother heart be impressed with the fact, that it is easier to form character aright, than to reform it?

When, then and how, shall the mother begin to form the character of her child? I answer without hesitation; by determining that it shall be well born—that it shall not enter life handicapped as it were, by prenatal tendency to evil. A wise and witty man has said: "To be well born, one must go back a hundred years and choose and educate one's ancestors!"

Regarding this point of prenatal influence as of vital importance, though seldom even mentioned, I quote some of the utterances at the International Council of Women held in Washington in 1888. That meeting was a revelation and an inspiration to many men and women, and, as I believe, made possible the recent World's Congress of Representative Women.

On Social Purity Day—that on which women only were admitted, Mrs. Clara C. Hoffman said: "Some savant has declared that whatever we would have appear in the national life, we must first have taught in the schools, that it may become part and par-

cel of the coming citizen in the formative period of his life.''

''The home teaching precedes the school and parents teach not only by precept and example, but by that subtle transmission of influence, which stamps the first germ of life. Few parents, even among the cultured and Christian, are wise enough to regard a woman during the period of gestation, as set apart for a holy purpose —nor are they chaste enough to resolve that no breath of passion shall touch and sully the temple consecrated to that profound and sacred mystery, the generation and development of a new life. Everywhere in nature we see God's beneficent law of procreation. The beasts of the field and the birds of the air obey it —the results of instinct are higher and better than reason, when reason is ruled by passion. Until man and woman consorting to found a home—to bring to that home the sweetness and beauty and grace and blessedness of childhood, shall learn a wise, a humane and a Christian self-restraint, we shall make little progress in moral purity.

The legal institution of marriage was based on the idea that woman's office in the social economy is chiefly to perpetuate the race. Laws made by man have placed the control of the wife in her husband's discretion, like any other property.

Church and State have combined to deprive womanhood of its sanctity in wifehood, and to rob the mother of her natural right of choice in the matter. All remedies will be partial and disappointing till women stand everywhere on perfect equality with men—till the laws, the church and society recognize marriage as an equal partnership.''

Dr. Caroline B. Winslow said: ''The future of our race is in your keeping, O Woman! You hold the power to cast each new life in angelic mold—beginning its education and discipline while you have complete control of its existence—endowing it with physical, mental and moral strength—thus preparing it to be well born.''

Rev. William C. Gannett says: ''We are born with more influence already organized within us than we probably receive in all the three score and ten years of our lives. On parents of to-day this thought is rising and broadening as never before. Old Faiths, science, dimly hinted it in what they called ''Original Sin''—''Instinct,'' ''Intuition''—but to-day we stand awed before the vision that our children hold in body and in mind the unremembered past of old generations! Here is where evolution touches life in every home. What we inevitably and unconsciously receive, we as inevitably and unconsciously transmit.

It is predisposition that we inlay in those who call us father and mother—the great controlling impulses of character and life that we without any will in the matter bequeath to those who, without any will in the matter receive the bequest. As we learn to trace the omnipotence and omnipresence of law through all our lives, we realize that birth is as awing as death—and begin to know what it means to have a little child.''

Not less important is the training of a child after its independent existence begins. ''As the twig is bent the tree's inclined'' is as true of animal as of vegetable growth. During its early years the child is little more than an animal—it is governed by impulse, and is exuberant in the joy of living. Through all these years, the wise mother is on guard. She gives the little questioner its first lessons in physiology—explains the beauty and perfectness and uses of this habitation of the soul. She sees that no lesson shall be taught by vulgar, or irreverent lips.

Here let me commend to those who have not already seen it ''The Song of Life''—a little book by Margaret Warner Morley. The story is drawn from flowers, fishes, birds and animals, and is most felicitiously told.

So deeply am I impressed with the value of kindergarten teaching in opening the ears, the eyes and the hearts of children to spiritual influences and truths, that I am inclined to echo the hope of a distinguished educator, that the time may soon come when no woman will become a wife, till she shall have taken a course of kindergarten training.

We must forego talking to young children about ''sweethearts''—and give up the cruel habit of bantering older children about love, courtship and marriage. Dr. Mary Allen Wood says: ''The sensitive boy and girl suffer incalculably in their feelings from thoughtless badinage, besides being under painful constraint when meeting in the family circle—the very place where they should meet in true and natural association. With such, clandestine meetings in street and park, or elsewhere, may be among the evil results—while others grow hardened, and infer that the whole subject is the principal burlesque of life.''

If we spoke of marriage only in the dignified and sacred manner which belongs to it young people would respect it and be influenced in their thoughts and conversation about it. Then there would be fewer of the class known as ''Summer Girls,'' who enter into engagements for the familiarity which they afford.

We should encourage young people to be frank comrades, without a thought of sentimental relations, till their hearts tell them what true love is.

Not only should lessons of moral purity be inculcated, but the cardinal virtues of truthfulness, honesty and integrity must be woven in the very fiber of the natures of our children. The minor virtues of industry and economy must not be omitted, and a firm belief must be instilled in the essential dignity of labor and in the wisdom of becoming skillful in the performance of it. Thus only can our sons and daughters be prepared to meet with equanimity, dignity and grace the vicissitudes of life which may come.

The supreme need of our day is not wealth, intellect, education or opportunity—but incorruptible integrity.

I have spoken of moral education and sanitation within the marriage relation only. Words fail, adequately to express the need for purification outside of marriage! Only those who have made a study of prostitution and intemperance—twin evils and faithful allies which go hand in hand—can imagine the depth of degradation to which humanity has fallen. The revelations of the census are appalling! New York City is not wicked above all other cities—I name it only because its statistics are before me—New York City has between forty and fifty thousand professionally immoral women, patronized by five times that number of immoral men! What heart-aches and heart-breaks that statement implies! Few of those women have gone deliberately—voluntarily to such life—multitudes have been the victims of designing villians, whose sin, life-long repentance could not expiate!

A recent discussion of the Social Evil in the Chicago Sunset Club, was led by a physician. He would have cured an ulcer on the body by probing it to the bottom and cleansing both it and the blood, thereby eradicating disease from the system. Instead of treating the moral ulcer in the same heroic fashion, he discussed it as a ''necessary evil'' impossible of cure; to be placed in the smallest compass possible and concealed. He said: ''We despise and fear it but we have not the courage to confront it. We do not care to talk about it, lest some prudish ear may be offended. But,'' he added, ''difficult problems are not to be solved by ignoring or hiding them. It behooves us to try to remedy this evil, and a free discussion should arouse public sentiment to activity in the proper direction.''

It was suggested that ''necessary evil'' is a contradiction in terms. ''If necessary, it is not an evil; if an evil, it is not necessary.''

One speaker made so full and yet so concise a statement of the causes of prostitution—and prescribed so just and reasonable a remedy, that I quote.

He said: ''As civilization goes on—as the evolution of the human race continues, the ideas of both men and women concerning many of the social relations, must radically change.

When men abandon the idea that women are created principally for their pleasure and need;—when women outgrow the idea that their principal mission is to please men;—when woman's sphere ceases to be defined by man's selfish wishes;—when women learn to use other power than physical charms;—when there is but one standard of virtue for men and women, and that the same which men insist on for their wives;—when men and women receive equal pay for equal work, and are equal before the law and at the ballot-box—then the question of the social evil will be solved.

Men appear indifferent to the lapses from virtues in their own sex—give little heed to the fact that many more men than women are guilty—and when the social evil is mentioned, think of fallen women, forgetting the lower fallen men. It is really the men who most need reforming, and for whom most must be done if we are to get rid of the evil.

The work that is now being done is almost entirely rescue work. Without at all abating our efforts for rescue, vigorous work should be done for prevention. The most fruitful field for such work is among men, and it must be cultivated by education. The subject should be discussed, not shunned, and people should be induced to give it serious attention. They must learn that what is sin

The Republic as a World Power

In view of what we enlightened Christian Americans are doing in the Philippines, would not those whom some of our people are pleased to call heathen be justified in sending missionaries to us?

The reports, official and others well authenticated, of what is being done in those far-away islands, and by authority of our government, are appalling, and should cause us to tremble for the integrity and perpetuity of our republic.

War never has and never can decide a question of ethics—of right and justice between individuals and nations. It can decide only which antagonist has the most men, most money and the best equipments.

It seems incredible that we, of all the people in the world, should forget our history, discard our principles and our traditions, and wage a war of conquest on a people the head and front of whose offending is that they are intelligent enough to desire independence and brave enough to defend themselves in an effort to obtain it

We hear much of "expansion"—of the desirability, and the necessity even, of becoming a "world power" Do we not know that before our "entangling alliances" we had become a "world power" of the very first magnitude?

Our not very remote ancestors fought for freedom, as the Filipinos are fighting to-day. They won their independence and framed a constitution so just and wise (having for its foundationp rinciple government only by consent of the governed that long ago this "land of the free and home of the brave" had become a beacon light to which the eyes of the down-trodden of all nations turned. We had become the hope of the oppressed, the fear of the oppressor, everywhere, Our "world power" was a moral force with which no nation would lightly or willingly have come in conflict.

So great has been the respect and admiration of the Filipinos of our government and people, that they cannot believe that we know the true state of affairs—their ability for self-government, their desire and determination to have it—or we would not tolerate for an instant the efforts of our administration to subjugate them.

No nation can deliberately violate its principles, its sense of justice and right, and long survive. We have desecrated our principles in the Philipines; we have lost our moral power; and the material "world power" which we may, or may not gain, cannot be worth the cost. The eyes of the whole world are turned sadly, reproachfully toward us. Let us hasten to redeem ourselves while we may; not more to escape the fate of "dead empires" than to make all possible restitution to the Filipinos.

SUSAN LOOK AVERY

[1898?]

[Sept 21, 1894

EQUAL RIGHTS TO WOMEN.

A Strong Argument by Mrs. Dr. Comfort for Woman Suffrage.

[From the Syracuse Journal.]

To the Journal—Though distant from Syracuse, I learn through The Journal that some of the women of our fair city are protesting against equal suffrage being introduced into the constitution of the State, and I am impelled to ask the privilege of uttering a few life-long convictions upon this subject now so prominently before the public.

This protest evidences several things: First of all, it indicates such a near solution of the long contested question that sudden alarm is excited in the minds of its opposers.

Second, the women who declare that they "do not wish to vote" seem not to be aware that voting would be as little compulsory upon them as it is upon their equally apathetic political brothers: for with men, a forced vote, a purchased vote, or yet not voting at all, in no wise invalidates the political rights of such men as do value and exercise this franchise.

Thirdly, sentiments of weak pride deter some women from acknowledging that they would either like or accept what has been long and persistently denied them, they thinking that what men withhold from them, men would admire them more for spurning. Herein this class of women reveal the transmitted influence of generations of heredity upon them, in valuing man's admiration above all else.

Fourthly, selfishness, not duty, indites the trite pleas of those who declare satisfaction with their condition.—"They have all the rights they want." "Birds should be in their nests." "They are already overburdened," etc.

These lines of defense are as fallacious as selfish. Not all birds are ensconsed in cosy nests, nor in gilded cages thereafter. How many are forced to grapple early and persistently with the momentous problem of existence, and in their struggles have been the victims of egregious wrongs, If in domestic service, the factory, or the trades, it has been inadequate and unequal wages with men for the same work, indignities from their employers, and social ostracism. Or if, as in the past, pioneers in the professions, untold difficulties and embarrassments attended upon the securing of an education, thereafter in prctice to be reluctantly counseled with, and as begrudgingly conceded professional titles. In short, thirty years ago the combat of professional prejudice at the hands of our brothers, and social obloquy at the hands of our sisters are but little comprehended by the more favored students and professional women of to-day. Only through indomitable will and endless sacrifices (and not by the voluntary concessions of men) did the women pioneers conquer, and make easy and honored places for women of this generation in the professions. And, by the way, as a young medical woman, at the close of the war, I stood regularly in line with a body of men, to deposit my income tax, and I well recall how thoroughly I pondered the little tea episode of the Boston harbor—"taxation without representation." I bethought me, my dollar is as good to the government as that of the man in front of me, but not my voice in the enactment of the law that takes it. The iron entered my young soul and time has only strengthened my convictions.

I have so often looked upon the heart-break of women, for whom there was no redress, because they were voiceless in the enactment and enforcement of laws that bore upon the wrong that crushed them,—as instance the social evil, robbing thom of husband or son, or both, mayhap of a daughter; and yet again, a mother's frenzy over the betrayal of a daughter,—betrayed by a man, arrested on a charge of infanticide by a man, tried by a jury of men, and condemned by a man to imprisonment or death,—the betrayer too often left to go free while the mother is as helpless to rescue or defend her daughter, as she is to pursue and punish her destroyer.

How can a woman in the face of such histories and womanly sorrows aver that, "she has all the rights she wants" (for it is self-evident that the mass of men are loth to frame and especially to enforce such laws as will hedge about their own freedom). And what woman can foretell exemption from similar sorrows crossing her own pathway or that of her loved ones, only to find herself as hopeless in misery and as helpless to aid?

Consider also the saloon and the cigarette traffic, and the destruction in their wake; the outrages perpetrated in the prison, the poor house, and the asylum; the Breckenridges in the councils of the nation; the multitudinous educational and philanthropic questions of the day.

In the face of such colossal and far-reaching interests, that so deeply concern woman and all that is dear to her, that a woman can be either passive or opposed to equal suffrage is truly astounding! Let her no longer weep and deplore merely, let her also ponder and act! If it is true, as has been said, that the evolution of woman is in direct ratio to the involution of her lachrymal gland, then place in her hands the keen-edged weapon of the law, that she may wield it in her defense, and thus be stimulated to incisive action and to less weeping.

As to the plea that women are already overburdened:—Her chiefest burdens too frequently are competitive strife for display of wealth and station; endless rounds of shopping and dressing; late hours attendant upon dancing, feasting, flirting, novel reading, card playing and theatre going. These it is that absorb, deplete, degrade and kill.

Unnumbered women are given over to these vapid and destructive ambitions of life, and why?

A woman's mind and energies are as active as her brothers and, if she is not encouraged to give her forces to the broad, impersonal affairs of life, she will devote them to the trivial or worse. Let her emancipate herself from these consuming and all too common excesses, and transfer her misdirected activities to the consideration of public affairs, and she will sense not increased burdens but a renewed inspiration of living instead. No! No! It is not the vital duties of human life that as a rule burden either men or women; but it is the meaningless, the self-imposed, the purely selfish that are doing their deadly work. And as to those women who claim to be burdened by church and charitable work, they seem to overlook the possible short cuts of legal help for the correction of human misery. These, indeed, are the very ones who should take an interest in governmental affairs.

While doubtless there are some most worthy women among the active or passive opposers of equal suffrage, the opposition will be found to come chiefly from the dolls, the pleasure seekers, the society leaders and society followers. But, thank God! the McAllisters and and Van Allens do not control political movements in this country. While men from all the slums of creation can now vote, every self-respecting woman should at this time declare for extending the right of suffrage to her sex, who alone are now unjustly and insultingly excluded. It is with indignant resistance that I cry out against the line being drawn only in the faces of the capable, the intelligent, the worthy and progressive women of this grand free country—America.

ANNA MANNING COMFORT, M.D.

La Porte, Texas, May 18, 1894.

Mere of dear
Dr Clemence S. Lozier
7 New York —

which they *both* exercised in the State of New Jersey for eighteen years, when our National Government was first organized.

For it is to the Congress, and not to the judicial power of the General Government, that the duty has been committed of enforcing the provisions of the 14th Amendment by "appropriate legislation." And as the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States say in their Reese decision—"If Congress has not declared an act done in a State to be a crime against the United States, the courts have no power to treat it as such."

LAURA CLAY,
President of the Eequal Right's Asso. of Kentucky.

MRS. MARY R. McKEE,
Rec. Sec. Equal Right's Asso. of Kentucky.

RICHMOND, KY., January 15, 1896.

Resolutions AND Memorial TO Congress.

A Resolution Adopted by the Members of the Kentucky Equal Right's Association, December 12th, 1895.

WHEREAS, the National American Woman Association, to which the Kentucky Equal Right's Association is auxiliary, resolved at its last annual convention to petition Congress to secure to the woman of this Republic, by appropriate legislation, the full rights of citizenship guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States have held in their combined Minor vs. Happersett and Yarbaugh decisions that women are citizens, "and entitled to *all* the privileges and immunities of citizenship," and that the right of suffrage is one of the privileges or immunities which has been guaranteed to citizens against the Statutes of the States by the first Section of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States; therefore,

Resolved, That we the members of the Kentucky Equal Right's Association in convention assembled, will petition Congress to protect women equally with black men against State denial of the right of suffrage by a law made in pursuance of that clause of the first Section of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States which says: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." That a memorial shall be written by Mrs. James Bennett asking that women shall be protected against State denial of the right of suffrage by a law made in pursuance of this clause of the first Section of the 14th Amendment, which when signed by the President and Recording Secretary of this Association, shall be sent by Mrs. Bennett to Senator Lindsay and Representative McCreary of Kentucky, to be presented by them to Congress, in behalf of the members of this Association. And that copies of this Resolution and Memorial shall be sent to the honorable members of Congress.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

WE, the members of the Equal Right's Association of Kentucky, to the Honorable Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled respectfully showeth:

That the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States have affirmed in their combined Minor vs. Happersett and Yarbrough decisions, that the first Section of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States annulled the word "male" in the Constitutions and laws of the several States confining both the right to vote for State officers and the right to vote for members of Congress to men, when it said—"No State shall make or euforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." And thus reconferred upon women that right to vote for State officers and for members of Congress which they exercised in New Jersey until 1807, when that State made and euforced a law which confined the right of suffrage to white men.

For the Judges of the Supreme Court have now held that the right of suffrage is one of the necessary privileges of a citizen of the United States, by affirming in their Yarbrough decision of 1884, that the right to vote for Members of Congress is "conferred by the Constitution of the United States" upon the "citizen," and guaranteed against the Statutes of the States by the first Section of its 14th Amendment, after saying in their Minor vs. Happersett decisian of 1875. "If the right of suffrage is one of the necessary privileges of a citizen of the United States, *then* the Constitution and laws of Missouri confining it to men are in violation of the Constitution of the United States as amended, and, consequently void."

And we, therefore, now petition you, the Honorable Members of Congress, to make a law, in pursuance of the first Section of the 14th Amendment, protecting women equally with black men against the Constitutions and laws of the States in that right to vote for Members of Congress,

a way as to make federal suffrage conform to the standard already established or which might be established by the States themselves. Thinking, as Hamilton says, that this would be agreeable to the States, and safe for the United States, since it was not likely that "the people of the States" would so alter the Constitutions of their States as to "abridge the rights secured to them by the Federal Constitution."

SARAH CLAY BENNETT,
MARTHA A. ROOT.
MELVIN A. ROOT,

Members of the Federal Suffrage Committee of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

January 22, 1898.

[c Jan 22, 1898]

An Appeal to Congress

By The Members of The National American Woman Suffrage Association.

To the Honorable Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

GENTLEMEN:—In 1896, the members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association memorialized the Congressmen of that year to protect white and black women equally with black men against State denial of the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the States, by a law made in pursuance of the first Section of the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution, in accordance with the combined Minor vs. Happersett and Yarbough decisions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

And we, the undersigned members of the Federal Election Committee of this Association now write to ask you the Honorable Members of the present Congress to do women this justice.

We do not ask you gentlemen to protect women in the new "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," which the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States have affirmed that the 15th Amendment of our National Constitution conferred upon the male and the female citizens of the United States when it was adopted in 1870.

We ask you to protect women equally with black men against State denial of that old "right to vote" for members of Congress and Presidential electors in the States which the Original Constitution of the United States conferred upon the white, black, male and female "people of the States," when it was adopted in 1789.

That old right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential

electors, which women and black men both exercised in New Jersey until 1807, when that State made and enforced a law which confined the right to *white men.*

The Judges of the Supreme Court who rendered the Minor vs. Happersett decision of 1875, in which the right of women to vote was considered, and the Reese and Cruikshank decisions of 1876 in which the right of black men to vote was considered, affirmed in these decisions that those rights which were derived from our National Constitution were the "necessary" privileges of citizens of the United States, and those which were derived from the Constitutions of the States were not.

That the new "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," therefore was one of the necessary privileges of citizens of the United States, because it was derived from the 15th Amendment of our National Constitution; but that the "old right to vote" in the States was not one of the necessary privileges of citizens of the United States, because the right to vote in the States came from the States, and had not been "granted or secured by the Constitution of the United States."

And that black men therefore had not been protected in the right to vote at "any" election in the States by the "laws of the United States," because Congress had no constitutional power to make laws providing punishments for the protection of citizens in the exercise of any rights except such as had been granted or secured by our National Constitution.

But they admitted that women had exercised the right to vote for State officers and for members of Congress and Presidential electors in the State of New Jersey upon equal terms with men until 1807.

Affirmed that they were citizens of the United States and "enttitled to *all* the privileges and immunities of the citizenship." And declared that if the right to vote in the States was derived from our National Constitution, and suffrage was therefore one of the necessary privileges of citizens of the United States, then the Constitutions and laws of the States which confined the right of suffrage to men, were in violation of the first section of the 14th Amendment of our national Constitution and consequently void.

So the members of their Court who rendered the Yarbough decision of 1884, indirectly affirmed that the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential electors in the States was one of the necessary privileges of citizens of the United States, and that the Constitutions and laws of the States which confined this right to men were void when they held that section 5520 of the Revised Statutes of the United States providing imprisonment with hard labor for the protection of black men in the exercise of the right to vote for the above mentioned federal officers was not unconstitutional, null and void, as claimed for counsel for Jasper Yarbough, by affirming in that decision that the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential electors in the States was "conferred by the Constitution of the United States" upon the "citizens" and guaranteed against the Statutes of the States by the first section of its 14th Amendment

But the Judges of the Supreme Court who rendered the Yarbough decision of 1884, could not protect women against State denial of the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential electors, when they protected black men in the exercise of this right under section 5520 of the Revised Statues of the United States. Because as these gentlemen say in speaking of the late Amendments of our National Constitution in their Ex Parte Virginia decision. "Some legislation is contemplated to make the Amendments fully effective." And it is therefore to the Congress and and not to the judicial power of the general government as these gentleman also say in this decision that the duty has been committed of protecting citizens against State denial of rights guaranteed to them by the 14th Amendment.

So we members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, ask you, the honorable members of Congress to protect white and black women equally with black men against state denial of the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the States by a law made in pursuance of the first section of the 14th Amendment instead of appealing to the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States for protection against State denial of this right, as Mrs. Virginia L. Minor did in 1875.

It is true as the Judges of the Supreme Court say in their Minor vs. Heppersett decision of 1875, that "the right of suffrage was with" drawn from women as early as 1807, in the State of New Jersey without any attempt to obtain the interference of the United States to prevent it."

But the reason that women did not try to obtain the interference of the United States to prevent New Jersey from depriving them of the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential electors in that State in 1807, was not because the right to vote for these federal officers was derived from the Constitutions of the States, as Judges of the Supreme Court who rendered the Minor vs. Happersett and Cruikshank decisions held in the case of women and black men.

For the right to vote for these federal officers is derived from our National Constitution as the members of their Court have held in their Yarbough decision of 1884.

The reason that women did not attempt to get the United States to prevent New Jersey from depriving them of the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential electors in 1807, was because the Original Constitution of the United States itself was so written as to enable the States to deprive citizens of the right to vote for these federal officers whenever they chose to do so, instead of forbiding them to make or enforce any law which would have this effect; as its 14th Amendment has now done.

As Alexander Hamilton explains, in the 52nd number of the "Federalist," our Revolutionary fathers thought it would offend the States to reduce the different qualifications of the different States to one uniform rule. So they wrote the Original Constitution of the United States in such

[1896]

WHAT

—THE—

KENTUCKY EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

HAS DONE

—AND—

What It Proposes to Do.

In 1888 the Kentucky Equal Rights Association was organized for the purpose of obtaining for women equality with men in educational, industrial, legal and political rights.

We found on the statute books a law that permitted a husband to collect his wife's wages.

We found Kentucky the only State that did not permit a married woman to make a will.

We found that marriage gave to the husband all the wife's personal property, which could be reduced to possession, and the use of all her real estate, owned at the time or acquired by her after marriage, with power to rent the same for not more than three years at a time and receive the rent.

We found that the common law of curtesy and dower prevailed whereby, on the death of the wife the husband inherited absolutely all personalty not hitherto reduced to possession, and when there were children, a life interest in all her real estate; while the wife, when there were children, inherited one third of her husband's personalty and a life interest in one-third of his real estate possessed during marriage.

I. In 1890 we secured a law which made the wife's wages payable only to herself.

II. From the General Assembly of 1892-93 we secured a law giving a married woman the right to make a will and control her real estate.

III. From the General Assembly of 1894 we secured the enactment of the present righteous Husband and Wife law.

The main features of this law are:

1st. Courtesy and dower are equalized. After the death of either husband or wife, the survivor is given a life estate in one-third of the real estate of the deceased and an absolute estate in one-half of the personalty of such decedent.

2d. The wife has entire control of her property, real and personal. She owns her personal property absolutely and can dispose of it as she pleases. The Statute gives her the right to make contracts, and to sue and be sued as a single woman. This clause enables a married woman to enter business and hold her stock in trade free from the control of her husband and liabillty to his creditors.

3d. The power to make a will is the same in the husband as in the wife and neither can by will divest the other of dower or interest in his or her estate.

This triumph of justice is the result of years of labor devoted to the circulation of petitions and securing thousands of signatures, to the publication of leaflets and unnumbered newspaper articles, to public speeches, and a regular presentation of the work, by a committee, before the session of the Constitutional Convention and of the General Assembly.

This measure of justice would have been obtained with vastly less labor, had women possessed the ballots to elect representatives for themselves. Realizing this from the beginning we have labored to secure the right of suffrage for women. In this line of work we have achieved a triumph in the Charter of the Cities of the Second Class., viz: Covington, Newport and Lexington, whereby woman are eligible to and may vote for the School Boards on the same terms as men.

IV. We have labored to secure the highest educational advantages for the young women of our State. Through the publication and distribution of literature, and by appeals to college authorities, we have succeeded in opening to women the doors of several colleges, which are now co-educational.

V. Finally by persistent effort, in conjunction with the W. C. T. U., we prevailed upon the General Assembly of 1896 to provide Houses of Reform for Juvenile Offenders, one for girls and one for boys, and that women shall be appointed on the Boards of Management of both institutions. This work should engage the hearty good will and co-operation of all benevolent persons who are brought in contact with vagrant and neglected children, and who would keep them out of the penitentiary, where the young are now confirmed in vice and crime by association with hardened offenders.

While after years of toil, we rejoice that we have been able to present these just laws to the women of Kentucky, we have been defeated in the General Assembly in our efforts to secure others:

1. To secure the humane measure of placing women physicians in the women's wards of the lunatic asylums, where helpless insane women are still denied the protection and care of physicians of their own sex. [One exception to our failure to effect this measure of humanity and justice is now happily to be noted. Yielding to the petition of women of Lexington, the Senate, upon the nomination of the Governor, appointed a female physician on the staff of the Western Lunatic Asylum.]

2. Our efforts have been unavailing to raise "the age of consent" from twelve to eighteen years, and the law still throws upon a female child of twelve years of age the whole responsibility of protecting her personal purity from the licentious who would rob her of it.

3. Married mothers still have no legal share with their husbands in the control and care of their minor children, the present law even permitting a father by will to deprive his wife of the guardianship of her child after his death. The only mother who has a legal claim to her child, equal to that of the married father, is the woman whose offspring is the sign of her own shame.

4. We have unsuccessfully endeavored to secure a General School Suffrage law, so as to give the women an equal voice with the men in the control of public schools.

Though we have failed to effect these objects, we are not discouraged and shall not cease to petition the General Assembly, for all these are but steps to the crowning right of citizenship, and we shall not abate our efforts until the women of Kentucky possess the ballot which through the established channels of representation will give them a voice in making the laws that they are compelled to obey.

We appeal to all men and women who love justice to join our Association and assist us in obtaining the full measure of our rights, which is *complete equality before the law.*

All who desire further information can correspond with

MISS LAURA CLAY, *President Ky. E. R. A.*
78 N. Broadway, Lexington, Ky.

MRS. JOSEPHINE K. HENRY, *Supt. Legislative Work,*
Versailles, Ky.

MRS. SARAH H. SAWYER, *Supt. Literature,*
Wilmore, Ky.

PUBLISHED BY
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1896.
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WHAT

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We found Kentucky the only State that did not permit a married woman to make a will.

We found that marriage gave to the husband all the wife's personal property, which could be reduced to possession, and the use of all her real estate, owned at the time or acquired by her after marriage, with power to rent the same for not more than three years at a time and receive the rent.

We found that the common law of curtesy and dower prevailed; whereby, on the death of the wife the husband inherited absolutely all personalty not hitherto reduced to possession, and when there were children, a life interest in all her real estate; while the wife, when there were children, inherited one-third of her husband's personalty and a life interest in one-third of his real estate possessed during marriage.

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From the long Legislature of 1892–93, we secured a law giving a married woman the right to make a will and control her real estate.

Finally, from the General Assembly of 1894 we secured the enactment of the present righteous Husband and Wife law.

BOX 1 1894 Oct-Dec

The main features of this law are:

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3d. The power to make a will is the same in the husband as in the wife and neither can by will divest the other of dower or interest in his or her estate.

This triumph of justice is the result of years of labor, devoted to the circulation of petitions, securing thousands of signatures, the publication of leaflets and unnumbered newspaper articles, public speeches, and a regular presentation of the work, by a committee, before the sessions of the Constitutional Convention and General Assembly.

This measure of justice would have been obtained with vastly less labor, had women possessed the ballot to elect representatives for themselves. Realizing this from the beginning we have labored to secure the right of suffrage for women. In this line of our work we have secured a triumph, in the charter of the cities of the second class, viz: Covington, Newport and Lexington, whereby women are eligible to and may vote for the School Boards on the same terms as men

One of our aims has been to secure the highest educational advantages for the young women of our State. Through the publication and distribution of literature, and appeals to college authorities, we have succeeded in opening to women the doors of several colleges, which are now co-educational

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We appeal to all men and women, who are lovers of justice, to join this Association, and become co-laborers in the establishment of justice and equality.

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This measure of justice would have been obtained with vastly less labor, had women possessed the ballots to elect representatives for themselves. Realizing this from the beginning we have labored to secure the right of suffrage for women. In this line of work we have achieved a triumph in the Charter of the Cities of the Second Class., viz: Covington, Newport and Lexington, whereby woman are eligible to and may vote for the School Boards on the same terms as men.

IV. We have labored to secure the highest educational advantages for the young women of our State. Through the publication and distribution of literature, and by appeals to college authorities, we have succeeded in opening to women the doors of several colleges, which are now co-educational.

V. Finally by persistent effort, in conjunction with the W. C. T. U., we prevailed upon the General Assembly of 1896 to provide Houses of Reform for Juvenile Offenders, one for girls and one for boys, and that women shall be appointed on the Boards of Management of both institutions. This work should engage the hearty good will and co-operation of all benevolent persons who are brought in contact with vagrant and neglected children, and who would keep them out of the penitentiary, where the young are now confirmed in vice and crime by association with hardened offenders.

While after years of toil, we rejoice that we have been able to present these just laws to the women of Kentucky, we have been defeated in the General Assembly in our efforts to secure others:

1. To secure the humane measure of placing women physicians in the women's wards of the lunatic asylums, where helpless insane women are still denied the protection and care of physicians of their own sex. [One exception to our failure to effect this measure of humanity and justice is now happily to be noted. Yielding to the petition of women of Lexington, the Senate, upon the nomination of the Governor, appointed a female physician on the staff of the Western Lunatic Asylum.]

2. Our efforts have been unavailing to raise "the age of consent" from twelve to eighteen years, and the law still throws upon a female child of twelve years of age the whole responsibility of protecting her personal purity from the licentious who would rob her of it.

3. Married mothers still have no legal share with their husbands in the control and care of their minor children, the present law even permitting a father by will to deprive his wife of the guardianship of her child after his death. The only mother who has a legal claim to her child, equal to that of the married father, is the woman whose offspring is the sign of her own shame.

4. We have unsuccessfully endeavored to secure a General School Suffrage law, so as to give the women an equal voice with the men in the control of public schools.

Though we have failed to effect these objects, we are not discouraged and shall not cease to petition the General Assembly, for all these are but steps to the crowning right of citizenship, and we shall not abate our efforts until the women of Kentucky possess the ballot which through the established channels of representation will give them a voice in making the laws that they are compelled to obey.

We appeal to all men and women who love justice to join our Association and assist us in obtaining the full measure of our rights, which is *complete equality before the law.*

All who desire further information can correspond with

MISS LAURA CLAY, *President Ky. E. R. A.*
78 N. Broadway, Lexington, Ky.

MRS. JOSEPHINE K. HENRY, *Supt. Legislative Work,*
Versailles, Ky.

MRS. SARAH H. SAWYER, *Supt. Literature,*
Wilmore, Ky.

PUBLISHED BY
KENTUCKY EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.
1896.
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PROMINENT GEORGIA MEN

In Favor of Woman Suffrage.



Published by the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association.

It has always seemed to me to follow as a sequence that woman as a taxpayer should have her full share in the selection of the gatherer of these funds, and in saying what disposition should be made of them. If the women of this country desire suffrage, it is simple justice to accord it to them —*State R. R. Commissioner G. Gunby Jordan* [Columbus].

The property rights of women have been fully recognized in Georgia, but their political rights are only in the early stages of evolution—an evolution, though, which in the course of time will surely work out its natural results and break through many a time-worn restriction. I venture that assertion because, viewed from the standpoint of abstract justice and right, no one can frame a logical syllogism against what are popularly known as "Woman's Rights." The question is one of governmental administrative policy to be worked out for the welfare of the whole race, subject only to the limitations of sex imposed by the "God of Nature."—*Hon. Wm. H. Fleming* [Augusta].

If a woman's property is taxed, then she should be accorded the right to vote. I am in favor of limiting this right, without regard to sex or race, to a property and educational qualification. — *Col. J. Colton Lynes Ph. D.* [Atlanta].

I do not think that women have a right *not* to vote. Their right to vote is undebatable; no rational argument can be advanced against it. Since the world accepted the truths that government and taxation imply representation, the case for woman suffrage, so far as it depends on right, has been completely made out. The only question, then, which remains is —are there valid and sufficient reasons for exempting women from the exercise of this right? Does not the right imply a duty? Without stating here the grounds for my belief, I can merely declare it as my conclusion that the public welfare makes it the duty of women to assume the exercise of their unquestionable right to have their convictions and their influence count in public affairs.—*Hon. Walter B. Hill* [Macon].

I am proud to know that in my native city there are women who are ready to face any and all opposition in behalf of their sex and their country. When the right to vote, of which woman has been robbed by man, is restored to her, then we can call ours a republican government, then indeed will it be "the land of the free and the home of the brave."—*Hon. Walter H. Johnson* [formerly of Columbus].

There is no doubt that woman (the most temperate, and to that extent, at least the most level-headed part of mankind) is unfairly dealt with by the present condition, which deprives her of the right to protect her own interests.—*Will N. Harben* [formerly of Dalton].

I am in favor of woman suffrage with an educational qualification—none to vote who cannot read and write understandingly.—*Col. Wm. C. Sibley* [Augusta].

If I can safely trust my wife in the most sacred relationships and most important duties of life, I surely can trust her head and her heart in determining what would be best for our mutual interests as equal citizens of the State. The argument that it is wrong to permit women to exercise the right of suffrage in a free government, and that the exercise of that right would be harmful to them and to the State, is an assumption as false

as it is nonsensical. The opposition which springs from a quixotic sense of chivalry, or from a maudlin sentimentalism, or from ignorant or selfish prejudice, is the only opposition the woman suffrage movement has still to encounter, but this will be swept away like chaff by the rapidly swelling current of public opinion, whose daily trend is irresistibly in the direction of justice, truth, wisdom and liberal ideas.

The effect of her influence on the body politic would be salutary, conservative and patriotic, and many of the evils from which our political system is now suffering would be eradicated, or, at least, greatly lessened, by her active and direct participation in the government of the State, through the sovereign power of the ballot. Let her not beg for the privilege as a favor, but *demand it as a right*, an inalienable right, founded on the eternal principles of justice, and, sooner or later. she will, she must, triumph!—*Maj. Chas, W. Hubner* [Atlanta].

All persons, of either sex, who admit the justice of women's demand to be raised above the political level of minors, lunatics, idiots, felons and traitors, with whom they are classed by the Constitution of Georgia, are cordially invited to become members of the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association. The youth outgrows at twenty-one his political disability; the lunatic may be restored to reason; the alien naturalized; the felon, however low his crime, pardoned and restored to his full rights as a sovereign voter; but the one unpardonable crime under the Constitution of Georgia is the crime of being born a woman.

Membership, one dollar annually. Life membership, twenty-five dollars.

Address Secretary and Treasurer Georgia Woman Suffrage Association, Box 51, Columbus, Ga.

For literature, information, etc., address as above.

All persons residing in Georgia who favor woman suffrage are invited (whether or not they belong to any woman suffrage organization) to send in their names promptly to be placed on the Enrolment. To go on the Enrolment does not obligate one financially or otherwise. It is simply a list kept, that the Association may be able to approximate at any time the number of persons in Georgia who indorse the woman suffrage movement.

The Association will send free a lecturer or organizer to any community in the State applying for the same which will provide entertainment for the organizer or speaker, and make arrangements for holding a suffrage meeting.

The ballot is "the right preservative of all rights." "A right withheld is a wrong inflicted." THEY WHO ARE SILENT TO A WRONG THEY KNOW TO EXIST ARE PARTIES TO THE WRONG.

October, 1894.

[Oct 4, 1894]

PRESS PLEASE COPY AND MAKE EDITORIAL COMMENT.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Important Testimony—It Has Emptied Jails and Poor-houses—It Has Secured Peace and Order.

The Wyoming legislature, at a recent session, unanimously adopted the following concurrent resolution:

Be it Resolved, By the second legislature of the state of Wyoming, that the possession and exercise of suffrage by the women in Wyoming for the past quarter of a century has wrought no harm and has done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism and vice from this state, and that without any violent or oppressive legislation; that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government and a remarkable degree of civilization and public order, and we point with pride to the facts that after nearly twenty-five years of woman suffrage not one county in Wyoming has a poor house, that our jails are almost empty, and crime, except that committed by strangers in the state, almost unknown, and as the result of experience we urge every civilized community on the earth to enfranchize its women without delay.

Resolved, That an authenticated copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the governor of the state to the legislature of every state and territory in this country, and to every legislative body in the world; and that we request the press throughout the civilized world to call the attention of their readers to these resolutions,

---

To the Friends of Woman Suffrage:

The above resolutions are of more than common interest, I especially urge that you, into whose hands I send this circular, will see to it that it is published in all newspapers, read from pulpits and in reform, religious and political meetings.

HELEN M. GOUGAR,
Prest. Indiana Woman Suffrage Association.

EXPRESSION OF OPINION

EQUAL SUFFRAGISTS MAKE REPLY TO THEIR OPPONENTS

[Extracts from The Rochester Herald, Friday, May 4, 1894.]

An interesting and enlivening feature of the meeting of the Rochester Political Equality Club, and one which occupied the attention of the club for the greater part of the afternoon was the reading of numerous expressions of opinion upon the recently inaugurated Anti-Woman Suffrage movement as set forth in a circular petitioning against equal suffrage.

While probably such a movement was unexpected by the Equal Suffragists it has not daunted them in the least and they have met it with the energy and vigor which have characterized their campaign from the beginning.

In response to an invitation from the President of the club, Miss Mary S. Anthony, one hundred replies have been received expressing with no uncertain sound the opinions of those who wrote them. Request was made for an opinion in a single sentence; some of the writers complied with this request, while others handled the subject at greater length and in some detail.

The reading of these sentiments provoked great enthusiasm at the meeting and their perusal will be entertainiug to all readers who keep watch of the movements of the times, whether favoring or opposing the particular issue at hand. * * *

"Woman is a necessary factor in the life and government of the family relation, and as a State is an aggregation of families, woman is equally important as a factor in the life and government of such State; therefore it is her duty, and should be her right, to participate in the affairs of the government, and, if need be, she should sacrifice personal desire in order to discharge such duty."—*Helen M. Miller.*

"The effort of the 'Protestants' is an example of bigotry hanging about the skirts of progress; it may impede but cannot stay her onward flight."—*Edith Willis Linn.*

"This latest movement against the freedom of woman is an expression of the Pauline sentiment which has often stood in the path of Christian progress."—*Mrs. L. M. Willis.*

"It is my opinion that every citizen of the United States, whether male or female, should esteem it a privilege and duty to exercise the right of suffrage."—*Elmer James Bailey.*

"In the weakness of the Anti-Suffrage petition as published in a daily paper, lies the strength of the one that is being circulated by the N. Y. S. W. S. A."—*J. E. Sanford.*

"The unpatriotic remonstrants are willing to sacrifice justice and every principle of self government to a masterly inactivity and blissful self content."—*Laura Ramsdell.*

"The enemy is alarmed—a good omen."—*Charles Mann.*

"In regard to the Anti-Suffrage movement recently stated in Brooklyn I would say that I think the protestations of that movement against Woman Suffrage contain some of the most convincing arguments for it."—*Mary Thayer Sanford.*

"It is unworthy of woman to barter duty for privilege."—*Caroline V. Lee.*

"The Anti-suffrage women are doubtless women of leisure, whose efforts will not be energetic enough to harm us; doubtless they are women whose highest idea of life is to be approved by the average man; and woman who would lobby for man; but would not legislate for women."—*Mrs. M. J. Marble.*

"The 'reasons' given, are not reasons, but statements which are contrary to the facts. As an advertising medium for us, it cannot be improved upon."—*Agnes Probst.*

"To decide the case against woman before proving by actual experiment the power of her influence for good on the political world, seems to me the voice of blind selfishness and cowardly ignorance. Give her the ballot first, then judge by the results."—*Lewia C. Smith.*

"I should think it might do us more good than harm. We are really becoming popular and the cause is right and just; and we must be something, some force to be feared, or there would be no opposition."—*Jessie M. Post.*

"Protestants against suffrage—Unjust to themselves and disloyal to the highest type of womanhood."—*Emogene L. Dewey.*

"I cannot understand how any intelligent woman can desire to be classed as an anti woman suffragist, with no aspiration for the broader and more exalted position of equality with man."—*James Sargent.*

"Can't find words to 'condense in one sentence' my indignation of the women who protest against others exercising their rights, because they themselves wish to shirk all responsibility and duty."—*Millie B. Logan.*

"Bless the dear little trembling innocents! They shan't be made to vote, so they shan't."—*Mary Westfall.*

"How can any sane woman deliberately object to standing on the plane of equality with her husband, whether in home or in civil government."—*Angelina M. Sargent.*

"I think the action of the Anti Woman Suffragists is a futile attempt on the part of the minority to thwart a philanthropic effort on the part of the majority."—*Elizabeth B. Green.*

"I was very much surprised and shocked that, in this age of progress and necessity for reform, any of our sex should be so blinded to their own interests and those of the mass of womankind as to put one straw in the way of the Woman Suffrage movement."—*Lizzie B. Sylvester.*

"The idea of woman standing in her own light!"—*Ida B. Wilborn.*

"Thorough-going Susan B. Anthony, Anna H. Shaw & Co., in working the State have plowed so deep that they have unearthed some fossils."—*Mary Z. Sherman.*

"Of the women who oppose Woman Suffrage, I would say that their position is analogous to that of the few fortunate slaves, before the war, who would have spurned the gift of freedom had it been offered them."—*Ada E. Newell.*

"How can the Protestants try to undo the life-work of Susan B. Anthony?"—*Mrs. A. B. Gould.*

"The Anti-Suffrage movement is an exhibition of selfishness in that the movers are trying to prevent what is for the good of others; and of moral cowardice because they shrink from doing what they might feel to be a duty. The suffrage cause based on justice and right is strengthened by the contrast." —*Sarah Bradstreet.*

"Agitation is a great educator, whereby the good and bad of both sides are weighed and balanced. Welcome the test."—*Harriet E. Shaw.*

"Blind selfishness—in its fullest significance."—*Harriet M. Turner, M. D.*

"The result of increased agitation and discussion will be clearer ideas and a keener sense of justice. It is not so much what women want, as what they need and ought to have."—*Sarah Barnard.*

"Each reason given by the 'Protestants' for withholding Woman Suffrage is either the consequence of ignorance of the subject, or is a perversion of truth; or contains assumptions, of which experience alone can teach the truth or falsehood." —*Nellie F. Shields.*

"The epitome of selfishness. Because they do not care for any more responsibility, they would deprive others of right and justice."—*Margaret Morton.*

"It will do good. Discussion always brings both sides out clearer."—*Jean Morton.*

"Women are naturally conservative; their first thought is, things are well enough as they are; their second thought is, there is danger in a change; the women of the Turkish harem would vote to remain as they are."—*Beth D. Osburn.*

"If suffrage be a 'duty,' it is not the less a duty because certain women, whose lives are now engrossed by social duties, do not care to perform one more. Objection, however, is preferable to indifference."—*Amelia F. Kittridge.*

"Each one of the ten reasons advanced against Woman Suffrage seems to me strikingly weak."—*Eliza Woodbury Woodward.*

"Since the radical basis of government is equal rights for all citizens, I advise the 'Protestants' to consider well before choosing longer to remain classed in the eyes of the law with idiots, lunatics and felons."—*Mary G. Caley.*

"No good thing can be a failure and no bad thing a success, we need not fear our opponents."—*Sarah Colman Blackall.*

"I cannot understand how any thoughtful woman, though ever so deeply 'engrossed by present cares and duties,' can call the suffrage a 'burdensome duty,' but even if it were, how can she wish to avoid it?"—*Maria C. Otis.*

"When mothers can calmly decide they do not care to have a voice in the choosing of our law makers, while 'silver-tongued' villains in Congress or out, feel at liberty to plot for the ruin of our girls, it is high time to ask what will be the end? Such indifference to my mind, is culpable." —*Mary S. Anthony, Cor. Sec. N. Y. S. W. S. A.*

"As a believer in fair play I would have the 'Protestants' heard, and at the same time comforted with the thought that if they should be so unfortunate (?) as to become enfranchised citizens of the Empire State of this great Republic, they shall not be scourged to the ballot-box to do a distasteful duty."—*H. D. Fenner.*

"All genuine reforms have found opponents, even among those who most needed the benefits to be conferred by success. * * * * * * * * * * In the present aspect of the Woman Suffrage movement in the State of New York, history simply repeats itself. The opposition as thus far developed on the part of some women with whom to rule or ruin is a necessity of their nature, is necessary to complete the parallel between them and their prototypes, as portrayed on the pages of history, and should be accepted as the sign manual of merit in the movement honored by such opposition."—*J. M. Thayer.*

"Does the woman still exist who desires not to use the only effectual weapon which equalizes the human race, and who resorts to measures to deprive the multitude of her intelligent sisters of their cherished hope of political emancipation?"—*Addie M. Van Hoesen.*

"The 'Protestants'—a body of women practically doing the very thing which they protest against other women being allowed to do."—*Martha R. Almy, Vice-Pres. N. Y. S. W. S. A.*

"The right of suffrage is not compulsory. The denial of the right is. * * * The women who neglect duty under existing conditions, would doubtless continue to do so under any others."—*Sarah C. Shields.*

"The whole matter lies in a nutshell. If the principle underlying this government is sound the franchise belongs to the women of the State. If wrong, most men should be deprived of it. It should be regarded as a sacred duty by all citizens to do all in their power to promote good government. Indolence, ignorance and selfishness are not arguments against a principle, and these attributes are all evidenced by the opposition."—*Jean Brooks Greenleaf, Pres. N. Y. S. W. S. A.*

"'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'—LUKE XXIII., 24."—*Helen H. Landis.*

Issued by New York State Constitutional Convention Campaign Committee, Jean Brooks Greenleaf, Chairman, Headquarters, No. 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

PUBLIC SPEAKING!

AT THE

REPRESENTATIVE HALL.

MISS LAURA CLAY,

MRS. EUGENIA B. FARMER,

MRS. JOSEPHINE K. HENRY,

Will make speeches bearing on Equal Rights for Women, in Representatives' Hall,

THURSDAY EVENING,

JAN. 13, 1898.

The members of the Legislature are particularly invited, as also the public in general.

ADMISSION FREE.
8 O'CLOCK, P. M.
THURSDAY EVENING.

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ar " Augusta	7.30 "	2.15 Pm	7.00 Pm
Leave " "	3.40 Pm	3.40 "	6.55 am
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UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

SPEECH OF

Hon. Thomas W. Palmer,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE

Senate of the United States, Friday, February 6, 1885.

The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 19) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as follows:

Resolved, &c., That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE —.

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

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

Mr. PALMER said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: This resolution involves the consideration of the broadest step in the progress of the struggle for human liberty that has ever been submitted to any ruler or to any legislative body. Its taking is pregnant with wide changes in the pathway of future civilization. Its obstruction will delay and cripple our advancement. The trinity of principles which Lord Chatham called the "Bible of the English Constitution," namely, the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights, are towering landmarks in the history of our race, but they immediately concerned but few at the time of their erection.

The Declaration of Independence by the colonists, and its successful assertion, the establishment of the right of petition, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the property qualification for suffrage in nearly all the States, and the recognition of the right of women to earn, hold, enjoy, and devise property are proud and notable gains.

The emancipation of 4,000,000 slaves and the subsequent extension of suffrage to the male adults among them were measures enlarging the possibilities of freedom, the full benefits of which have yet to be realized; but, sir, the political emancipation of 26,000,000 of our citizens, equal to us in most essential respects and superior to us in many, seems to me to translate our nation, almost at a bound, to the broad plateau of universal equality and co-operation to which all these blood-stained and prayer-worn steps have surely led.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The time which I may occupy in advocacy of this measure will not admit of even a cursory review of the history and progress of the movement whose ultimate is before us.

Like life insurance and the man who carried the first umbrella, its inception was greeted with derision. Born of an apparently hopeless revolt against unjust discrimination, unequal statutes, and cruel constructions of courts, it

has pressed on and over ridicule, malice, indifference, and conservatism, until it stands in the gray dawn before the most powerful legislative body on earth and challenges final consideration.

In its progress it has benefited all and injured none. It has created public sentiment before which legislatures have bent and courts have boweda

The laws which degraded our wives have been everywhere repealed or modified, and our children may now be born of free women.

Our sisters have been recognized as having brains as well as hearts, and as capable of transacting their own business affairs.

New avenues of self-support have been found and profitably entered upon, and the doors of our colleges have ceased to creak their dismay at the approach of women.

Twelve States have extended limited suffrage through their legislatures, and three Territories admit all citizens of suitable age to the ballot-box, while from no single locality in which it has been tried comes any word but that of satisfaction concerning the experiment.

The spirit of inquiry attendant upon the agitation and discussion of this question has permeated every neighborhood in the land, and none can be so blind as to miss the universal development in self-respect, self-reliance, general intelligence, and increased capacity among our women. They have lost none of the womanly graces, but by fitting themselves for counselors and mental companions have benefited man, more perhaps than themselves.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

In considering the objections to this extension of the suffrage we are fortunate in finding them grouped in the adverse report of the minority of your committee, and also in confidently assuming from the acknowledged ability and evident earnestness of the distinguished Senators who prepared it that all is contained therein in the way of argument or protest which is left to the opponents of this reform after thirty-seven years of discussion.

I wish that every Senator would examine this report and note how many of its reasonings are self-refuting and how few even seem to warrant further antagonism.

They cite the physical superiority of man, but offer no amendment to increase the voting power of a Sullivan or to disfranchise the halt, the lame, the blind, or the sick.

They regard the manly head of the family as its only proper representative, but would not exclude the adult bachelor sons.

They urge disability to perform military service as fatal to full citizenship, but would hardly consent to resign their own rights because they have passed the age of conscription, or question those of Quakers, who will not fight, or of professional men and civic officials, who, like mothers, are regarded as of more use to the State at home.

They are dismayed by a vision of women in attendance at caucuses at late hours of the night, but doubtless enjoy their presence at routs and entertainments until the early dawn. They deprecate the appearance of women at political meetings; but, in Michigan, women have attended such meetings for years upon the earnest solicitation of those in charge, and the influence of their presence has been for good. Eloquent women are employed by State committees of all parties to canvass in their interests and are highly valued and respected.

They object, for their own States, to the addition of their former bondswomen because of their ignorance; but that risk was taken at greater hazard upon the adoption of the fifteenth amendment; and I hardly think the gentlemen would care to acknowledge their inability to provide that control for women which they appear to have obtained over the men.

They object that many women do not desire the suffrage, and that some would not exercise it. It is probably true, as often claimed, that many slaves did not desire emancipation in 1863, and there are men in most communities who do not vote, but we hear of no freedman to-day who asks re-enslavement, and no proposition is offered to disfranchise all men because some neglect their duty.

The minority profess a willingness to have this measure considered as a local issue rather than a national one, but those who recall the failures to extend the ballot to black men, in the most liberal Northern States, by a popular vote, may be excused if they question their frankness in suggesting this transfer of responsibility.

The education of the people of a whole State on this particular question is a much more laborious and expensive work than an appeal to the several legislatures. The subject would be much more likely to receive intelligent treatment at the hands of the picked men of a State, where calm discussion may be had, than at the polls where prejudice and tradition oftentimes exert a more potent influence than logic and justice.

To deny this method to the women of this country is to discriminate against them invidiously.

A whole race, distinct from us, was enfranchised in this way, after repeated attempts at securing popular approval from the voters had failed, and to refuse it to those to whom we are bound by the dearest ties betrays an indifference to their requests, or an inexplicable adhesion to prejudice, which is only sought to be defended by an asserted regard for women, which to me seems most illogical.

I share no fears of the degradation of women by the ballot. I believe rather that it will elevate men. I believe the tone of our politics will be higher, that our caucuses will be jealously guarded, and our conventions more orderly and decorous. I believe the polls will be freed from the vulgarity and coarseness which now too often surround them, and that the polling booths, instead of being in the least attractive parts of a ward or town, will be in the most attractive; instead of being in stables, will be in parlors. I believe the character of candidates will be more closely scrutinized and that better officers will be chosen to make and administer the laws. I believe that the casting of the ballot will be invested with a seriousness—I had almost said a sanctity—second only to a religious observance.

THE MISUSE OF THE BIBLE.

The objections enumerated above appear to be the only profferings against this measure excepting certain fragmentary quotations and deductions from the sacred Scriptures; and here, Mr. President, I desire to enter my most solemn protest.

The opinions of Paul and Peter as to what was the best policy for the struggling churches under their supervision, in deferring to the prejudices of the communities which they desired to attract and benefit, were not inspirations for the guidance of our civilization in matters of political co-operation; and every apparent inhibition of the levelment of the caste of sex may be neutralized by selections of other paragraphs and by the general spirit and trend of the Holy Book.

In the history of human advancement no single influence has been so powerful as that of the Bible. It has sufficed for all the ages past and will suffice for the ages to come. To its students has come wisdom. Its precepts have trained to virtue. To the wretched it has afforded comfort, and to the sorrowing it has brought consolation. None have learned from it bad citizenship, and its guidance has ever led to gentleness, honor, and truth. Its histories, poems, and inspired directions, altogether, inculcate the broad-

est equality of the human race and the greatest tenderness of mutual rights, while its pyramidion, the Golden Rule, voiced by the Savior, contains the essence of all the law and the prophets.

Sir, my reverence for this grandest of all compilations, human or divine, compels a protest against its being cast into the street as a barricade against every moral, political, and social reform; lest, when the march of progress shall have swept on and over to its consummation, it may appear to the superficial observer that it is the Bible which has been overthrown and not its erroneous interpretation.

TRADITION AND PREJUDICE SHOULD BE LAID ASIDE.

Sir, if, with our present experience of the needs and dangers of co-operative government and our present observation of woman's social and economic status, we could divest ourselves of our traditions and prejudices, and the question of suffrage should come up for incorporation into a new organic law, a distinction based upon sex would not be entertained for a moment.

It seems to me that we should divest ourselves to the utmost extent possible of these entanglements of tradition and judicially examine three questions relative to the proposed extension of suffrage: First, Is it right? Second, Is it desirable? Third, Is it expedient? If these be determined affirmatively our duty is plain.

IS IT RIGHT?

If the right of the governed and the taxed to a voice in determining by whom they shall be governed and to what extent and for what purposes they may be taxed is not a natural right, it is nevertheless a right to the declaration and establishment of which by the fathers we owe all that we possess of liberty. They declared taxation without representation to be tyranny, and grappled with the most powerful nation of their day in a seven years' struggle for the overthrow of such tyranny.

It appears incredible to me that any one can indorse the principles proclaimed by the patriots of 1776 and deny their application to women.

Samuel Adams said: "Representation and legislation, as well as taxation, are inseparable, according to the spirit of our Constitution and of all others that are free."

Again, he said: "No man can be justly taxed by, or bound in conscience to obey, any law to which he has not given his consent in person or by his representative."

And again: "No man can take another's property from him without his consent. This is the law of nature; and a violation of it is the same thing whether it is done by one man, who is called a king, or by five hundred of another denomination."

James Otis, in speaking of the rights of the colonists as descendants of Englishmen, said they "were not to be cheated out of them by any phantom of virtual representation or any other fiction of law or politics."

Again: "No such phrase as virtual representation is known in law or constitution. It is altogether a subtlety and illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd."

The Declaration of Independence asserts that, to secure the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, governments are instituted among men, "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Benjamin Franklin wrote: "That liberty or freedom consists in having an actual share in the appointment of those who frame the laws and who are the guardians of every man's life, property, and peace.

"That they who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes and to their representatives."

James Madison said: "Under every view of the subject, it seems indispensable that the mass of the citizens should not be without a voice in making the laws which they are to obey, and in choosing the magistrates who are to administer them."

But it seems unnecessary to multiply these excerpts, familiar to every student of the history of those times.

These declarations were not confined to our shores.

Lord Somers said: "Among all the rights and privileges appertaining unto us, that of having a share in the legislation, and being governed by such laws as we ourselves shall cause, is the most fundamental and essential as well as the most advantageous and beneficial."

The judicious Hooker wrote: "Agreeable to the same just privileges of natural equity is that maxim of the English constitution that 'Law to bind all must be assented to by all,' and there can be no legal appearance of assent without some degree of representation."

In 1790, Condorcet, in his treatise on the admission of women to the rights of citizenship in France, says: "Now, the rights of men result solely from the fact that they are rational beings, susceptible of acquiring moral ideas and reasoning on those ideas. Women, having the same qualities, have the same equal rights. Either no one individual of the human kind has true rights or all have the same, and one who votes against the right of another, whatever be that other's religion, color, or sex, from that moment forfeits his own."

Mirabeau condenses the whole question in his definition that a "representative body should be a miniature of the whole community."

The right of women to personal representation through the ballot seems to me unassailable, wherever the right of man is conceded and exercised. I can conceive of no possible abstract justification for the exclusion of the one and the inclusion of the other.

IS IT DESIRABLE?

Is the recognition of this right desirable? The earliest mention of the Saxon peoples is found in the Germany of Tacitus, and, in his terse description of them, he states that "in all grave matters they consult their women." Can we afford to dispute the benefit of this counseling in the advancement of our race?

The measure of the civilization of any nation may be no more surely ascertained by its consumption of salt than by the social, economic, and political status of its women.

It is not enough for contentment that we assert the superiority of our women in intelligence, virtue, and self-sustaining qualities, but we are to consider the profit to them and to the State in their further advancement.

Our statistics are lamentably meager in information as to the status of our women outside their mere enumeration, but we learn that in a single State 42,000 are assessed and pay one-eleventh of the total burden of taxation, with no voice in its disbursement.

From the imperfect gleaning of the Tenth Census we learn that of the total enumerated bread-winners of the United States more than one-seventh are women. They are classified in round terms as follows: Agriculture, 600,000; professional and personal services, 1,400,000; trade and transportation, 60,000; manufactures and mechanical and mining industries, 600,000. That these 2,647,157 citizens of whom we have official information labor from

necessity, and are everywhere underpaid, is within the knowledge and observation of every Senator upon this floor.

Only the Government makes any pretense of paying women in accordance with the labor performed—without submitting them to the competition of their starving sisters, whose natural dignity and self-respect have suffered from being driven by the fierce pressure of want into the few and crowded avenues for the exchange of their labor for bread.

Is it not the highest exhibit of the moral superiority of our women that so very few consent to exchange pinching penury for gilded vice?

Will the possession of the ballot multiply and widen these avenues to self-support and independence?

The most thoughtful women who have given the subject thorough examination believe it, and I can not but infer that many men, looking only to their own selfish interests, fear it.

History teaches that every class which has assumed political responsibility has been materially elevated and improved thereby, and I can not believe that the rule would have an exception in the women of to-day.

I do not say that to the idealized women so generally described by obstructionists—the dainty darlings whose prototypes are to be found in the heroines of Walter Scott and Fenimore Cooper—immediate awakening would come; but to the toilers, the wage-workers, and the women of affairs the consequent enlargement of possibilities would give new courage and stimulate to new endeavor, and the state would be the gainer thereby.

The often urged fear that the degraded and vicious would swarm to the polls, while the intelligent and virtuous would stand aloof, is fully met by the fact that the former class has never asked for the suffrage or shown interest in its seeking, while the hundreds of thousands of petitioners are from our best and noblest women, including those whose efforts for the amelioration of the wrongs and sufferings of others have won for them imperishable tablets in the temple of humanity.

Would fear be entertained that the state would suffer mortal harm if, by some strange revolution, its exclusive control should be turned over to an oligarchy composed of such women as have been and are identified with the agitation for the political emancipation of their sex?

Saloons, brothels, and gaming-houses might vanish before such an administration; wars—avoidable with safety and honor—might not be undertaken, and taxes might be diverted to purposes of general sanitation and higher education, but neither in these respects nor in efforts to lift the bowed and strengthen the weak would the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness be placed in peril.

Women have exercised the highest civil powers in all ages of the world—from Zenobia to Victoria—and have exhibited statecraft and military capacity of high degree without detracting from their graces as women or their virtues as mothers.

A woman, Mrs. Ross, designed the American flag.

The records of all wars show the presence of women in the ranks. More than four hundred were discovered in the Union Army who had eluded the scrutiny of the mustering officers and served in disguise.

The services of Clara Barton, Dorothea Dix, Elizabeth Blackwell, and hundreds of other noble women were as valuable as any received.

That the most important campaign of that war was planned by Anna Ella Carroll is attested by the report of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives March 3, 1881, as "fully established," and was vouched for in elaborate detail by Hon. B. F. Wade, chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, soon after its triumphant close permitted him to speak.

The rallying of a Michigan regiment by Ann Ethridge and leading them again into the hot fires of Chancellorsville was only a repetition of the chivalrous deeds of women recorded in every age.

The preponderance of women in our churches, our charitable organizations, our educational councils has been of such use as to suggest the benefit of their incorporation into our voting force to the least observant.

A woman who owns railroad or manufacturing or mining stock may vote unquestioned by the side of the brightest business men of our continent, but if she transfers her property into real estate she loses all voice in its control.

Their abilities, intellectual, physical, and political, are as various as ours, and they err who set up any single standard, however lovely, by which to determine the rights, needs, and possibilities of the sex.

To me the recognition of their capacity for full citizenship is right and desirable, and it only remains to consider whether it is safe, whether it is expedient.

IS IT EXPEDIENT?

To this let experience answer to the extent that the experiment has been tried.

During the first thirty years of the independence of New Jersey, universal suffrage was only limited by a property qualification; but we do not learn that divorces were common, that families were more divided on political than on religious differences, that children were neglected or that patriotism languished, although the first seven years of that experiment were years of decimating war, and the remaining twenty-three of poverty and recuperation—conditions most conducive to discontent and erratic legislation.

The reports from Wyoming, which I have examined, are uniform in satisfaction with the system, and I do not learn therefrom that women require greater physical strength, fighting qualities, or masculinity to deposit a ballot than a letter or visiting-card; while in their service as jurors they have exhibited greater courage than their brothers in finding verdicts against desperadoes in accordance with the facts.

Governors, judges, officers, and citizens unite in praises of the influence of women upon the making and execution of wholesome laws.

In Washington Territory, last fall, out of a total vote of 40,000, 12,000 ballots were cast by women, and everywhere friends were rejoiced and opponents silenced as apprehended dangers vanished upon approach.

Some of the comments of converted newspaper editors which have reached us are worthy of preservation and future reference. The elections were quiet and peaceable for the first time; the brawls of brutal men gave place to the courtesies of social intercourse; saloons were closed, and nowhere were the ladies insulted or in any way annoyed. From the Isle of Man, where universal suffrage obtains, comes similar approval.

Women vote intelligently and safely, and it does not appear that their place is solely at home any more than that the farmer should never leave his farm, the mechanic his shop, the teacher his desk, the clergyman his study, or the professional man his office for the purpose of expressing his wishes and opinions at the tribunal of the ballot-box.

To-day—and to a greater extent in the near future—we are confronted with political conditions dangerous to the integrity of our nation.

In the unforeseen but consistent absorption from immigrants and former bondsmen of a vast army of untrained voters, without restrictions as to intelligence, character, or patriotism, many political economists see the material for anarchy and public demoralization.

It is claimed that the necessities of parties compel subserviency to the

lawless and vicious classes in our cities, and that, without the addition of a counterbalancing element, the enactment and enforcement of wholesome statutes will soon be impossible.

Fortunately that needed element is not far to seek. It stands at the door of the Congress urging annexation. In its strivings for justice it has cried aloud in petitions from the best of our land, and more than one-third of the present voters of five States have indorsed its cause. Its advocates are no longer the ridiculed few but the respected many. A list of the leaders of progressive thought of this generation who espouse and urge this reform would be too long and comprehensive for recital.

Mr. President, I do not ask the submission of this amendment, nor shall I urge its adoption because it is desired by a portion of the American women, although in intelligence, property, and numbers that portion would seem to have every requisite for the enforcement of their demands; neither are we bound to give undue regard to the timidity and hesitation of that possibly larger portion who shrink from additional responsibilities; but I ask and shall urge it because the nation has need of the co-operation of women in its direction.

The war power of every government compels, upon occasion, all citizens of suitable age and physique to leave their homes, families, and avocations to be merged in armies, whether they be willing or unwilling, craven or bold, patriotic or indifferent, and no one gainsays the right, because the necessities of state require their services.

We have passed the harsh stages incident to our permanent institution. We have conquered our independence, conquered the respect of European powers, conquered our neighbors on the Western Continent, and at vast cost of life and waste have conquered our internal differences and emerged a nation unquestioned from without or within.

Our heroic and semi-barbarous ages have closed and slumber in history, never, I trust, to be reacted.

The great questions of the future conduct of our people are to be economic and social ones. No one questions the superiority of womanly instincts, and consequent thought, in the latter, and the repeated failures and absurdities exhibited by male legislators in the treatment of the former, should give pause to any assertion of superiority there.

The day has come when the counsel and service of women are required by the highest interests of the State, and who shall gainsay their conscription?

We place the ballot in the keeping of immigrants who have grown middle-aged or old in the environment of governments dissimilar to the spirit and purpose of ours, and we do well; because the responsibility accompanying the trust tends to examination, comparison, and consequent political education; but we decline to avail ourselves of the aid of our daughters, wives, and mothers, who were born and are already educated under our system, reading the same newspapers, books, and periodicals as ourselves, proud of our common history, tenacious of our theories of human rights, and solicitous for our future progress.

Whatever may have been wisest as to the extension of suffrage to this tender and humane class, when wars of assertion or conquest were likely to be considered, to-day and to-morrow and thereafter no valid reason seems assignable for longer neglect to avail ourselves of their association.

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IN 1886.

By SAMUEL E. SEWALL.

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This little tract was originally prepared in 1868. A revised edition was issued in 1870, containing notices of the changes in the laws relating to women which had been made since 1868. Statutes passed afterwards led to the publication of a third edition in 1875. Since that year, so extensive and important has been the legislation affecting women that a new edition is required. Very opportunely the legislature in 1882 issued the volume of Public Statutes intended to embody all statutes in force up to that year. I have changed my original plan so far as to add references to the Public Statutes, which may be a convenience to some readers and will embarrass none.

The object of the following pages is to present an outline of the law of Massachusetts affecting women, as distinguished from men, with occasional comments. And especially to point out how unfairly the dependent has been in past ages, and is at the present time, treated by the dominant sex, the vast improvement in the condition of the former made by recent legislation, and how much is still required by simple justice for its full relief.

The law of this Commonwealth in this respect is so like that of most of the States, that a large part of what I write will apply to many of the others.

Nothing more than a mere sketch, and that an imperfect one, is possible within the limits that I propose. I shall, however, try to exhibit the most important features of the

system; though even of these many of the qualifications, distinctions and exceptions will be necessarily passed without notice. To do justice to the subject would require a large volume. It may be also added that legal remedies and the modes of enforcing them must for the most part be left unnoticed.

Most people have a general idea of the legal disabilities of the female sex. But very few, except lawyers, understand in their full extent the annoyance and oppression to which our law subjects women, until some hard case directs their attention to a peculiar form of this injustice.

The Declaration of Independence proclaims that "all men are created equal" and have inalienable rights. We all admit this. And it is conceded that the word "men" here includes persons of both sexes, and the word "equal" means equality of rights, not of capacity. When Jefferson wrote these words, which have been cited many thousand times and are still worth citing, he was, no doubt, far from thinking of all the applications of the truth he was publishing. The Constitution of Massachusetts, following the Declaration, says, "All men are born free and equal," and have "unalienable rights." The Constitution of Massachusetts denies suffrage to woman, and thus is inconsistent with itself, and also violates the great principle of the Declaration of Independence, the organic law of the nation, by giving man this great right and refusing it to her who is entitled to it as his equal.

The denial of this franchise is the most serious wrong done to women, since granting them the ballot would, no doubt, lead eventually to the redress of their other wrongs.

This refusal of the ballot perpetuates the stigma of inferiority on more than one half of the whole population of the State. The effect is obvious. We look upon the ballot

as one of the great educators of male citizens, because it interests them in public affairs, and leads them to consider and discuss important questions of legislation. Our Constitution not only shuts out this great avenue of education from our female citizens, but the legal inferiority tends in every direction to produce the mental inferiority which it presupposes. It cramps thought and paralyzes effort.

The secondary effects of this inferiority are equally if not more disastrous. Men fall short of the higher character which would be infused into them through the superior moral and intellectual power which women would acquire in consequence of gaining the great franchise. Our legislation is degraded, and our society debased, because the two sexes do not associate as equals in the most important business of the nation.

It is hardly necessary to add, that to deprive any class of persons who pay taxes of the right of voting, violates the principle for which our fathers contended during the revolution, that taxation without representation is tyranny.

Many thousands of women pay taxes in Massachusetts, some of them very large ones. In 1871, women paid nearly two million dollars of the sums raised by taxation on real and personal property in cities and towns in Massachusetts, being very nearly one eleventh of the whole amount assessed. In Boston, in 1873, women paid nearly thirteen hundred thousand dollars of the taxes levied by the city, being more than one tenth of the whole amount.* The taxes paid by women now are, no doubt, much larger than they were in 1873. Yet women have no voice in directing the appropriation of their money, are compelled to submit to enactments

* William I. Bowditch, Esq., published a pamphlet called "Taxation of Women in Massachusetts." It is full of valuable historical and statistical matter bearing on the subject, with an able commentary. It ought to be read by all interested in the elevation of women.

from which their moral instinct revolts, and have no power to urge, effectually, reforms which they believe to be all-important. Since women are not allowed to vote, they are generally considered ineligible to any public office, and incapable of holding any by appointment of the governor. I am far from assenting to this view of the law; for, in my opinion, any person, even an alien or a woman, is legally capable of holding any office, unless expressly prohibited by the Constitution or statutes.

In connection with the ballot it ought to be remembered that senators and representatives in the legislature, by amendments to the Constitution made in 1857, are apportioned according to the number of legal votes in the respective voting districts. Not making population, but the number of a particular class, the basis of representation, is the height of injustice, — an old one to be sure in Massachusetts. The women, the foreigners, the men who cannot read and write, or do not choose to vote, and the children, in this apportionment, are not counted any more than if they did not exist. It is no answer to the charge of injustice to say it is of no consequence that a few places like Lowell and Lawrence have fewer representatives than they would if population regulated representation. The system, I repeat, is unjust. And the contempt of women that it discloses is discreditable to Massachusetts.

A woman born in the United States is a citizen, though deprived of the ballot. A woman who is a foreigner, but of a race capable of being naturalized, by marrying a citizen, becomes herself a citizen. And if a husband and wife are both foreigners, his naturalization makes her a citizen. Rev. Stats. U. S., § 1994.

Governor Claflin, in 1871, nominated several ladies for justices of the peace. Some of the Council, doubting whether

women could hold the office, the opinion of the judges of the Supreme Court was asked on the subject. The judges delivered an opinion that women could not be such justices. The ground of decision appears to be that the office of justice of the peace under the constitution is judicial, and therefore cannot be held by a woman, according to the common law, which had not been altered by the constitution. I doubt the soundness of this decision. But it is needless to argue the question here. The opinion, however, does not seem to make any change in the constitution necessary. The legislature ought to pass an act declaring women capable of holding any office which the constitution does not prohibit them from holding. Though the legislature cannot repeal the constitution, it can remedy the defects of the common law.

An act passed in 1883 has partially remedied the narrowness of the common law by allowing the governor to appoint women special commissioners, to take acknowledgments of deeds, to administer oaths, and take depositions, important functions of justices of the peace.

The Supreme Court in 1881, following the lead of their decision in 1871, decided that a woman could not be admitted as a member of the bar. It is pleasant to record that the legislature in 1882, without any serious opposition, passed an act which enables female citizens to be admitted to the bar on the same terms as male.

Practically, women are still disabled from holding many offices for which they are admirably qualified, even by the judgment of those who regard them as unfit for other positions. Far the greater part of the public school teachers in Massachusetts are women. Male teachers are but a small fraction of the whole number. Yet we find no woman on the Board of Education. I had added, in a former edition of this tract, that there was no woman "on the Board of Trustees of

the State Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, or, except in a very few cases, on a School Committee;" and showed how desirable it was to have women as official visitors. The change on this subject, in public opinion and the law, in the few years which have passed since the tract first appeared, is truly wonderful and most encouraging.

Monroe, the smallest town in the State, set the example of having a woman on its School Committee for several years before 1868. But in the years commencing with 1868, a large number of women have been chosen on School Committees in different cities and towns. Worcester and Lynn were among the first to place women in this position.

Three womem were chosen members of the School Committee in Boston for 1874. The School Committee declared them ineligible. One of the ladies applied to the Supreme Court to be reinstated. The judges refused to decide the qnestion of her legal capacity to be a member of a school committee, but dismissed her petition on the ground that the charter of the city gave the School Committee power to decide on the qualifications of members of the board. The legislature, as soon as the decision was known, passed with great alacrity and almost by acclamation, "An act to *declare* women eligible to serve as members of school committees." There can be no doubt that within a few years women will be members of school committees in most of the towns of the State.

Since 1874 their numbers on school committees has much increased.

In 1875 I wrote, "No woman is to be found on the Board of State Charities, or as an Overseer of the Poor, or as a Trustee of a Lunatic Hospital."

The progress made since that time is quite encouraging. Governor Long placed a lady on the Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity, which superseded the Board of State

Charities. In 1883 her capacity to hold the position having been denied by Governor Butler, was sustained by the Supreme Court. In 1868, an Advisory Board of women for the Industrial School at Lancaster was created, and in 1870 an Advisory Board of women, as overseers, was made to aid the Commissioners of Prisons. These subsidiary and dependent boards were abolished in 1879; and by acts passed in that year a board of Commissioners of Prisons was created of seven persons, two of them women, Pub. Stat., ch. 219, § 1, and also a board of seven trustees of the State Primary and Reform Schools, two of them women. Pub. Stat., ch. 89, § 1. In 1884 a Board of Trustees of the State Almshouse and the State Workhouse was created of seven persons, two of them women. The legislature in 1884 superseded the Boards of Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospitals, each having five members, by boards of seven persons each, consisting of five men and two women.

It is not necessary to specify here the functions of these boards, or the terms of office of their members. But it marks the growth of public opinion to have women admitted on an equal footing with men to such important public duties.

In 1884 an act was passed requiring, from the first day of January, 1885, the appointment of an educated female physician as assistant physician in each of the State Lunatic Hospitals.

An act of 1874 established a reformatory prison for women. All its officers are required to be women except the superintendent, treasurer and steward, who may be either men or women. Pub. Stats., ch. 221, §§ 43–53. In 1883 the offices of treasurer and steward were abolished, their duties being transferred to the superintendent and a steward appointed by her as her agent. The superintendent of this

prison has, from the first, been a woman, and no person, so far as I have heard, has intimated that a man could fill the office better. The creation of a separate reformatory prison for female convicts forms an era in our penal legislation. The principle on which this measure is based is carried out by giving almost the entire administration of the establishment to women.

The prison commissioners are authorized to appoint a man with a salary not exceeding $1000 a year, to give advice and pecuniary aid to discharged convicts from the State Prison, not exceeding $3000 a year in all, Pub. Stat., ch. 219, § 26, and to appoint a woman with a salary not exceeding $700 for similar purposes in regard to female convicts discharged from prison; her salary and the money given them not to exceed $3000 together. Pub. Stats., ch. 219, § 27. In this case the female convicts seem much more favored than the male, for though the men have $3000 to be distributed among them, and the women only $2300, yet if the $3000 were divided equally among the men, and the $2300 among the women, the former are so much more numerous than the latter that each woman would get three or four times as much as each man. The distinction thus made is just, since it is much easier for men to find employment than women.

An Act passed in 1886 provides that "No person shall be ineligible for the office of Overseer of the Poor by reason of sex." This is wise and timely. For, though there was no legal doubt that women could hold the office, and certainly had done so in Brookline, and I believe in other towns, yet there is so strong an impression in the public mind that they cannot hold such offices that it was well to pass the act, to correct the impression. The defect of this statute is that it

does not go far enough and compel every city and town to make part of its overseers women.

This recent legislation, especially in regard to the prison for women, and making women trustees of so many public institutions, and the readiness which municipalities have shown to place women on school committees, are sure omens that the ballot will soon be placed in female hands; for those who have made women public officers cannot long fail to acknowledge that women ought to vote for public officers. The statutes of the last thirty years, in regard to married women, indicated a growing recognition of their capacity, which the common law denied them. Yet, after all, these statutes did nothing but gradually remove servile chains, and aim to place wives on an equal footing with maids, but not with men. The acts which make women public officers are of an entirely different character, and tend to raise both married and single women to legal equality with the other sex.

Still more important is the recent legislation which has given suffrage to women on a single subject. The enabling act was passed in 1879, and was amended in 1881. It appears in the Pub. Stats., ch. 6, §§ 3, 9, 19, and was revised and amended by Stat. 1884, ch. 298, §§ 4, 12, 27, 28.

As the law now stands, any female citizen who is not a pauper, or under guardianship, can vote for members of a school committee, provided she is twenty-one years old, able to read the constitution in the English language, write her name, have resided in the State a year, and in the city or town where she claims a right to vote six months before any election of school committees, and paid a state, county, city or town tax assessed on her or her trustee within two years before that day, has a right to vote for members of a school

committee. In words, the two sexes are equal in regard to voting for school committees.

But, as many thousand men become qualified to vote by paying a poll tax, an assessment to which women were not subject in 1879, an attempt was made to put the two sexes more nearly on an equal footing by the statute providing that any female citizen may in any year on or before September fifteenth, give notice in writing, accompanied by satisfactory evidence, to the assessors that she desires to pay a poll tax and to furnish a true list of her property not exempt from taxation, and she shall be assessed a tax for her poll not exceeding fifty cents, and for her estate, by paying which, if otherwise qualified, she gains the right to vote for two years from the time the tax is assessed on her. The law also provides that the name of every qualified female voter shall be placed and kept on a voting list so long as she continues qualified by residence and tax paying. The revision of 1884 adds "provided that the facts relating to residence shall be furnished to the registrar each year prior to registration." This last provision is very unjust, as it imposes a burden on women which men are not subject to. This legislation, though very defective, in not giving women the right of voting in town meetings on all subjects relating to schools, is yet of inestimable value, not because the power expressly granted is great, but because it is the first occasion in the long history of Massachusetts in which a purely political privilege has been given to women; and that marks the beginning of a new era in which the equality of the sexes is to be recognized in a manner heretofore unknown.

An act passed in 1886 requires assessors and assistant assessors in May and June every year for the purpose of making out a list of persons liable to pay a poll tax, to visit every

house in their respective cities and towns, "and make a true list" — "of all women who personally or in writing express to an assessor or assistant assessor a desire to be assessed for a poll tax, together with their occupation and age as near as may be, and residence on the first day in the preceding year." The assessors or assistants are required to furnish the list or a copy to the registrars of voters. This act, it is to be hoped, will relieve some women who wish to vote from the annoyance of going before assessors and taking oaths. Practically it does not place women on an equality with men, who are all registered.

Women are not required to serve in the militia and pay no poll tax unless they voluntarily pay the fifty cents before mentioned. These are proper exemptions at the present time. When legal equality is given to the sexes, women ought to pay a poll tax. They should never be called on to perform military duty.

The statute exempts from taxation property to the amount of $500, of a widow or unmarried female, and of any minor whose father is deceased, if one's whole estate not otherwise exempted from taxation does not exceed $1000. Pub. Stat. ch. 11, § 5.

Women are not allowed to serve on juries. This may be regarded either as an exemption or a disability. Yet it is very clear that there are cases in which women ought to be required to serve as jurors. Where one of the parties to a suit is a woman, a portion of the jurors ought always to be of her own sex. As the novelist can depict persons of one's own sex more successfully than one can those of the other, so female jurors would be likely to judge better of the truth, intentions, character and sanity of female parties to actions, and of female witnesses, than men.

No woman can be arrested on mesne process in any civil

action except for tort; and not for tort where the suit is for slander or libel. Pub. Stat. ch. 162, § 3. Nor can a woman be taken on an execution for debt. But on an execution for a debt of at least twenty dollars, after a demand of payment has been made on her by the officer holding the execution, she may be cited before the court of insolvency to disclose her property, and if she neglects to appear she may, on process issued by the court, be brought before the judge and compelled to submit to an examination in regard to her property, and is liable to be imprisoned for contempt if she disobeys any order of the court in regard to her property liable for the debt. Pub. Stat., ch. 162, §§ 6 to 13.

I do not propose here to discuss the great questions whether the two sexes should pursue all branches of study together, or what is the best liberal education for women. But the inequality of the position of the two sexes in respect to educational advantages is still striking.

This tract, when it first appeared, said there are no colleges in Massachusetts open to women; and that they are also denied admission into medical and theological schools; and that though they have the greatest zeal and aptitude for the study of medicine and theology, and become useful physicians and ministers of the gospel, yet they are obliged to qualify themselves for these professions under the greatest difficulties. It gives me great pleasure to modify these remarks by saying that the recently founded and flourishing Boston University opens for women its doors to all its undergraduate classes, and all its professional studies. The same is now true of the Massachusetts School of Technology.

Parishes were originally territorial bodies, one frequently being a whole town, or a defined part of a town. It is not, therefore, strange that only the qualified voters of each parochial territory should be allowed to take part in busi-

ness meetings of the parish, and that all other religious societies should adopt a similar rule. This continued the law until 1869, when an act was passed which authorized any parish or religious society to admit to membership women with all the rights and privileges of men. Pub. Stats., ch. 38, § 6. The rule is still imperfect and unjust, for, instead of giving women membership in parishes and religious societies on the same terms as men enjoy, it leaves it for the men in every such body to decide whether the women shall be members or not.

In regard to pauperism, a settlement in any place gives the right to support as a pauper from it. A married woman has the settlement of her husband if he have any within the State, otherwise her own is not lost or suspended by the marriage. Pub. Stat., ch. 83, § 1, cl. 1.

A legitimate child has the settlement of its mother, if the father have none in the State. Pub. Stat., ch. 83, § 1, cl. 2.

An illegitimate child has the settlement of its mother at the time of its birth, if she have any in the State. Pub. Stat., ch. 83, § 1, cl. 3.

A woman twenty-one years of age gains a settlement in any place in the State by five years consecutive residence in it. Pub. Stat., ch. 83, § 1, cl. 6, 7.

A statute passed in 1874 prohibits, under a penalty, the employment in laboring, in any manufacturing establishment, of any minor under eighteen and any woman over that age more than ten hours a day, except to make repairs to prevent the stoppage of machinery. The act, however, permits a different apportionment of the hours of labor, for the sole purpose of giving a shorter day's work for one day of the week, but in no case allows more than sixty hours per week. Pub. Stat., ch. 74, § 4.

By an act passed in 1883 these provisions are extended

to mechanical and mercantile establishments. These acts, though no doubt well intended, are founded, as it regards grown-up women, on a false principle. It supposes women to be too weak and reckless to take proper care of their health. The law as it respects minors is excellent; but men and women should be allowed to regulate their hours of labor for themselves. I cannot but regard it as an insult and injury to women to treat them as children.

The unfortunate mother of an illegitimate child enjoys at least one advantage over her happier sisters; she has the sole care and custody of her minor children, which the father can never interfere with.

Rape is punishable by imprisonment in the State Prison for life, or any term of years at the discretion of the court.

Criminal intercourse with a female child under the age of thirteen years is punished in the same way, the consent of such a child not reducing the enormity of the crime. Until an act passed in 1886, the age of consent was ten years. It might, with propriety, have been raised even beyond thirteen years.

An assault with intent to commit a rape may be punished to the same extent as rape, or by a fine of not exceeding $1000 and imprisonment in jail not exceeding three years. Pub. Stat., ch. 202, § 28.

An act passed in 1886, provides, in substance, as follows:

Section 1. Fraudulently enticing or taking away an unmarried woman of a chaste life and conversation from her father's house or wherever else she may be, for the purpose of prostitution or criminal connection with her, is punished by imprisonment or fine, or both.

Section 2. Administering to, or causing to be taken by any woman or girl any drug or thing with intent to stupefy

her for the purpose of criminal connection, is punished by imprisonment or fine, or both.

SECTION 3. The seduction of any "*person*" under the age of eighteen years, of chaste life and conversation, is punished in the same way. The statute, by using the word "person," means either male or female.

SECTION 4. Criminal connection with a female idiot or imbecile woman or girl, not amounting to rape, is punished in the same way.

SECTION 5. The owner or manager of any premises who induces or knowingly suffers any girl, under the age of twenty-one years, to resort to, or be in or upon the premises for the purpose of criminal connection, is punishable in the same way.

The imprisonment in all these sections, at the longest, may be three years in the State Prison, and the fine, at the highest, one thousand dollars, but both fine and imprisonment can be reduced at the discretion of the court.

This statute is very creditable to the legislature, as it is a declaration of healthy sentiment against a class of offences which are too frequent and comparatively seldom punished. Even if this law fails to make punishment for such offences common, it must tend, by its action on public opinion, to diminish their number.

The sixth section of this act provides that no person shall be convicted under it upon the evidence of one witness only, unless such witness be corroborated in some material particular. I doubt very much the wisdom of this provision. Cases often happen where one witness makes some statement which is directly denied by another. No judge tells the jury in such a case that the fact stated is unprovable, but directs the jury to decide which of the persons tells the truth, judging from their appearance and mode of testifying,

their conduct in and out of court, and other circumstances proved in the case connected with the disputed question. In the great majority of cases where there is conflicting testimony, judges and juries find no difficulty in deciding where the truth lies. Indeed, there seems no reason for introducing an extraordinary rule of law, which is calculated to screen crime among ignorant jurors and unskilled examining magistrates, who may not construe the statute justly. Where the main fact of a case is usually known only to two persons, such a rule as this is especially likely to impede the course of justice.

Fraudulently and deceitfully enticing away an unmarried female under sixteen years from her residence, in order to effect a clandestine marriage without the consent of the parent, guardian or master under whose care she is living, is punishable by imprisonment or fine, or both. Pub. Stat., ch. 207, § 1.

A woman who conceals the death of her child "which, if born alive, would be a bastard, so that it may not be known whether" it "was born alive or not, or whether it was not murdered, is punishable by fine not exceeding $100 or imprisonment not exceeding one year." Pub. Stat., ch. 207, § 11.

Until 1876 only women seem to have been punishable as *night-walkers*. The equality of the sexes in this regard was in that year vindicated by a statute which declared men who are common night-walkers subject to the same punishment "as those now deemed common night-walkers." Pub. Stat., ch. 207, § 29.

The mother of a bastard child may compel the father to maintain the child, and assist her in such manner as the court may order. Pub. Stat., ch. 85, § 15.

The inferiority of the female sex is one of the axiomatic

principles of the old law, so strong that one is not surprised to find it over riding natural feeling. The general object of the law of inheritance is to give the property of a person dying intestate to those to whom, if he had made a will, he would have been likely to leave it. It is very rarely, indeed, that one who dies without leaving lineal descendants would not wish his mother, if living, to have a share, at least, of his property. But the law of Massachusetts, until 1876, entirely disregarded this wish by providing that when a person died intestate, leaving no issue, his estate should descend to his father, and if he left no issue nor father, then in equal shares to his mother, brothers and sisters, and the children of any deceased brother or sister by representation. An act passed in that year places the mother in her true position, by providing "that if a person die intestate, leaving no issue, his estate descends to his father and mother, and if he leave no issue nor mother, then to his father; and if he leave no issue nor father, then to his mother." Under both the old and the new rules, the claims of the heirs are subject to the right of a surviving husband or wife of the deceased. Pub. Stats., ch. 125, § 1; ch. 135, § 3.

Another exhibition of the legal inferiority of females appears in partitions. When an estate is divided among heirs by commissioners appointed by the Probate Court, if any piece of the property is of greater value than either party's share, and cannot be divided without great inconvenience, it may be set off to one or more of the parties, he or they paying to any one or more of the others such sums as the commissioners may award to make the partition equal. But in doing this, males are to be preferred to females, and among children of the deceased, the elder to the younger. Pub. Stats., ch. 178, §§ 56, 57.

There is no just reason for this distinction between the

sexes. The rights of the male and the female in the property are equal, and the only fair distinction is that of seniority. It is idle to say a son can take better care of a house or a mill than his older sister. If she prefers to hold the house or the mill, and pays him his money, he would not be injured, but justice would be done.

So far, I have considered the law as it relates equally to both classes of women, the married and unmarried. I now come to the law relating to the married. No branch of the law is more interesting and important than that which affects the marriage relation. Marriage makes a striking change in the legal status of a woman.

A woman is prohibited from marrying her father, grandfather, son, grandson, stepfather, brother, grandmother's husband, daughter's husband, granddaughter's husband, husband's father, husband's grandfather, husband's son, husband's grandson, her nephew or her uncle. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 2.

We have made a noteworthy improvement on the English law in not prohibiting a woman from marrying her deceased sister's husband, or her deceased husband's brother, besides a number of other persons connected with the woman in the same way, merely by affinity and not consanguinity. It may be worth remarking that no change was made in the English law on the subject by the colony or province, so far as I can discover. Every magistrate and minister is prohibited from solemnizing a marriage where he has reasonable cause to suppose the male party to be under twenty-one years of age or the female under eighteen, except with the consent of the parent or guardian having the custody of the minor, if there be one in the state. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 6. Such marriages, however, are not void. But any marriage celebrated when either party is under the age of consent, which

is fourteen for males and twelve for females, becomes void if the parties separate during such nonage, and do not afterwards live together as husband and wife. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 8.

A marriage is necessarily void, if at the time it is contracted, either party have a spouse living. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 4.

When a marriage is contracted, both parties honestly believing that the spouse of one of them by a former marriage is dead, if the new marriage is declared void on account of the prior marriage, still the issue of the second marriage is legitimate in regard to the party capable of contracting the marriage. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 14.

Why should not the child be considered legitimate in regard to both parents, since both are innocent? A returning husband, in such a case, would prefer to have the child of his unfortunate wife called legitimate. The parents of the child, and the child even at an early age, would prefer it. Yet Massachusetts still keeps on her statute book this section, which stigmatises innocence as infamy.

When the validity of a marriage is denied or doubted, either party may bring a suit against the other, to settle the question, in the Supreme Court, which, by decree, may affirm or annul it. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 11.

Notice of intention of marriage must be filed with the clerk or register of the city or town in which each party dwells; but, if both parties reside out of the State, it must be filed in the city or town in which they propose to be married. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 16.

A minister of the gospel or a justice of the peace residing in the State is authorized to solemnize marriages in the place of his residence or that of either party. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 22.

But marriages of Quakers made in the manner used by their societies are legal. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 23.

No marriage solemnized before a person professing to be a justice or a minister, or in the Society of Friends, is void for the want of jurisdiction in such person or society or an omission of entering an intention of marriage, if the marriage be in other respects lawful and consummated with a full belief of either of the persons so married that they have been lawfully married. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 27.

A marriage solemnized by a consul or a diplomatic agent of the United States in a foreign country is valid. Pub. Stat., ch. 145, § 28.

One striking consequence of marriage is, that not only does the wife lose her maiden address of Miss and become Mrs., but she usually, if not necessarily, changes her family name for that of her husband. This in form subordinates her to her husband. In this connection, however, a woman enjoys one small legal advantage over a man. A man cannot in Massachusetts make a lawful change of his name except by a decree of the Probate Court. But a woman on her marriage can change her name without such decree. Pub. Stat., ch. 148, § 12.

The statute does not limit the extent of changing her name. But there can be no doubt that she may prefix to her husband's surname any part or the whole of her previous names, as was the practice before the statute regulating change of names was passed in 1851. Whether she may prefix to her husband's a new name she never held before, or may persevere in using her old name without adopting his, has been disputed. But, as it is well settled that by the common law any person can change one's name without the decree of a court, my opinion is that at the time of her marriage a woman may change her name to any extent, if she

adopts her husband's surname. Whether marriage stamps the husband's name on the wife without her consent or against her protest, as birth does the father's on an infant, it is not necessary to discuss here.

To show the present state of the law regarding married women, I am compelled to exhibit some of the provisions of the English common law. This is the fountain from which the law in almost all our States has sprung. This is what it was, with very little change, fifty years ago. The greater part of the States have by legislation made astonishing improvements on it since that period. The common law held a man and wife to be one person; not, to be sure, in any high spiritual sense, as the harmonious union of two souls, but as signifying that after marriage the husband was the one person for both, and the wife nothing. So entire was the absorption of the wife, that an old law-writer, referring to Æsop's fable, calls marriage *leonina societas*, a leonine partnership, of which the husband has all the profits and the wife none.

By marriage, all the wife's personal property, of every description, which belonged to her at the time of the marriage, and all which came to her afterwards by inheritance, bequest, gift, or otherwise, became absolutely vested in the husband, even her clothes and jewels.

It is true that the wife's choses in action, that is, rights of action, such as debts due to her, if they were not reduced to possession by him, would, if she survived him, still be hers.

He became also the owner of all her real estate, so far that he was entitled to the rents and profits of it, certainly during their joint lives; and, if he survived her, he retained the real estate during his life, in case they had had any child

born alive. This right of the husband in the wife's real estate after her death is called tenancy by the curtesy.

All the earnings of the wife, as long as the union lasted, belonged to the husband. She was absolutely incapable of making any contract. Every contract she made, either with her husband or a third person, was null and void. She was also incapable of making any gift directly to, or receiving any directly from, him.

Not that the law really disapproved of husbands making gifts to their wives, for settlements made by husbands for the benefit of their wives by the intervention of trustees were always favored.

Wives, too, with the aid of their husbands, could always convey real estate to third persons for the very purpose of having these persons convey the same to their husbands. These circuitous operations were always performed in Massachusetts with less friction than in England.

The wife's legal incapacity rendered it impossible for her to become executor, administrator, guardian or trustee, and if she held any such office while single, her marriage deprived her of it.

For the same reason she could make no will, not even of the legal interest she still retained in her real estate, she could bring no action in any court on any contract made with her before marriage, or for any injury to her person, her character or her property, without her husband's consent and joining in the suit.

A will made by her before marriage was revoked by the marriage. This seems not unreasonable as a general rule. But a man's will was not revoked by his subsequent marriage unless he had a child born after that event. In England the law has been equalized for both the spouses by

making marriage of any person a revocation of one's will previously made.

One other provision of the old law deserves notice. If a wife in her husband's presence committed less than the highest felony, she could not be punished for it, because she was supposed to have done the act under his compulsion. Nothing could show more completely the abject subjection to her master which the common law took for granted.

The wife, on her husband's death, became absolutely entitled to her dower, which he could not deprive her of by will. Dower is the right which the wife, on her husband's death, has during her life to one third of all the real estate which he owned in fee during the marriage.

If the husband died intestate, the wife became entitled to one third of his personal property remaining after payment of his debts. But he might by will deprive her of every part of this property, even what had been hers before marriage, except her paraphernalia, that is, her clothing and personal ornaments.

The husband had the sole right to the custody of the minor children. He had also the control and custody of his wife's person, though bound to exercise this power in a reasonable manner. This was fully recognized even in this century, in England, in a case where the wife had been confined by her husband at his lodgings. By a *habeas corpus* she was brought before the Court of King's Bench, which remanded her to her husband's custody, on the ground that this was a reasonable exercise of his authority, if he thought she would make an improper use of her liberty. Thus the husband was made the judge, jury and jailor of his wife. He settled the law, tried the facts, and executed the sentence himself. The same principle has been fully recognized in England at a more recent period. I ought to add that I do not believe

any court in Massachusetts, during the last fifty years, would have adopted the extreme doctrine of this decision.

Neither husband nor wife could be witnesses for or against each other in any court.

The common law, however, did not absolutely forget the wife; for it made the husband liable for her debts contracted before marriage, and required him to maintain her in a manner suitable to his station and ability.

So he was liable to respond in damages for all actionable wrongs committed by her during the marriage, and was a necessary defendant in all suits against her.

Among the wealthy, the severity of the common law in England, and to a great extent in this country, has long been mitigated by marriage-settlements, which enable wives, independently of their husbands, through the intervention of trustees, to have the absolute control of the income, and sometimes even of the capital, of their property. We all know, too, that the great majority of English and American wives have long been placed incomparably higher in the social scale than their legal condition would indicate. But when a selfish and brutal husband, either in the higher or lower ranks, chose to exercise the tyrannical power vested in him by the law, the condition of the wife was worse, if possible, than that of a slave on a Southern plantation. He could steal her children, rob her of her earnings, and neglect to give her that maintenance which the law requires of him. Practically she had, except in very rare cases, no sufficient redress for these wrongs.

The improvement in the law regulating the matrimonial relation has been so marked and rapid in most or our States that it affords a glorious augury for the future in all that relates to woman's legal condition. In Massachusetts, the progress made is very gratifying, as is apparent from the

following summary of the present law affecting married women when it is compared with the older law. The first act which endowed wives with the power of holding property was passed in 1845. It empowered women, by an antenuptial contract, to hold any real or personal property enumerated in it. This law was useful in rendering settlements with trustees unnecessary for the legal protection of a wife's property. Though still in force, it has been to a great extent superseded in practice by later and, for most parties, more beneficial legislation. It may, however, still be used when it is desired to keep the property of one spouse in case of death from the legal claims of the other. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, §§ 26, 27.

The same statute of 1845 gave a general power to any person to devise, bequeath, or convey any property to a wife to her sole and separate use, free from the control of her husband. The statute gave the wife, in regard to such property, the same rights and powers to sue in her own name, made her liable to be sued at law or in equity on any contract made by her, or any wrong done by her, in respect to such property, to the same extent as if sole. It also rendered her liable to be sued on any contract made by her, or any wrong done, before marriage. The rights given by this act were embarrassed by its being made necessary to have every conveyance made her recorded within ninety days. Still the act is remarkable as being the first attempt in Massachusetts to give wives the same powers of holding and dealing with property as if they were single.

In order to give the present state of our law with accuracy, I shall, to a great extent, adopt the words of the Public Statutes which were passed in 1881 and went into operation February 1, 1882.

It 1855 the great act was passed which attacked, and to

a great extent overthrew, the marital rights of husband, and endowed the wife with important powers up to that time unknown.

The Public Statutes say : "The real and personal property of a woman shall upon her marriage remain her separate property, and a married woman may receive, receipt for, hold, manage and dispose of property, real and personal, in the same manner as if she were sole, except that she shall not without the written consent of her husband destroy or impair his tenancy by the curtesy in her real estate." Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 1.

I confess I prefer the language of the General Statutes, which is as follows, omitting some unnecessary words : "The property, real and personal, which any married woman now owns as her separate property ; that which comes to her by descent, devise, bequest, gift or grant ; that which she acquires by her trade, business, labor or services, carried on or performed on her separate account, or received by her for releasing her dower by a deed executed subsequently to a conveyance of the estate of her husband ; that which a woman married in this State owns at the time of her marriage, and the rents, issues, profits and proceeds of all such property — are, notwithstanding her marriage, her separate property, and may be used, collected and invested by her in her own name, and are not subject to the control of her husband, or liable for his debts."

The poet tells us that striving to be brief he becomes obscure. So I cannot help fearing that the compilers, aiming at brevity, may have let slip some protection to women. I admire the very redundancy of the earlier act, which gives blow after blow, to make certain that the old enemy, the common law, is so beaten out of the territory conquered by the new law that it can never claim any part of it again.

Is it certain that if "a wife *may* receive and hold property in the same manner as if she were sole," there is no conceivable way in which property *may* come to her in which the common law claim of the husband cannot be interposed? I trust my fears may prove illusive. But every syllable of the great charter emancipating wives ought to have been held sacred.

In the last edition of this tract I traced historically the successive enactments for the benefit of married women. I shall in the present edition generally content myself with giving the final result in the Public Statutes, and in an appendix a list of the statutes for the benefit of women.

Though the act of 1855 gave the wife some powers of conveying property without her husband's consent, and some right of making contracts in relation to her own property, it was not till an act passed in 1874 that she had the full power of conveyance, and the full right of making contracts, as follows: —

"A married woman may make contracts, oral and written, sealed and unsealed, in the same manner as if she were sole, except that she shall not be authorized hereby to make contracts with her husband." Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 2.

This exception, thus preserving the old common law, is not creditable to Massachusetts. Some of our sister states, in giving a general capacity of action to wives, have not hesitated to extend it to dealings with their husbands.

The amount of injury to wives, by thus refusing to sanction contracts with their husbands, is incalculable. The volumes of our law reports contain numerous cases which illustrate this. Wives often lend money to their husbands, for which the latter give notes. Husbands seldom deny the justice of these debts, though they frequently remain unpaid at their deaths. Then executors and administrators are

compelled by the court to refuse to pay these most righteous debts, and heirs are too often willing to reap the benefit of this legal wrong. Many thousand dollars every year are in this way lost by wives and widows in Massachusetts. Yet the legislature, though every year petitioned, refuses to give them any redress.

The arguments in favor of rendering contracts between husband and wife void are, first and principally, that it always has been so for ages. This requires no answer beyond this: the reason why she could make no binding contract with her husband or any other person under the old law was that all her property was her husband's. But now her property has ceased to be his and has become her own. The whole reason of the rule of law having ceased, the rule itself ought to cease with it in regard to the husband, as it has in regard to all other persons.

The other argument seems to be that there would be great danger to the husband's creditors in case of his becoming insolvent, of their suffering from his fraudulent dealings with his wife. The only answer necessary here is, that no contract which is essentially honest ought to be prohibited by law because one apparently fair may sometimes prove fraudulent.

Although the Supreme Court of Massachusetts declares all contracts between husband and wife to be void, yet the United States District Court has allowed a wife to prove a loan made by her to her husband as a debt against his estate. It is also clear that when she wishes to lend money to her husband, if she passes the money to B to act for her, and he lends the money accordingly to her husband, A, receiving A's note, promising to pay the money to B, in trust for her, the note is valid, and may be enforced against A by B as her trustee.

Another illustration of the evils of this system is in refusing to allow partnerships between husbands and wives. How difficult it is to eradicate all the roots of a great tree after the trunk is cut down. Business partnerships between husband and wife are often natural and convenient. How much better, too, would it be, when a married couple desire to carry on business together, to allow them to be partners than to compel one to be the master or mistress and the other the servant.

The Public Statutes, as amended by Stat. 1884, ch. 132, § 1, say: "Nothing contained in the preceding sections, Pub. Stat., ch. 147, §§ 1 and 2, just cited, shall authorize a husband or a wife to transfer property one to the other, except that a wife may by gift from her husband acquire as her personal property wearing apparel, articles of personal ornament, and articles necessary for her personal use, to a value of not more than two thousand dollars." Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 3. Here the legislature is again interfering to prevent husband and wife from performing acts which are not in their nature wrong, but are often commendable. Such acts ought not to be prohibited, as I have before said, because they may sometimes be fraudulent. To interfere thus with the amenities of domestic life, to make it illegal for a wife to make a present to her husband, or to regulate the nature and extent of his gifts to her, is impertinent, unjust and cruel. What shows the monstrosity of this system is that the act of a husband conveying property to his wife is not objected to at all, for one spouse can convey property to the other to any extent, indirectly, by first conveying it to a third person, who then conveys it to the other.

Post nuptial settlements, by which a solvent husband gave property to trustees for his wife, were always favored. Since the wife's capacity to hold property has been enlarged, deeds

from husbands of real estate to a third person, and from the latter to the wife, have been quite common. Even a deed from a husband to a third person and his heirs, to the use of his wife and her heirs, passed the property to her. The whole system, however, is objectionable which prevents husbands and wives dealing with each other as freely and directly as with other persons.

All work and labor performed by a married woman for a person other than her husband and children, unless there is an express agreement on her part to the contrary, is presumed to be performed on her separate account. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 4.

By the common law, if an unmarried woman who is an executrix, administratrix, or guardian, marry, her powers in that capacity devolve on her husband. In Massachusetts, until 1869, the condition of married women was rendered by statute worse in this respect than the common law left it; for, in such case, not only did her functions cease, but they did not devolve on her husband, and a new person had to be appointed in her place. By the English law, too, a married woman could, with her husband's consent, accept the office of executrix or administratrix. He, however, would act for her. The law as administered in Massachusetts was more unfavorable for married women. Here a wife who was appointed executrix or trustee by will was not allowed to act as such, nor could she be an administratrix or guardian under any circumstances.

But a statute passed in 1869 allowed a married woman to be an executrix, adminstratrix, guardian or trustee, interposing, however, the unjust and foolish provision that the written consent of her husband, if of sound mind, must be filed in the Probate Court before she could be appointed. This provision was repealed by the act of 1874, which re-

enacted the enabling part of the act of 1869. After a woman is once appointed to any one of these offices, her subsequent marriage does not deprive her of it; and when once appointed, she holds it entirely independent of her husband.

The words of the Public Statutes follow.

A married woman may be an executrix, administratrix, guardian or trustee, and may bind herself and the estate she represents without any act or assent of her husband. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 5.

When the first edition of this tract appeared, if the children of a widow were under the guardianship of another person, as long as she remained unmarried she was entitled to the custody of their persons and the care of their education; but, if she married again, the statute deprived her of this natural right. As this atrocious enactment must seem incredible to mothers, I copy its very words:

"The guardian of a minor shall have the custody and tuition of his ward, and the care and management of all his estate. But the father of the minor, if living, and, in case of his death, the mother *while she remains unmarried*, they being respectively competent to transact their own business, shall be entitled to the custody of the person of the minor, and the care of his education."

This cruel provision no longer exists. For, by an act passed in 1870, the words "while she remains unmarried" were struck from the statute. Pub. Stat., ch. 139, § 4.

The inequality of legal rights in the two spouses is here still conspicuous. The mother has no legal share in the custody and care of her minor children while their father is living, unless she is living separate from him by divorce or otherwise, as explained elsewhere. Nature cries out against

this legal arrangement which places one parent below the other.

"A married woman may make a will in the same manner and with the same effect as if she were sole, except that such will does not, without the husband's written consent, operate to deprive him of his tenancy by the curtesy in her real estate or of more than one half of her personal estate." Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 6.

The only objection to this provision is allowing the husband to hold for life all the deceased wife's real estate, while a widow has as her dower, where her husbund leaves issue living, only one third of his real estate for her life. This inequality is most unjust, for the widow far more frequently than the widower needs assistance from the estate of a deceased spouse.

The great injustice to the wife's children of this tenancy by the curtesy does not always strike the imagination. But if we consider that the children left by the wife are sometimes not her husband's, but the offspring of a previous marriage, that when the husband is not more than forty years old the value of their reversion in the real estate is comparatively small, and even if he be much older is still very unsalable, we see that the operation of the system must be very harsh in many cases.

An act passed in 1884 amends the section last quoted by adding the words, "A married woman deserted by or living apart from her husband for a justifiable cause, when the proper court having jurisdiction of the parties and the cause of action shall have entered a decree establishing the fact of such desertion by, or living apart from, her husband for justifiable cause, may make a will in the same manner and with the same effect as if she were sole, and may by said will or under such circumstances by deed, without her husband's

written consent, dispose of all her real and personal estate." This provision cannot fail of being useful to wives who are unwilling to seek a divorce.

"A married woman may sue and be sued in the same manner as if she were sole, but this section shall not be construed to authorize suits between husband and wife." Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 7.

This provision shows a very narrow adherence to the old law. To say that a woman shall never bring a suit against her husband is just as improper an interference with personal rights as it would be to prohibit suits between parents and children, or brothers and sisters. Public exhibitions of family quarrels are to be regretted. They are, however, not the causes of quarrels or ill-feeling, but usually the result of injustice on one side or the other. It is, however, well worth remarking that the statute does not absolutely prohibit suits in which husband and wife may be on opposite sides, but they are left to the old law. It would be a great and needless labor to enumerate such cases here, which are mostly suits in equity.

A wife is not liable for her husband's debts, nor is her property liable to be taken on an execution against him except as stated on page 34. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 8.

A husband is not liable to be sued on a cause of action originating against his wife before marriage, nor to pay any judgment recovered against her except as stated on page 34. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 9.

A wife's contracts in respect to her separate property, business or services, are not, except as stated in the next paragraph, binding on her husband or his property, but she and her separate property are liable as if she were sole. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 10.

When a wife does or proposes to do business on her sepa-

rate account, she must record in the clerk's office of the city or town where the business is to be done a certificate stating her own and her husband's name, and the place where the business is to be carried on, and if practicable the street and number on the street. When the nature of the business or its place is changed, a new certificate must be recorded. If a wife fail to record any certificate, her husband may record it. But if any one required be not recorded by either, the property employed in the business may be attached as the husband's, and taken on execution against him, and he becomes liable on all contracts lawfully made in conducting the business, as if he had made them himself. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 11. It is right that when a wife carries on a separate business she should be required to give some reasonable notice that the business is hers and not her husband's, so that his creditors may not be misled. But the statutory mode of giving notice of the wife's business is troublesome and not the most effectual, and the penalties for neglect are too severe. Would not requiring the woman's christian name at length, or the letters *Mrs.* prefixed before her surname, with the word *Trader* to be set at the entrance of her place of business, be a more sure notice than anything in the clerk's office? To make the husband liable on contracts made in her name and on her account is unreasonable and unjust.

The Supreme Court, on a wife's petition, may appoint a trustee to hold such separate property as she may convey him on such trusts as she may declare in the conveyance. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 13.

This provision now seems superfluous, as the intervention of the court is quite unnecessary to enable a wife to convey her property in trust.

The provision of the following paragraph in regard to personal property affects principally, if not solely, women mar-

ried before July 3, 1856. If the sale of her real estate, under the authority of the court, takes away the husband's tenancy by the curtesy, it still affects other wives.

A wife abandoned by her husband, who has left the State and does not sufficiently maintain her, or has been sentenced to cenfinement in the state prison, may be authorized by the Supreme Court to sell and receipt for her real and personal property, and any personal estate which may have come to her husband, and any which he is entitled to by reason of the marriage, and to use the property and its proceeds as if unmarried during his absence or imprisonment. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 31.

A wife whom her husband, without just cause, fails to support or deserts, or who is for any justifiable cause living separate from him, may, on her own petition, or, if she be insane, on that of her guardian or next friend, obtain an order from the Probate Court to prohibit her husband from imposing any restraint on her personal liberty; and may, on the application of either husband or wife, make such further order as the court thinks expedient concerning her support, and the care, custody and maintenance of the minor children of the parties, and subsequently may revise and alter the order on the application of either party. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 33.

This last provision was, no doubt, made because some wives who have separated from their husbands, from conscientious scruples, do not seek a divorce; and sometimes a separation is allowable for reasons which would not justify a divorce.

It is very difficult in practice to enforce the obligation of a husband to support his wife and children where he has little or no visible property, and especially when he has nothing but his own labor to support himself. An act passed in

1885 provides than whoever unreasonably neglects to provide for the support of his wife or minor child may be punished by fine not exceeding twenty dollars or imprisonment not exceeding six months. The court can make the fine payable to the party actually supporting the wife and child.

A married woman coming into the State without her husband has all the rights and powers given by the statute to married women, and may transact business, make contracts, sue, be sued, and dispose of her property here as if unmarried. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 29.

When a couple who were married out of the State reside in it, the wife retains all property acquired by her under the laws of any other state or country; and their residing together here has the same effect with regard to their subsequent rights and liabilities as if they had married at the time of their first residing here together. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 30.

I have not space to discuss the principles which should regulate the law of divorce. It is certain, however, that the tendency in Massachusetts, as in most of the other states, has for a long period been to render the judicial sundering of the marriage bond more easy. It is not many years since when the causes of absolute divorce were few, separation of husband and wife for other causes sometimes called divorces *a mensa et thoro*, from bed and board, leaving the marriage bond untouched, were allowed. This nominal divorce operated here, as it has wherever tolerated, to promote licentiousness. It was wisely abolished by the legislature in 1870, and former causes of legal separation were made grounds of total divorce.

The causes of divorce now are, against either party, adultery, impotency, extreme cruelty, utter desertion for

three successive years, gross and confirmed habits of intoxication, cruel and abusive treatment, the separating from one's spouse and uniting and continuing for three years with a religious society which regards the relation of husband and wife unlawful; a sentence to hard labor for life, or for not less than five years in the state prison or jail; and by the wife against the husband when he, being of sufficient ability, grossly or wantonly and cruelly refuses or neglects to provide suitable maintenance for her. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, §§ 1 and 2.

Though the law in regard to divorce is entirely equal in terms for both parties in regard to all the causes except the last, yet it becomes a remedy for women in far more cases than for men. Is it the wife or the husband who is the more frequently unfaithful? Which party is more frequently guilty of extreme cruelty to or desertion of the other? Which party more often becomes a confirmed drunkard? or is guilty of cruel and abusive treatment? or is sent to the state prison? It is not necessary to go to the court records to answer these questions. The smallest observation of society gives the response.

Yet the records are so remarkable that it is well to present the figures given by them. The Registration Report of Massachusetts, published in 1885, gives the number of divorces obtained by wives and husbands, respectively, in the state for the twenty years beginning with 1865 and ending with 1884, for the causes named, as follows:

	Adultery.	Desertion.	Habitual Drunkenness.	Extreme Cruelty.	Cruel and Abusive Treatment.	Neglect to Provide.	Imprisonment.	Total.
Wives against husbands.	1780	2612	771	499	490	202	64	6417
Husbands against wives.	1463	1423	87		1		3	2985

It thus appears that in twenty years considerably more than twice as many divorces were granted wives than husbands; and the new causes of divorce created by statute in 1870 proved almost exclusively for the benefit of wives. In 1883, 461 wives obtained divorces and 194 husbands. The proportions remain nearly the same, though the number obtained by wives is slightly larger in proportion than that obtained by husbands.

It is also worth while to remark that the desertions of husbands are often accompanied by adultery, when the judgments against them are only for desertion.

It is, however, quite probable that the wife joins the Shakers more frequently than the husband. But an express provision for such an emergency is now quite superfluous, since the case is covered by the general provision in regard to desertion.

Some persons are no doubt still suffering under divorces from bed and board, or divorces *nisi*, that is, uncomplete divorces, which might have been made effectual long ago. Any of such parties, innocent or guilty, can now get a full divorce by petitioning the Supreme Court. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 3.

A statute of 1884 allows a divorce, notwithstanding the libellee had been absent for such a length of time and under such circumstances as would raise a presumption of death. This is quite right, for a husband long supposed to be dead now and then reappears to disconcert his innocent wife and his unlucky successor.

In all suits for divorce the court may require the husband to pay into the court for the wife's use such sum of money as may enable her to maintain or defend the suit; and she shall, when it appears to be just and reasonable, be entitled

to alimony during the pendency of the suit. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 15.

During the pendency of a libel for divorce, the court may make any order concerning the care and custody of the minor children of the parties that may be expedient and for the children's benefit. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 17.

An act passed in 1881, since incorporated in the Public Statutes, authorizes the court before which a libel for divorce is pending, without entering a decree of divorce (it is implied that the libellant is entitled to such a decree), to continue the case from time to time (indefinitely) and during such continuance to make such orders "concerning the temporary separation of the parties, the separate maintenance of the wife, and the custody and support of minor children, as, in its judgment, the interests of the parties and the necessities of the case demand." Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 18.

This is a most extraordinary provision, bringing back, in a surreptitious manner, the abomination of divorce from bed and board. What an arbitrary power is given to the court. Consider a single case. A lady brings a libel for divorce against her husband for cruelty or desertion. She has a trial, and the facts are established to the satisfaction of the court, and the court gives her the custody of the children, and orders the husband to pay her money for her and their maintenance. The statute entitles her to a divorce, but the judge, thinking himself wiser than the general law, denies it, and makes the husband and wife live apart. She may die, leaving real and personal property. Half her personal property, and a life estate in her real, go to her husband, while her children are left to his mercy. I do not mean to charge that any one of our judges would be so unwise as to exercise the power given to him by this section, but I contend that no such power ought to be given to any judge.

The illustration which I have introduced shows the evil operation of divorce from bed and board. Sad as it is, it is only one aspect of a great wrong. As long as divorces from bed and board are the only remedy in any place for marital offences, the consequences are and must be that many of the half-separated parties cannot endure the condition. Some enter into new marriage relations, illegal of course, enduring the disgrace and branding the stigma of illegitimacy upon the children, fruits of such relations. Others, especially men, are drawn into licentious courses. It is not Massachusetts alone, but the United States, England, continental Europe, and all history, that warn us not to bring back in any shape a system which has always been mischievous and demoralizing wherever practiced.

After a divorce either party may marry again, except that the party against whom the divorce is granted cannot marry within two years from the time of the entry of the final decree of divorce. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 22.

When a divorce is granted to a wife the court may allow her to resume her maiden name or that of a former husband. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 21.

In case of a divorce for any cause except the wife's adultery, the wife becomes entitled to the immediate possession of her real estate; and the court may also make a decree restoring to the wife the whole or any part of the personal estate which came to the husband by reason of the marriage, or the value thereof in money. And the court, if it please, may order the same to be delivered to a trustee, for the support and benefit of the wife and minor children of the marriage. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, §§ 24, 25.

The provisions in the last paragraph, adopted from an old statute, seem now only to affect persons married before the law of 1855 came into force. Wives married since that time,

as already stated, own their property, both real and personal, after marriage as they did before.

Where a divorce is decreed for the husband's adultery or his sentence to confinement at hard labor, the wife becomes entitled to her dower as if he were dead. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 28.

On a divorce for the wife's adultery, her title to her separate real and personal property during her life is not affected, except that the court may decree to the husband so much of said estate as it may deem necessary for the support of their minor children who may have been decreed to his custody; and if she afterwards marry, his interest in her separate real and personal estate, except that thus decreed him, ceases. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 27.

This provision is based on a statute passed in 1877. It appears to me very unwise in attempting to provide any interest in the wife's property to her husband after her death. What shall be decreed the husband is properly left to the discretion of the court. But is it just to embarrass the title to the real estate of the poor erring sister by disabling her from selling or mortgaging it without asking, and, perhaps, buying the consent of a person who has now become a stranger? It may well be doubted whether the statute has accomplished what it seems to have intended. When the divorce severs the marriage bond, the parties to it cease to be husband and wife, and the only claim he has on her property is that given by the decree. During her life, without the provision just cited, he would have no claim on her real and personal estate. After her death, without this provision, he would have no such claim, because he is not her husband at the time of her death. Does the statute's saying that his interest in her estate shall cease on her marrying give him an interest after her death, if he had none before?

The law makers may have imagined he had such an interest, but they certainly have used no words to give it to him.

At the time a divorce is decreed, or afterwards, the court may decree alimony to the wife, or a part of her estate in the nature of alimony to the husband. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 36.

On granting a divorce, the court may make such decree as it deems expedient concering the care, custody and maintenance of the minor children of the parties, and may determine with which of the parents the children or any of them shall remain, and may afterwards modify the decree on the petition of either parent. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 29.

After a divorce granted in another state, if the minor children of the marriage are inhabitants of this State, the Supreme Court may make like decrees concerning their care, custody, education and maintenance. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 30.

When the infant children of divorced parents are natives of the State, or have resided in it five years, they shall not be removed out of it without their own consent, if of suitable age to give it; or, if under that age, without the consent of both parents, unless the Supreme Court orders otherwise. Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 31.

"In making an order or decree relative to the custody of children pending a controversy between their parents, or in regard to their final possession, the rights of the parents shall, in the absence of misconduct, be held to be equal, and the happiness and welfare of the children shall determine their custody or possession." Pub. Stat., ch. 146, § 32.

Where the parents of minor children live separately, the Supreme Court has the same power to make decrees "concerning their care, custody, education and maintenance" as

if the parents were divorced, and is governed by the same rules. Pub. Stat., ch. 147, § 36.

The equal rights of parents to the care and custody of children is now established when the husband and wife are divorced or live apart without being divorced. But when the married pair are living together, ought not the mother to have an equal voice in the nurture and education of their offspring? In well regulated families, the influence of the mother is usually potent. There is no more necessity for giving the whole legal authority to one spouse than there is in common partnerships of giving a superior power to one partner over another.

Children under the age of fourteen years may be bound as apprentices or servants by their father, or, if he be dead or incompetent, by their mother, but the power of the mother ceases if she marry again. Children over fourteen may be bound in the same way, but their own consent is necessary. Females may be bound till they are eighteen or marry, and males till they are twenty-one. Pub. Stat., ch. 149, §§ 1, 2, 3.

Surely the mother's marriage ought not to annul her power over her children, though the subject is of less importance than it used to be when apprenticeships were more frequent. Ought not the law to give the mother the same relation to her offspring that nature has bestowed? Why, indeed, should the earnings of minor children belong wholly to their fathers? Are they not as much indebted to their mothers?

Early editions of this tract contained a long statement of how much it was necessary to do to remove the legal incapacity of married women. So much has been since done in this direction that I gladly omit the sentences referred to.

Still the unequal condition of the wife remains in many

respects. It is, indeed, strikingly apparent in the case of the death of either husband or wife.

When a wife owning real estate in fee dies before her husband and they have had a living child, the husband takes the estate for his life, as tenant by the curtesy. This right of the husband is superior to the claims of his wife's creditors. Pub. Stat., ch. 134, § 2. If they have had no such child, he holds one half of such estate for his life. If she die intestate, leaving no issue living, he takes her real estate in fee to the value of $5000, with a life interest as before provided in her other real estate. If she die intestate leaving no kindred, he takes the whole of her real estate in fee. Pub. Stat., ch. 124, § 1, as amended by statute 1885, ch. 253.

By the common law, the husband whose wife had never given him a living child, had no interest in her real estate after her death. But an act passed in 1877 gave him a life interest in one half of her real estate, if she did not by will provide otherwise. The act of 1885 just cited has taken away from her this power, and his right to a life interest in half her real estate becomes absolute. It is a great objection to this act that, instead of placing the husband and wife on an equal footing, which has been the tendency of much of our recent legislation, it takes a backward step by annulling an existing power of the wife, and on her death gives her childless husband the use of half of her real property for his life, while she on his decease has only a life interest in one third of his.

The husband also takes the whole of her personal estate, if she leaves no issue and no will. But if she leaves issue, he takes but one-half, and even if they have no issue she may deprive him of one half by will. Stat. 1882, ch. 141. Pub. Stat., ch. 135, § 3; ch. 147, § 6.

Now look at the other side. When the husband dies, the

wife is entitled in all cases to her dower at common law, that is to one third of all the real estate which he owned in fee, during her life, with the exceptions hereinafter noted. This dower right the husband cannot deprive her of by a sale of land in which she does not join, nor can it be levied on by his creditors nor sold to pay his debts after his death. Pub. Stat., ch. 172, § 59; Pub. Stat., ch. 134, § 2. The monstrous inequality and injustice of giving a husband a life interest in the whole of his deceased wife's lands, and giving her the same interest in only one third of those of her deceased partner, needs no comment.

A widow has no right of dower in wild lands, except wood lots or other lots used with the farm or dwelling-house. Pub. Stat., ch. 124, § 4. This is a harsh provision, since wild lands sometimes become valuable during the widowhood and especially considering that the husband's tenancy by the curtesy is subject to no such limitation.

When a husband dies intestate, leaving no issue, his wife take his real estate in fee to the amount of $5000 and one half his other real estate during her life, or if she files her election in the probate office within six months after administration taken, she may have, instead of such life estate, her dower in his real estate other than that taken in fee. If the husband die intestate, leaving no kindred, she takes the whole of his real estate in fee. Pub. Stat., ch. 124, § 3.

The provisions in the last paragraph are well intended, but will they in fact in all cases give widows all the benefits aimed at? The real estate to the amount of $5000, given by the statute, is liable to be taken for the husband's debts. In many cases her dower would be far better, but the statute seems to give her no option, as it ought to do, except in regard to real estate beyond the $5000. This is a great

inadvertence in the act of 1880, on which the provision in question is based.

Though a woman can take no dower in wild land, yet she may take it as part of her life estate under the provision of the Public Statutes last referred to, and may use, clear and improve it. Pub. Stat., ch. 124, § 4.

A woman may be barred of her dower by a jointure settled on her before marriage with her assent, such jointure to consist of a freehold estate in lands for the life of the wife at least, to take effect in possession or profit on the husband's death. Pub. Stat., ch. 24, § 7.

Any pecuniary provision made with the like assent of the intended wife also bars her dower. Pub. Stat., ch. 124, § 8.

If the jointure or pecuniary provision is made before marriage, without her assent, or if it be made after marriage, it shall bar her dower, unless within six months after her husband's death she makes her election to waive such provision and take her dower. If the husband dies while absent from the wife, she has six months after notice of his death in which to make her election; and in all cases has six months for that purpose, after notice of the existence of such jointure or provision. Pub. Stat., ch. 124, § 9.

Every householder having a family may acquire a homestead estate not exceeding in value $800 in land and buildings, owned or leased to him and occupied by him as a residence, which will not be liable to be taken for the payment of his debts. Such a homestead may be created by a declaration in the deed conveying the property to the purchaser that it is designed to be held as a homestead, or by a writing afterwards executed by him and recorded. This homestead right continues after the householder's death for the benefit of his wife and minor children, and is enjoyed by them if some one of them occupies the premises until the youngest child

becomes twenty-one years old and until the marriage or death of the widow. Pub. Stat., ch. 123.

It seems that a woman is capable of gaining a homestead right in an estate purchased by her, though it is not often that she does it.

In regard to personal estate, whether the husband when he dies leaves a will or not, his widow is always entitled to such an allowance from his estate as the Probate Court, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, may allow as necessaries for herself and the family under her care, besides the use of his house and furniture, and sufficient provisions and other articles for the reasonable sustenance of his family for forty days. Pub. Stat., ch. 135, § 2.

This provision for widows, where the estate of the deceased is small or insolvent, as is generally the case, is often very important, as it is superior to all claims of heirs and creditors.

A widow may remain in her husband's house forty days after his death without rent. Pub. Stat., ch. 124, § 3.

When a man dies intestate, after payment of the above allowance, his debts and charge of administration, if he leaves a widow and issue, she is entitled to one third of the residue of his personal estate. Pub. Stat., ch. 135, § 3. And if he leave a widow and no issue, she is entitled to the whole of the residue to the amount of $5000, and one half the excess of the residue above $10,000. Pub. Stat., ch. 135, § 3, cl. 5. If he leave a widow and no kindred, she is entitled to the whole of the residue. Stat. 1885, ch. 276. This, however, is not a new provision. It was law when the Public Statutes were prepared, but inadvertently omitted.

A widow may, within six months after the probate of her husband's will, file in the registry of probate a waiver of the provision made for her by his will, or a claim to what she

would have of his estate real and personal had he died intestate, and she shall then be entitled to the same portion of his estate as if she had died intestate, except that if the personal estate to which she would be entitled exceeds $10,000, she shall only be entitled to the income during her life of all her share over that amount. Pub. Stat., ch. 127, § 18. When, after probate of the will, its validity or effect is questioned by legal proceedings, the probate court may, within the six months, extend the time of filing such waiver for six months after the ending of such proceedings. Pub. Stat., ch. 127, § 18.

The provision for compelling a widow to make her choice within six months between the provisions made her by the will and her legal rights, appears to me harsh and oppressive. It may easily happen that within that period it is impossible for a widow to decide which is for her interest. After that time the husband's estate may turn out to be insolvent, or may prove unexpectedly large. Why should she be driven to make a hasty decision in a matter so important to her? No widower is driven to such a choice.

The provisions just stated are much in advance of the old law, which allowed the husband to will all his personal property away, without leaving anything to his widow, even if all had belonged to her before marriage. The inequality between the husband and wife, however, is still manifest. Why should they not be equal? The wife usually needs the husband's property more than he needs hers.

If a man or woman, at the time of marriage, has a large property which it is desired to take out of the general law, it can be done by a marriage-settlement, but where there is no settlement the survivor of the husband and wife, in case of the death of either, ought to have equal claims on the property of the deceased.

The inequality in the condition of the two spouses on the death of one of them is very strikingly shown in this. A husband is always entitled to administration on his wife's estate, when she dies intestate; but the Probate Court, when the husband dies intestate, may grant administration on his estate to his widow or his next of kin or to her and the next of kin jointly. Pub. Stat., ch. 130, § 1. The right of administration is generally important and sometimes very valuable.

Until within a few years, if a son or a daughter of full age died intestate, leaving no issue, the father inherited all the property of the deceased, to the exclusion of the mother, sisters and brothers. In case, however, of the father being dead, the property was divided equally between the mother and the surviving brothers and sisters.

I gladly omit the censure I formerly made on this disgraceful state of the law, for the wrong was corrected by an act passed in 1876, which provided that when a person died leaving no issue his estate, real and personal, should descend in equal shares to his father and mother; but leaving no issue or mother, to his father, and leaving no issue or father, then to his mother. Pub. Stat., ch. 125, § 1; ch. 135, § 3.

By an act passed in 1883 a widow was given a right of interment in her husband's lot in a cemetery. By an act passed in 1885 all descents and devises of every lot in any cemetery are subject to the following limitations: If the proprietor leaves a widow and children, they shall have in common; and if he leaves a widow and no children, she shall have the possession, care and control of the lot during her life. The parties having such possession may erect a monument and make other permanent improvements thereon. The widow has a right of interment for her body in the lot, or in a tomb on the lot, and no proprietor has the right to

remove it; but the body may be removed to some other family lot or tomb with the consent of her heirs.

A father has the right to appoint guardians to his children by his will, and if he does not exercise this power, the mother may, after his death, appoint guardians to her children by her will. Pub. Stat., ch. 139, § 5. It was not till 1877 that even this qualified right of appointing a testamentary guardian to her children was granted to the mother. It is hard to be obliged to accept such a crumb of justice doled out with such a careless hand. It is true that a testamentary guardian appointed by the father cannot deprive the mother of the custody and care of the children, nor could one appointed by her deprive the father of his natural right. Why, then, should she not have the same right that he has of appointing a testamentary guardian at any time? His rights over the children are not impaired by giving her such a privilege.

Suppose the guardian of the father dies or refuses to act, ought the mother to be deprived of the right of protecting her children by will?

Again, in case a woman has obtained a divorce from her husband on account of his criminal conduct, and the care of the children has been given her by the court, it seems specially hard that she should not have the power of appointing a guardian to her children by will, who, even if her death devolved the custody of the children on her husband, would still have the care of their property. To produce an entire equality on this subject between the spouses, it ought to be the will of the survivor which should endow the testamentary guardian with the custody of the children and care of their education.

Under the common law, neither husband nor wife could be a witness in any case in which the other was a party.

As the law now stands, husband and wife can be witnesses for and against each other in all legal proceedings, but neither of them is allowed to testify to private conversations with each other, and neither can be compelled to be a witness in any trial of an indictment or other criminal proceeding against the other. Pub. Stat., ch. 169, § 18. It may be a question whether the court ought not to have the power to compel the disclosure of conversations relating to property and evidence in regard to crime.

The husband or wife, &c., of any person who has the habit of drinking intoxicating liquors to excess, — I will call him A, — may give a written notice to any person, — call him B, — not to deliver intoxicating liquor to A. If B, within a year after the notice, delivers such liquor to A, the person giving the notice may recover by action not less than $100, nor more than $500, against B; and, if a married woman gives the notice, she may bring the action in her own name, and all damages recovered go to her separate use. Pub. Stat., ch. 100, § 25.

By an act passed in 1879, the court before whom any person is convicted of an assault on his wife is authorized, in addition to the other penalties inflicted, or in lieu thereof to order such person to recognize with surety or sureties, to keep the peace for any term not exceeding two years. Pub. Stat., ch. 215, § 9.

The first five sections of Pub. Stat., ch. 203, give different amounts of punishment for malicious burning of houses, other buildings, and several kinds of personal property. The sixth section provides: "The preceding sections shall severally extend to a married woman who commits either of the offences therein described, though the property burned or set fire to belongs partly or wholly to her husband." There was, no doubt, some technical reason which led to this

queer provision, without any corresponding one for similar crimes of the husband against the wife's property. It was of course not to protect the husband, but originated in the fancy that the wife's incapacity was so great in regard to her husband's property that the power of committing crimes against him must be granted her by special legislation.

By the common law, a conveyance of real estate to husband and wife in fee rendered them joint tenants, so that on the death of either the whole property went to the survivor and the survivor's heirs. The legislature in 1885 passed an act by which, under such a conveyance, the spouses became tenants in common, each owning an undivided half of the property, which, on the death of each of them, passes to the heirs or devisees of the deceased.

The common law took a strange way to assert the husband's supremacy, by declaring a wife who murdered her husband to be guilty of petit treason, and subjecting her to a severer punishment than a common murderer. This distinction between the two crimes was abolished in this State by statute in 1785.

On looking at the law of Massachusetts in regard to husband and wife as it now exists, although there still remain very serious defects in it, some of them bearing unfairly on both sides, and although the just equality of the two spouses is not acknowledged in all respects, yet we must admit that within little more than forty years a great revolution in the law respecting this relation has been affected, and all of it favorable to wives, recognizing and enforcing their rights to their property, their persons and their children.

It is, however, often said of women, and more especially of those married, that they have gained all the rights they need, and have now no serious causes of complaint left. Without, however, disputing the important change made in the legal

standing of women in recent years, it is only necessary to recapitulate a few of the principal existing defects in the law in this respect to show how much more remains to be done to complete the work and render woman the legal equal of man.

Women have no right to the ballot in city, town or state affairs, except the comparatively unimportant power to vote for school committees.

Under the constitution and law as understood by our Supreme Court, there are many public offices which cannot be held by women, while their power to hold others is still doubtful under popular opinion.

Wives can make no contracts with their husbands.

Wives can legally receive no gifts directly from their husbands, except to a very limited extent, and can give none directly to their husbands.

On the death of a husband intestate, his widow can claim a much smaller share of his estate than he can of hers when she dies intestate.

The husband, while the two spouses are living together, has the exclusive right to regulate the care, maintenance, residence and education of their children.

The wife is entitled to no share of the earnings of her minor children while they are living with her and their father.

The husband is entitled to administration on the estate of his wife when she dies intestate, but when he dies intestate she is not absolutely entitled to administration on his estate, for the judge of probate can give it either to her alone, to her and one of the next of kin, or to the next of kin alone.

A husband can appoint a testamentary guardian for his children; a wife can appoint none for hers, though a widow can.

The last fifty years have done more to improve the law for married women than the four hundred preceding. It is evident that a public sentiment is at work, not only in Massachusetts but throughout the greater part of the United States, that must continue in operation until women have gained suffrage, and every other right and privilege to make them the legal equals of men.

The great difficulty to be overcome in effecting the complete emancipation of women is, not that most men are unwilling to do complete justice to the sex, or that the majority of women care nothing for this object; but it is simply a superstitious dread, lest a change so radical should unsettle all the foundations of society, and bring down the whole fabric in ruins. The history of the great legal reforms which have been accomplished in our generation shows how idle is this fear. We need never doubt the practical operation of a great reform in a community like ours, where it is based on a sound principle.

Two great rules of evidence pervaded the common law: the first that no person could be a witness in his own case; the second, that no person having a pecuniary interest in the result of a suit, be it ever so small, could be a witness for the party whose success would benefit him. The soundness and importance of these rules were acknowledged by bench and bar. They were, however, assailed with overwhelming logic by Bentham and his followers. The result we see. Within a few years, both rules have been very generally abrogated. Now a person can be a witness for himself; and any one interested in his favor can also be a witness for him in any civil suit; and a person charged with crime can testify in his own favor. Even husband and wife, as already stated, can testify for and against each other. Though it was pre-

dicted that great evils would flow from these changes, it is certain they have greatly promoted truth and justice.

So the great and fundamental changes already stated, which have recently been made in regard to the laws affecting married women, violently as they were resisted, are now, as admitted generally by their former opponents, producing an amount of good which it is difficult to overestimate, and no evil.

The next steps which are to relieve woman from all remains of feudal oppression and restore her to the equality with man with which nature endowed her, are far less difficult than the ones already taken.

When men and women are made equals in the eye of the law, and not before, shall we complete the foundations of a just commonwealth, which were laid by the Puritans, strengthened by the Declaration of Independence and consolidated by the abolition of slavery. Then we may hope, by the united action of both sexes, to regenerate the republic and make it an example for the world and future ages. The experiment of a republic based on equal rights can never be fairly tried while one half of the adult population remains an inferior caste, with no voice in the laws which are to govern them.

APPENDIX.

List of Statutes Specially Affecting Women Passed Since 1841.

1842, ch. 74. Will of wife.
" ch. 83. Custody of children.
1843, ch. 77. Divorce.
1845, ch. 216, § 42. Punishment of abduction.
" ch. 208. Marriage contract: wife's separate property.
1846, ch. 197. Divorce.
" ch. 209. Wife's wages and deposits.
1849, ch. 87. Inheritance of widow.
" ch. 141. Divorce: wife's name.
1850, ch. 100. Divorce, &c.
" ch. 111. Dower.
" ch. 121. Marriage.
" ch. 200. Will of wife.
1851, ch. 82. Divorce.
1852, ch. 254. Abduction of maiden.
1853, ch. 23. Divorce, alimony, children.
" ch. 355. Taxation of widows and others.
" ch. 349. Divorce.
1854, ch. 406. Inheritance of widow.
" ch. 428. Waiver of husband's will.
1855, ch. 27. Divorce.
" ch. 56. Divorce: jury trial.
" ch. 65. Divorce.
" ch. 137. Divorce, children.
" ch. 237. Sale of insane wife's real estate.
" ch. 304. Wife's property, conveyances, contracts, will, &c.
" ch. 329. Marriage contracts.
" ch. 426. Divorce.
" ch. 458. Wife's support, husband insane.
1856, ch. 24. Parents and children.

1856, ch. 99. Wife's support, husband insane.
" ch. 169. Dower of insane wife.
1857, ch. 141, § 30. When woman is not arrestable.
" ch. 228. Divorce.
" ch. 249. Wife's property, conveyances, contracts, will, &c.
" ch. 255. Divorce.
" ch. 298. Homestead.
1858, ch. 33. Inheritance of widow.
" ch. 43. Widows and others relief from taxation.
" ch. 56. Dower.
" ch. 62. Homestead.
1861, ch. 164. Waiver of husband's will.
1862, ch. 90. Divorce.
" ch. 162. Collection of judgment debts of women.
" ch. 198. Wife's separate business.
1863, ch. 109. Divorce.
" ch. 165. Wife cannot be a partner.
1864, ch. 197. Life insurance for wife.
" ch. 198. Wife's trust estates.
" ch. 216. Divorce.
" ch. 276. Wife's will.
1866, ch. 148. Divorce.
1867, ch. 58. Marriage.
" ch. 222. Divorce.
" ch. 248. Marriage contracts.
1868, ch. 95. Wife's earnings.
" ch. 153. Advisory board of women.
1869, ch. 292. Marriage contracts.
" ch. 304. Wife's contracts.
" ch. 346. Women members of religious societies.
" ch. 409. Wife executrix, guardian, trustee.
" ch. 418. Dower.
1870, ch. 370, § 2. Classification of male and female prisoners.
" ch. 370, § 10. Women advisory board of prisons.
" ch. 393, § 1. Husband and wife witnesses.
" ch. 404. Divorce.
1871, ch. resolve 66. Concerning state prisons for women.
" ch. 116. Widow's custody of children.
" ch. 200. Waiver of husband's will.
" ch. 312. Action of tort by and against wives.
1873, ch. 58. Waiver of husband's will.
" ch. 371. Divorce, alimony, children.

1874, ch. 184. Wife's power to convey, contract, sue, be executrix, &c.
" ch. 205. Rights and remedies of wives deserted, &c.
" ch. 221. Women's hours of labor in factories.
" ch. 274, § 2. Settlement of women how gained.
" ch. 385. Reform prison for women.
" ch. 389. Women eligible to school committees.
" ch. 397. Divorces.
1875, ch. 50, § 16. Intoxicating liquors.
" ch. 226. Divorce.
1876, ch. 89. Dower.
" ch. 118. Male night-walkers.
" ch. 220, §§ 1 and 4. Heirship of mother.
1877, ch. 82. Husband's interest in lands of deceased wife.
" ch. 128. Guardian to children appointed by mother's will.
" ch. 174. Divorce.
" ch. 178, § 5. Divorce, alimony, &c.
" ch. 195. Women to be advisory board to inspectors of state almshouses, &c.
1878, ch. 25. Reformatory prison for women.
" ch. 67. Dower.
" ch. 199. Support of insane wife.
" ch. 206. Taxation of women.
" ch. 270. Reformatory prison for women.
1879, ch. 42. Husband's assault on wife.
" ch. 133. Husband's gifts to wife.
" ch. 223. Women may vote for school committee.
" ch. 291, § 8. Women trustees of state primary and reform schools.
" ch. 291, § 9. Women trustees of state almshouse.
" ch. 291, § 9. Women trustees of state workhouse.
" ch. 294, § 1. Women commissioners of prisons.
" ch. 294, § 22. Officers of reformatory prison.
1880, ch. 31. Attachment of husband's property by wife.
" ch. 114. Reformatory prison for women.
" ch. 64. Jurisdiction of Probate Court for wives.
" ch. 120. Reformatory prison for women.
" ch. 194. Women's hours of labor.
" ch. 211. Descent of real estate of husband and wife.
1881, ch. 33. Insane wife.
" ch. 43. Reformatory prison for women.
" ch. 64, §§ 1 and 3. Wife's separate business.

1881, ch. 90. Reformatory prison for women.
" ch. 112. Descent of real estate of husband and wife.
" ch. 179. Assisting discharged female convicts.
" ch. 191. Women voting for school committees.
" ch. 234. Divorce.
1882, ch. 139. Women may be attorneys-at-law.
" ch. 141. Inheritance of wife's personal estate.
" ch. 150. Seats for female employés.
" ch. 194. Statistics of divorce.
" ch. 223. Decrees of divorce.
1883, ch. 43. Women's reformatory prison.
" ch. 157. Women's hours of labor.
" ch. 252. Women commissioners to administer oaths, &c.
1884, ch. 116. Female physicians in state lunatic hospitals.
" ch. 132. Transfer of property between husband and wife.
" ch. 149. Women trustees of state lunatic hospitals.
" ch. 219. Divorce.
" ch. 298, §§ 4 and 12. Women voters for school committees.
" ch. 301. Will and deeds of wife.
1885, ch. 7. Woman may be assistant register of deeds.
" ch. 94. Reformatory prison for women.
" ch. 173. Penalty for not supporting wife.
" ch. 255. Will and deed of wife.
" ch. 276. Widow inherits personal estate.
" ch. 302. Widow's right in family burial lot.
1886, ch. 36. Divorce.
" ch. 101. Temporary asylum for discharged female prisoners.
" ch. 150. Women overseers of the poor.
" ch. 177. Aid to women charged with crime.
" ch. 243. Release of insane husband's curtesy.
" ch. 305. Rape.
" ch. 329. Seduction, unlawful sexual intercourse, &c.
" ch. 342. Fraudulent divorces.

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE Women of the United States.

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN,

Washington, D. C., March 30, 1888.

BY

ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER.

The Fowler & Miller Co., Printers.

The Constitutional Rights

of the

Women of the United States.

An Address before the International Council of Women, Washington, D. C., March 30, 1888.

BY ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER.

In the month of August, 1774, that eminent statesman and true patriot, Thomas Jefferson, in a little tract entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," used certain words which I will take for my text while addressing you to-day on the "Constitutional Rights of the Women Citizens of the United States." They are these:

"The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest."

And again:

"The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them."

May I ask your patient attention while I attempt to show: First, that under a proper interpretation of the constitution of the United States, which he had so large a part in preparing, women have a right to vote to-day, on precisely the same terms with men; and secondly, that they ought, for various reasons, to exercise this right without subjection to molestation or delay, and men ought to help them to do so by every means in their power.

First let me speak of the constitution of the United States, and assert that there is not a line in it, nor a word, forbidding women to vote; but, properly interpreted, that is, interpreted by the Declaration of Independence, and by the assertions of the Fathers, it actually guarantees to women the right to vote in all elections, both state and national. Listen to the preamble to the con-

stitution, and the preamble, you know, is the key to what follows; it is the concrete, general statement of the great principles which subsequent articles express in detail. The preamble says:

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

Commit this to memory, friends; learn it by heart as well as by head, and I should have no need to argue the question before you of my right to vote. For women are "people" surely, and desire, as much as men, to say the least, to establish justice and to insure domestic tranquillity; and, brothers, you will never insure domestic tranquillity in the days to come unless you allow women to vote, who pay taxes and bear equally with yourselves all the burdens of society; for they do not mean any longer to submit patiently and quietly to such injustice, and the sooner men understand this and graciously submit to become the political equals of their mothers, wives, and daughters — aye, of their grandmothers, for that is my category, instead of their political masters, as they now are, the sooner will this precious domestic tranquillity be insured. Women are surely "people," I said, and were when these words were written, and were as anxious as men to establish justice and promote the general welfare, and no one will have the hardihood to deny that our foremothers (have we not talked about our forefathers alone long enough?) did their full share in the work of establishing justice, providing for the common defense, and promoting the general welfare in all those early days.

The truth is, friends, that when liberties had to be gained by the sword and protected by the sword, men necessarily came to the front and seemed to be the only creators and defenders of these liberties; hence all the way down women have been content to do their patriotic work silently and through men, who are the fighters by nature rather than themselves, until the present day; but now at last, when it is established that ballots instead of bullets are to rule the world, and we in this country are making and upholding our just laws by ballots alone, keeping our bullets for the few wretched Indians on the frontiers, whom we are wicked enough to wish to exterminate rather than to civilize and educate, now, it is high time that women ceased to attempt to establish justice and promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to

themselves and their posterity, through the votes of men, because they cannot control these votes and turn them to high moral uses in government; on the contrary, our brothers, the best of them, are at their wit's end to-day, and so appalled at the moral corruptions of the body politic that they are ready, some of them, to throw away their own power to vote and go back upon the whole theory of our government of the many, of the people (our government nominally of the people, by the people, and for the people), and to ask for the government of the *few* once more—the few rich, the few wise, the few educated.

But I shall deal with this point hereafter. I only wish to fasten upon your minds now this thought, that women are included in this word "people" of the preamble, and were intended to be included as much as men, and that their non-use of the ballot in all the past, because they chose to exercise their people's powers in other ways, has not cut them off from their right to use the ballot at any time they may see fit; and you will perceive by a careful examination of the whole constitution which follows the preamble, and which became the law of the land so early as 1789, that women were embraced in its provisions precisely as men were, and that the word "people," so frequently used, always included them.

This is true of the four articles which I will consider, and of every other article in the constitution where the word "people" is used. Article I of the amendments is: "The right of THE PEOPLE to peaceably assemble and petition for a redress of grievances," etc. No one doubts that women have that right equally with men; in fact, this is about the only political right that is cheerfully accorded to us to-day, because it is so easy to get rid of us and silence us in that way.

For years and years women have been petitioning Congress and the State Legislatures to take down the political bars which men have put up, contrary to the national constitution and the whole spirit of our government, and allow them to become active co-workers in promoting the general welfare; but the reply has been "leave to withdraw," or its equivalent; and this simply because these women petitioners had no power to cut off the heads of these Congressmen and Assemblymen; (their political heads, I mean, because we do not believe much in bloodshed of any sort). So long ago as 1871 I got an order from a Senator to the clerk of the Senate for a search for petitions then on file in his office, and here is the clerk's report. He found the names of 20,000 women slum-

bering in the dusty pigeon-holes of his office, and the honorable gentleman who asked me with a smile of contempt "How many women really want to vote?" was surprised at the record, which was not a tenth part of the number who had been wearily petitioning our legislative bodies year after year since 1848.

And then there is Article II, with its provision for "the right of THE PEOPLE to keep and to bear arms," etc., which right women assuredly have equally with men, and which, unless some new protective element is brought into society, women will be compelled to use in self-defense as never before, for the crimes against woman in her very womanhood are becoming unendurably frequent all over our land. The new protective element I hardly need say is the ballot in her own hands, since it is already in the hands of these ruffians who make night hideous, and who virtually close the thoroughfares of our cities and villages even to all honest women the moment the sun has gone down. Have you ever thought of it, gentlemen, you who are opposed to woman's use of the ballot, that among her so-called protectors, who are to use her ballot for her, are these very men for whom we build most of our jails and penitentiaries, taxing the women to do it, and that every election day sees paupers and vagrants taken from the workhouse to elect the men who are to make and administer the laws for all women no less than all men?

Article IV provides for "the right of THE PEOPLE to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures," etc. Women surely need to be and are thus secured. And Article IX provides that the "enumeration in the constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny others retained by THE PEOPLE."

Is it not perfectly clear that all these are the rights of women equally with men, and that the term "people" as here used was intended to embrace both?

Thus, then, the preamble and the constitution under which our government was formed and began its work of protective legislation, plainly embraced women in all its provisions; and when the preamble declares that the object of all was to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, it surely did not mean to secure to men alone and their posterity these blessings of liberty, to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people, women as well as men.

And note again the word "*secure*" in this preamble, which is scarcely less important than the word "people." "*Secure* the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"— not *give* the

blessings of liberty, as though the framers of the constitution were autocrats, with power to bestow or withhold liberties, but *secure* the blessings of liberty to those who already had the right to them from God and by their own free nature, and who were coming together for purposes of defense and security as against an outside world that still insisted that liberty was not the right of the many but of the few, and who might be able to overthrow this right of individuals to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, unless they combined together to defend and secure these rights.

And this is where the Declaration of Independence comes in as an interpreter of the constitution, and it utters no uncertain voice on this question as to who are the "people" meant in the preamble and articles following. It says: "We hold these truths to be self-evident"—(mark that, *self-evident;* that is, that they require no proof)—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights"—(here again is the word "*secure*," not *give*, *grant*, or *bestow*)—"governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" (not from the consent of half the governed—the consent of the male half—but *the governed*), and that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of THE PEOPLE to alter or abolish it, and institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness.

That is to say, the fathers in Congress assembled in Philadelphia on the 4th of July, 1776, proclaimed over the whole earth that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that taxation without representation is tyranny, and for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, they mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor; and yet we are told to-day that the women of these states have no right to vote until the men, who alone have been in the habit of voting, shall make some new and special laws to meet their case; in other words, till men shall grant women a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—a right to promote the general welfare—a right to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity. Now, friends, do you wonder that it makes my blood boil to hear such words as these; to hear from the lips of mere boys the

assertion that they and their sex alone have the right to make and execute the laws that I and my daughters are to live under ; that they are born to rule, and I born to obey ; that because I and other women have blindly thought and loved to think in all the past that law-making and law-executing were safe in the hands of our brothers and fathers and husbands, they being the accredited protectors of women, we are to leave men now and forever to the use of this power, when we have reluctantly opened our eyes to the truth that it is not good for man to be alone in the state any more than in the family, in the church, and in social life ; that the state needs mothers as well as fathers, and that moral corruption will not only continue to prevail, but with an advancing civilization will be steadily on the increase so long as woman is powerless to put down moral evils by the direct use of political power as well as by moral influence.

You tell me that I must submit to conditions before I can vote ; I, who am a free-born citizen of the United States ; while yet you admit this ignorant foreigner, if he is a man, to the full privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. I defy this assumption of power on the part of the men of this country. I declare to you as did the Apostle Paul : "I am free-born." "With a great price obtained I this freedom," said the Roman centurion to this patriotic old apostle ; but he replied : "I am free-born."

Ah, friends, there is music in these words to my ear. They are the deep vibrations of a soul that loves its country as itself, and there are tens of thousands of women to-day that are ready to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to the maintenance of their rights as free-born citizens of this Republic, and who will never willingly consent to such desecration of constitutions, state or national, as would be caused by the addition of special articles providing for the right of women to vote. Such articles would virtually read thus : "All men are created equal ; all women are also created equal not only to each other but to men ; all men may peaceably assemble and petition for redress of grievances, may keep and bear arms, may be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures, may retain to themselves all rights not enumerated in the constitution, and all women may assemble, etc., etc "

As well may theologians interpret "Whatsoever ye would that *men* should do unto you, do ye even so to them," to mean literally men, and therefore demand a new Scripture specially to include women in these and the like injunctions : "He that believeth shall

be saved, and he that believeth not shall be condemned," "No man can serve two masters," "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things," etc. No, friends, the truth is, precedent and prejudice, custom and blind conservatism, are the only barriers against women in government to-day. Constitutions are all right when properly interpreted and shorn of their man-made inconsistencies, and the laws are right save the voting laws. Every other law recognizes woman by the use of the masculine pronoun, and compels her to pay taxes, to be fined, imprisoned and hung as he, his and him, and it is simply absurd and wicked to tax and hang a woman by one statute and deny her right to vote by another, when the phraseology is precisely the same in both.

And now, as to the one article of the national constitution which, it is claimed, forbids women to vote. Will you follow me patiently while I attempt to show that this article really in fact guarantees to women the right to vote for members of Congress rather than forbids it, and not only so, but it virtually calls upon the general government to interfere with the state governments if necessary for the purpose of protecting women in the exercise of this right. That article reads thus:

> Art. I, Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be chosen every second year by THE PEOPLE of the several states, and the electors of each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature."

Here you have it in full. The only paragraph in the United States constitution that can be tortured to exclude women from voting for United States officers, and this is the way it is tortured by our adversaries. I speak advisedly when I say "adversaries"; for, friends, it is no pleasant task, this work of going up and down the length and breadth of the land proclaiming that women are free, and ought to use their freedom under a sense of responsibility and by the conscientious use of the ballot, the only token of political responsibility; and the men who keep up these laws of precedent and prejudice and shut us from the peaceful and womanly expression of our opinion and our will in matters of government are therefore the worst kind of adversaries. They compel us to most unwelcome duty, and to penalties of whose sting they have but little conception. Some of us know in our hearts to-day of fire and fagot, whose burning makes deeper scars than the martyr fires of old, and were it not for faith in God and love to man we should have given up the contest long ago.

Here, then, you have, I say, the only argument against the right of women to vote contained in the constitution of the United States, and briefly stated it is this : The latter clause says that electors for members of Congress must have the same qualifications as electors for members of the state legislature, and the constitution of Connecticut, for instance, declares in Article VI, Section 2, that

"Every white male citizen of the United States, who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years and resided in this state one year and in the town six months, and shall be able to read any article of the constitution, shall, on his taking such oath as may be prescribed by law, be an elector of the state."

Now, say objectors, women are not white male citizens of the United States, and as these are the only ones that may choose members of the legislature, these are the only ones who may choose members of Congress. To which I reply : *first*, that by the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States the word "white" was expressly, and the word male virtually, blotted out from our state constitutions ; and in Connecticut black men under that amendment were allowed to vote for years before the word "white" was expunged from its constitution ; and *second*, that the first clause of this Article II, Section 2, which says that the House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen by the people, *denies to every state the right to make any qualification for state electors that shall interfere with the predominating right of the whole people* to elect their members of Congress.

It is as if the United States constitution had said, "The right of trial by jury shall be secured to all the people of the United States," and Connecticut had said in her constitution, "Every white male citizen shall be entitled to a trial by jury." Plainly such an article of a state constitution would be pronounced null and void, and the only reason the other has not been so pronounced long ago is that in the beginning men alone thought of voting, wished to vote, did vote, and so the authors of the state constitution, in defining who should be electors, naturally and as a matter of exactness, and without any thought of women, said "all white male citizens," with such and such qualifications, may vote ; and the case is all the stronger for women than for black men, because the enslavement and disfranchisement of black men was contemplated, reluctantly it is true, but nevertheless contemplated and recognized by the national constitution, while the disfranchisement of women was not thought of or seriously considered for a moment.

This is so plainly true that women did actually vote in a few instances in the earlier days, and they only ceased to do so because they did not appreciate its importance, or, as in New Jersey, because that state, in direct violation of the constitution of the United States, as I think, specially disfranchised the women of the state.

And to those who may not be ready to admit that the national constitution secures to women the right to vote in all cases equally with men, there is this special and decisive argument with regard to their right to vote for members of Congress. The constitution, as we have seen, gives the right to the *people* of the state with only this limitation—that the electors for members of Congress shall have the *qualifications* requisite for electors for the most numerous branch of the state legislature. The right is absolute, except that the state may fix the "qualifications."

Now what is a qualification? Sex is not one. A qualification is something that may be acquired, as a certain age, a certain time of residence, ability to read, etc. A certain height of stature could not be, a certain color of the eyes could not be. Nothing natural and unchangeable could be. So sex cannot be. The state, therefore, in making sex a disqualification, has attempted that which it had no power to do, and its action is so far void.

If then, as is claimed, the United States may step in and punish a citizen of the United States for voting illegally for members of Congress, as in the case of Susan B. Anthony, because the state had limited the voting privilege to male citizens, surely the United States may much more be called upon to step in and protect the right of all the people of every state to become electors for members of Congress, including the women people as well as the men people. Do you not see it, friends? "Members of the House of Representatives shall be chosen by the *people of the several states*," and yet when one of these people, being an honest, law-abiding, tax-paying woman, after consulting the best lawyer in her city, and being duly registered and sworn in as an elector, puts her ballot in the box for a member of Congress, the United States Government, by marshal and commissioners, seizes her, and by a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States condemns her to a fine and costs of prosecution on the ground that the State of New York has a right to disfranchise half its citizens, they being guilty only of being women, and in the face of the express provision of this article that THE PEOPLE of every state shall elect the members of Congress of that state. And I may as well finish what I have to say of Miss Anthony's trial

just here, because Judge Hunt's decision against her was based partly on this very article, and it is time that his interpretation of it and the consequences thereof were fully made known to all the people of this land.

Judge Hunt decided that the right of voting is a right or privilege arising under the constitution of the state, and not of the United States, and this in the face of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, recently ratified by three-fourths of the states, and thereby made as much the law of the land as any other part of the United States constitution. These amendments read thus:

"Fourteenth. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law."

This amendment was supposed to cover the whole ground of enfranchising the black men made free by the thirteenth amendment, and it ought to have been sufficient.

But the white men of the South were naturally averse to seeing black men, just out of slavery, the chief rulers of their states, they being recently disfranchised themselves for rebellion, and they made it so difficult for black men to vote that the Republican party, which was absolutely dependent upon their votes for continuance in power, determined to strengthen the right of black men to vote by another amendment, and so they passed the fifteenth amendment, which reads thus:

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

And notice here, that while these specified grounds of denial are forbidden, this fifteenth amendment does not by implication authorize a denial on other grounds. If it did, a majority in a state might at any time disfranchise a minority. In a state like Massachusetts, where the women are in a large majority, they might, if allowed to vote (we will merely imagine the absurdity), amend the state constitution, and exclude all men from the franchise. Yet no one would for a moment claim that this action would be valid. It would be held by every court in the land that the men had, under the national constitution, a right to vote that could not be taken away.

And, by the way, a question is often made as to what this right to vote shall be called — whether a natural right or mere privilege. I do not care for names. But if the men of Massachusetts were thus debarred from voting, and were struggling to recover the franchise, their right to it would be precisely what that of women is to-day. I do not care what you call it. I am satisfied to call it a *fundamental right.*

Here, then, we have the constitution of the United States declaring in the fourteenth amendment that all *persons* born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens, not only of the United States, but of the *State wherein they reside;* and in the fifteenth recognizing the right of citizens to vote; and yet a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States declares from the bench that the citizen's right to vote comes from the state alone, and thus that a state may disfranchise any of its citizens except black men, these alone being protected from disfranchisement by the latter clause of the fifteenth amendment — "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Thus you perceive that, as I have just suggested, a majority of the present voters in any state may, under this view, disfranchise every other voter who has gray hair or blue eyes, or any physical peculiarity but a black skin; may disfranchise all men over forty years of age, or all men worth less than $50,000, or all men of the temperance party, or the labor party, or the republican or democratic parties; in short, every one but themselves, the then majority of voters; and Judge Hunt accepted this conclusion and declared that this is the constitutional law of the United States as interpreted by him in his capacity of Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

He did this because he was so imbued with the theory of state rights as against national rights, and so filled with prejudice against the rights of women in government, that he was determined to interpret these amendments in behalf of black men alone, although the wording of them leaves no room for question that they embrace all the people of the United States, according to the meaning and intent of that word "people" in all the previous articles of the national constitution.

And yet this is but half, and the least criminal half, of his unjust decision in the case of Miss Anthony. Not content with misinterpreting the law of the United States by proclaiming that the right to vote of every citizen but black citizens was subject to loss at the pleasure of a bare majority of voters, he denied to Miss Anthony

the right of trial by jury — that is, he decided the case himself, and caused the clerk of the court to record the verdict of guilty without reference to the jury, who were impaneled for the case, who had been sitting all through the trial to hear the case, and who alone were legally competent to bring in a verdict upon it. And when Miss Anthony's counsel asked leave to address the jury he was denied; and when he asked that the jury might be polled — that is, that each member might be asked by name if this was his verdict, he was again denied, and Judge Hunt then instructed the clerk to take the verdict, and the clerk said, in the usual form: "Gentlemen of the jury, hearken to the verdict as the court hath recorded it. You say you find the defendant guilty of the offense charged. So say you all."

No response was made by the jury, either by word or sign. They had not consulted together in their seat or otherwise. Neither of them had spoken a word. Nor had they been asked whether they had or had not agreed upon a verdict. No juror spoke a word during the trial from the time they were impaneled to the time of the discharge, and so soon as the judge refused to poll the jury he said, "Gentlemen of the jury, you are discharged," and the jurors left the box, and one of them declared to a bystander that guilty was not his verdict, neither was it the verdict of the other eleven "Could I have spoken," said he, "I should have answered *not guilty*, and men in that jury box would have sustained me." It seems, friends, that he and the other jurors had a right to speak and to demand that the verdict be submitted to the jury in some way. But they did not understand their rights in this respect, and were naturally in awe of a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the judge must have known that they would be thus awed, or he would not have dared thus to transgress the ordinary rules of law. And for this act he deserved impeachment, and had the accused been a foreign born, though naturalized, citizen of the United States, on trial for fraudulent voting, which is a criminal offense, you know, punishable by heavy fine and imprisonment, and had he been thus denied a verdict from the jury, the press would have rung out the injustice all over the land. And this simply because this man being an acknowledged voter would have had a political party behind him, whose interest it was to protect him and every other citizen, whether free-born or naturalized, in his right to vote.

Thus you see how in this right to vote is wrapped up the great volume of our cherished rights. Judge Hunt began with denying to women their citizen's right to vote, and by an easy step passed on to denying that right regarded most sacred of all, the right of trial by jury.

And the crime of Judge Hunt in refusing Miss Anthony her right of trial by jury was all the greater because there was no appeal from his court to any higher one, as is customary in all our other courts. A circuit court judge may review his own decision, but there is no appeal from his final decision in such a case as this, and in this case the judge refused even to reconsider the case, though strenuously urged to do so by Judge Selden, Miss Anthony's able counsel. Do you ask why Judge Hunt was willing thus to soil the purity of his judicial ermine and lower the dignity of the Court? I answer, precedent and prejudice held him in bonds, as it does many other men of character and position, and he felt doubtless that he was rendering his country a good service when he pronounced it a crime for a woman citizen of the United States to vote under the same charter with the men citizens of the United States. And there are hundreds of men who think themselves both wise and just who would have been glad of his opportunity to do the same thing and thus crush out this heresy of woman's right to help to make and execute the laws she is to live under. But, friends, you remember that "truth crushed to earth shall rise again"; and this truth of the political equality of woman has risen already from its judicial grave, and in white raiment is marching on, like John Brown's soul, conquering and to conquer. And the day is not far distant when this decision of Judge Ward Hunt will be overruled and trodden under foot, and he himself will be compelled to submit at last to a verdict, just but humiliating, a verdict recorded on high in the Book of Everlasting Judgments.*

And now permit me to give you briefly the argument of woman's right to vote in our state elections as well as national, in consequence of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution of the United States. It is simply this: Before the war, and reconstruction acts following it, the word "citizen" was not fully defined, some jurists contending that all persons owing

*The atrocity of Judge Hunt's course in Miss Anthony's case so strikingly illustrates the almost universal rule that in striking down one just right other important ones are trampled down with it, that I have thought it best to append a critical review of the matter prepared at the time by my husband, Mr. John Hooker, and published in Miss Anthony's history of her trial.

allegiance to the government and protected by it were properly citizens, and others that only those who were accredited legal voters could properly be called citizens. Then, when the Republican party desired to enfranchise the black men, partly for the sake of securing their votes (I do not say that this was the sole motive) in the next Presidential election, it was not willing to deface the national constitution by such words as these: "All black men, formerly slaves, are citizens of the United States;" and "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of black men;" and again, "The right of black citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by any State;" and therefore it was driven to the annunciation of a general principle of citizenship, applicable to all persons at all times, and this was the principle that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside" This is a grand assertion, a true one, and one in harmony, as I have already shown, with the spirit and letter of the whole Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence, and, like them, it embraced all women as well as all men, and secured to all women no less than all men their right to vote.

Now, friends, mark these words: "Secure" and "right to vote." Our claim is that the original constitution gave no right to vote to any man or woman, but it simply secured to every man and woman his or her original, natural right to govern himself or herself, except so far as he or she delegates this to others for purposes of social order. And these amendments, following the spirit of the constitution in preamble and articles, declare that all persons are citizens, and recognize the citizen's right to vote. Can anything be plainer then than that a woman, being a "person," is a citizen, and being a "citizen" has the citizen's right to vote?

It was under this conviction that she had a plain right to vote, and therefore a plain duty to vote, that Miss Anthony determined to cast her vote for President and members of Congress at a certain election. And she succeeded in convincing the registrars of her ward and the inspectors of elections that she had this right, insomuch that they registered her name, and the oath of the elector was administered and her ballot was received and counted, and then the United States came down upon her as a criminal and prosecuted her for illegal voting, under a law of Congress passed in 1870 on purpose to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

Please notice, now, that formerly each state had charge of its own elections and the United States had no right to interfere with the elections in any state, even though the election was for national officers, but in the eagerness of the Republican party to enforce the amendments which would bring black votes to their aid, they gave a new power to Congress in this section : "Congress shall have the power to enforce this article," viz : "The right of citizens of the United States to vote without denial on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." And Congress passed what is called the Enforcement Act of 1870, which is entitled, "An act to enforce *the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several states of the Union.*" General terms again here you perceive, not an act to enforce the right of *black men* to vote in the several states of the Union, but of *all citizens* of the United States. And the first eighteen clauses of the act are very minute in their provisions for the protection of these black men whose votes were wanted, and then there was a nineteenth clause that was intended solely to hinder white rebel men from voting, who had been disfranchised during the war, and this clause reads thus : "If at any election for representatives or delegates to Congress of the United States any person shall vote without having a lawful right to vote, every such person shall be deemed guilty of a crime, and shall for such crime be liable to prosecution in any court of the United States of competent jurisdiction, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $500, or by a term of imprisonment not exceeding three years, or both, in the discretion of the court, and shall pay the costs of prosecution."

And under this clause of the Enforcement Act of 1870, which was made expressly to punish white male rebel citizens for voting after they had been disfranchised for rebellion, Judge Hunt condemned Susan B. Anthony for the crime of voting "without having a lawful right to vote." This woman, the blackest of black Republicans, who had, with others like herself, furnished Mr. Sumner with half his ammunition, in the shape of petitions from thousands and thousands of citizens in behalf of the black man — names which it is an enormous task to collect, but without which all appeals to Congress to do justice would have been in vain — this woman, who had violated the infamous fugitive slave law every time by giving the cup of cold water to the panting fugitive and speeding him on his way to free soil in Canada — she, thank God ! of all women in this land, was selected by the government of the United States to be prosecuted,

dragged from one court to another, harassed during the space of nearly a year, tried at last in another city, and fined for the crime of voting for the President of the United States and members of Congress, under an act entitled "*An act to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several states of this Union*," and under a clause of that act that made it a crime for a rebel to vote, because he had been deprived of his citizen's right to vote by special act of Congress in consequence of his crime of rebellion.

And, friends, do you not know that no citizen can be lawfully disfranchised either by State or Nation, except for crime or rebellion, and then only by the judgment of his peers? But in this case of Miss Anthony, she was punished, not only as if she had been guilty of crime or rebellion, or both, but she was, so far as the unjust judgment of the court could do it, disfranchised for evermore, and that without the judgment of her peers in a double sense; for she was not only denied the verdict of the male jury sitting there on purpose to render their verdict, but a jury of her peers she could not have, nor can any woman so long as women are denied the right to vote and to sit upon a jury. And in the case of Miss Anthony's jury, had they been allowed to render a verdict, it would have been a verdict not of her peers, but of her political superiors, and this would have been true of them however ignorant or uneducated they were; whether black men or white, drunk or sober, every man of them was her *sovereign*, with power not only to make but to administer the laws under which she is compelled to live.

And herein is the degradation of woman to-day, not only that she cannot have a voice in making the laws and choosing officers to execute the laws, but she is compelled to be taxed, fined, imprisoned, hung even, by the verdict always of her political superiors — her male sovereigns, every one of whom is considered competent to legislate for her and to sit in judgment upon her by court and jury now and for evermore. Do you wonder that Miss Anthony declared to Judge Hunt that she should never pay this fine, or that he, apparently cowed by this modern John Hampden, blandly replied: "The court does not order you to stand committed till the fine is paid"? Judge Hunt knew full well that Miss Anthony would go to jail a thousand times before she would pay this unjust fine. And he knew also that the spectacle of this woman in prison for three years under charge of voting "without having a lawful right to vote" would rouse the nation to a sense of woman's political status

before the law as nothing else could do; therefore he virtually remitted the fine, and by so doing sealed forever his own condemnation.

Do you ask, why recount this trial and so asperse the character of a learned and otherwise upright judge? I answer, because his decision has become a precedent, and on this account we have been compelled to relinquish, temporarily at least, our high vantage ground of constitutional rights and guarantees, and resort to the advocacy of an amendment to the national and state constitutions, measures alike dishonoring to the constitutions and to the womanhood of the country.

We believe, with Senator Hawley, from my own state, whom I have been proud to claim as a personal friend for many years, that (and I now give his own language as reported in the *Hartford Courant*), "Our government involves a great deal of labor for us. 'Liberty is a burden, not a release,' a French philosopher has said. If you want ease, appoint as good a king as you can find, give him good counselors, and tell them to save you all trouble. You will have ease; but if you desire real freedom, it means labor. The twelve million sovereigns of this country" [notice here that my friend calls this voting half of the people the "sovereigns," just as I have done] "are bound each to know something of the responsibility that is constantly taught in caucus, town meetings, etc. The caucus should be only a meeting of honest citizens to see what had best be done." And as there are thousands of women quite ready to assume this responsibility of seeing what had best be done in the primary meetings of all the cities and villages of our land, and thousands more who will do it conscientiously, though reluctantly, when called to it by invitation of their fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons, we desire most earnestly that the approaching second century of male legislation should witness a reversal of this unjust decision of Judge Hunt and proclaim the freedom and responsibility of ALL the citizens of these United States. Let our brothers, then, consecrate this opening century of constitutional government by an act of justice that shall be a supreme one, and that shall make our national constitution forever a charter of the highest human rights. And let them, in token of their willingness to recognize our equal political rights, at least invite us to participate with them by personal representation in the ceremonial and pageant that is to welcome in this new century of constitutional government.

I said in the beginning that women ought to exercise their constitutional right to vote, and men ought to help them to do so by every means in their power. And this for two reasons :

1. Because questions of legislation to-day are largely questions of morals, and men alone are incompetent to deal with the morals of a community, however wise and just they may be, and however honest in their desire to promote the general welfare. Education, secular and religious, temperance, chastity, police regulations, penal institutions and reformatories — who has more interest than women citizens in all these questions, or more wisdom to bring to their solution?

2. There can be no true manhood nor true womanhood when men rule and women merely obey. Every mother in her home, every woman teacher in our schools, is at a discount to-day because of her political subordination. Every boy knows this, and consciously or unconsciously acts accordingly, and true political economy, which is only another name for the science of government, can never be taught until women are intelligent and responsible thinkers upon the subject equally with men and are able to carry out their convictions at the ballot-box as men do. Hence, I repeat, it is the plain duty of every woman to desire to vote, and of every man to remove the obstacles in her way.

I will only answer one objection. It is said, "We have too many voters already. It is unjust, to be sure, to exclude all women on this account, but we cannot help it. Men will not consent to be disfranchised, so we must make amends for our mistake in inviting all men to vote by forbidding all women." This is too much like Charles Lamb, who, being reproved for going so late to his desk in the morning, said he made up for it by going home early in the afternoon.

But have we too many voters? In other words, is the doctrine of God and the fathers of this republic an unsound one, that personal liberty and personal responsibility are the only foundations of integrity, whether in the individual or the nation? No, it is not unsound. It is just as true to-day as it was at Sinai and Plymouth Rock.

"Thou shalt" and "We will," reads the Decalogue and the Covenant of that old-time Jewish people ; and thus in spirit speak the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence ; and it is a grand and wholesome doctrine and one we cannot afford to lose sight of for a moment. But those do lose sight of it

who say we have too many voters already. No, we have not too many. On the contrary, to take away this ballot even from the ignorant and perverse is to invite discontent, social disturbance, and crime. The restraints and benedictions of this little white symbol are so silent and so gentle, so atmospheric, so like the snow-flakes that come down to guard the slumbering forces of the earth and prepare them for springing into bud, blossom, and fruit in due season, that few recognize the divine alchemy, and many impatient souls are saying we are on the wrong path—the old world was right—the government of the few is safe; the wise, the rich, should rule; the ignorant, the poor, should serve. But God, sitting between the eternities, has said otherwise, and we of this land are foreordained to prove his word just and true. And we will prove it by inviting every new-comer to our land to share our liberties so dearly bought and our responsibilities now grown so heavy that the shoulders which bear them are staggering under their weight; that by the joys of freedom and the burdens of responsibility they, with us, may grow into the stature of perfect men, and our country realize at last the dreams of the great souls who, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions," did "ordain and establish the Constitution for the United States of America"—the grandest charter of human rights that the world has yet conceived.

Judge Hunt and the Right of Trial by Jury.

BY JOHN HOOKER, HARTFORD, CONN.

In the recent trial of Susan B. Anthony for voting (illegally, as was claimed, on the ground that as a woman she had no right to vote—a point which we do not propose to consider, though we have a very positive opinion in favor of her right), the course of Judge Hunt, in taking the case from the jury and ordering a verdict of guilty to be entered up, was so remarkable, so contrary to all rules of law, and so subversive of the system of jury trials in criminal cases, that it should not be allowed to pass without an emphatic protest on the part of every public journal that values our liberties.

Let us first of all see precisely what were the facts. Miss Anthony was charged with having knowingly voted, without lawful right to vote, at the congressional election in the eighth ward of the City of Rochester, in the State of New York, in November, 1872. The Act of Congress under which the prosecution was brought provides that, "If, at any election for representative or delegate in the Congress of the United States, any person shall knowingly personate and vote, or attempt to vote, in the name of any other person, whether living, dead, or fictitious, or vote more than once at the same election for any candidate for the same office, or vote at a place where he may not be lawfully entitled to vote, or vote without having a lawful right to vote, every such person shall be deemed guilty of a crime," etc.

The trial took place at Canandaigua, in the State of New York, in the Circuit Court of the United States, before Judge Hunt, of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The defendant pleaded not guilty—thus putting the government upon the proof of their entire case, admitting, however, that she was a woman, but admitting nothing more.

The only evidence that she voted at all, and that, if at all, she voted for a representative in Congress, offered on the part of the government, was that she handed four bits of paper, folded in the

form of ballots, to the inspectors, to be placed in the voting boxes. There was nothing on the outside of these papers to indicate what they were, and the contents were not known to the witnesses nor to the inspectors. There were six ballot-boxes, and each elector had the right to cast six ballots.

This evidence would undoubtedly warrant the conclusion that Miss Anthony voted for a congressional representative, the fact probably appearing, although the papers before the writer do not show it, that one of the supposed ballots was placed by her direction in the box for votes for members of Congress. The facts are thus minutely stated, not at all for the purpose of questioning their sufficiency, but to show how entirely it was a question of fact, and therefore a question for the jury.

Upon this evidence Judge Hunt directed the clerk to enter up a verdict of guilty. The counsel for the defendant interposed, but without effect, the judge closing the discussion by saying, "Take the verdict, Mr. Clerk." The clerk then said, "Gentlemen of the jury, hearken to your verdict, as the court has recorded it. You say you find the defendant guilty of the offense whereof she stands indicted, and so say you all." To this the jury made no response, and were immediately after dismissed.

It is stated in one of the public papers, by a person present at the trial, that immediately after the dismissal of the jury one of the jurors said to him that that was not his verdict, nor that of the rest, and that if he could have spoken he should have answered "Not guilty," and that the other jurors would have sustained him in it. The writer has no authority for this statement beyond the letter mentioned. The juror, of course, had a right, when the verdict was read by the clerk, to declare that it was not his verdict, but it is not strange, perhaps, that an ordinary juror, with no time to consider or consult with his fellows, and probably ignorant of his rights and in awe of the court, should have failed to assert himself at such a moment.

Probably the assumption by the judge that Miss Anthony in fact voted did her no real injustice, as it was a notorious fact that she did vote, and claimed the right to do so. But all this made it no less an usurpation for the judge to take the case from the jury, and order a verdict of guilty to be entered up without consulting them.

There was, however, a real injustice done her by the course of the judge, inasmuch as the mere fact of her voting, and voting unlawfully, was not enough for her conviction. It is a perfectly settled

rule of law that there must exist an intention to do an illegal act, to make an act a crime. It is, of course, not necessary that a person perpetrating a crime should have an actual knowledge of a certain law which forbids the act, but he must have a criminal intent. Thus, if one is charged with theft, and admits the taking of the property, which is clearly proved to have belonged to another, it is yet a good defense that he really believed that he had a right to take it, or that he took it by mistake. Just so in a case where, as sometimes occurs, the laws regulating the right to vote in a state are of doubtful meaning, and a voter is uncertain whether he has a right to vote in one town or another, and, upon taking advice from good counsel, honestly makes up his mind that he has a right to vote in the town of A. In this belief he applies to the registrars of that town, who upon the statement of the facts are of the opinion that he has a right to vote there, and place his name upon the list, and on election day he votes there without objection. Now, if he should be prosecuted for illegal voting, it would not be enough that he acknowledged the fact of voting, and that the judge was of the opinion that his view of the law was wrong. There would remain another and most vital question in the case, and that is, did he intend to vote unlawfully? Now, precisely the wrong that would be done to the voter in the case we are supposing, by the judge ordering a verdict of guilty to be entered up, was done by that course in Miss Anthony's case. She thoroughly believed that she had a right to vote. In addition to this she had consulted one of the ablest lawyers in western New York, who gave it as his opinion that she had a right to vote, and who testified on the trial that he had given her that advice. The Act of Congress upon which the prosecution was founded uses the term "knowingly"—"shall knowingly vote or attempt to vote in the name of any other person, or more than once at the same election for any candidate for the same office, or vote at a place where he may not be lawfully entitled to vote, or without having a lawful right to vote." Here most manifestly the term "knowingly" does not apply to the mere *act* of voting. It is hardly possible that a man should vote and not know the fact that he is voting. The statute will bear no possible construction but that which makes the term "knowingly" apply to the *illegality* of the act. Thus, "shall knowingly vote without having a lawful right to vote," can only mean, shall vote knowing that there is no lawful right to vote. This being so, there was manifestly a most vital question beyond that of the fact of voting, and of the conclusion of the judge that the voting

was illegal, namely, did Miss Anthony vote knowing that she had no right to vote.

Now, many people will say that Miss Anthony ought to have known that she had no right to vote, and will perhaps regard it as an audacious attempt, for mere effect, to assert a right that she might think she ought to have, but could not really have believed that she had. But whatever degree of credit her claim to have acted honestly in the matter is entitled to, whether to much, or little, or none, it was entirely a question for the jury, and they alone could pass upon it. The judge had no right even to express an opinion on the subject to the jury, much less to instruct them upon it, and least of all to order a verdict of guilty without consulting them.

There seems to have been an impression, as the writer infers from various notices of the matter in the public papers, that the case had resolved itself into a pure question of law. Thus, a legal correspondent of one of our leading religious papers, in defending the course of Judge Hunt, says: "There was nothing before the Court but a pure question of law. Miss Anthony violated the law of the state intentionally and deliberately, as she openly avowed, and when brought to trial her only defense was that the law was unconstitutional. Here was nothing whatever to go to the jury." And again he says: "In jury trials all questions of law are decided by the judge." This writer is referred to only as expressing what are supposed to be the views of many others.

To show, however, how entirely incorrect is this assumption of fact, I insert here the written points submitted by Miss Anthony's counsel to the Court, for its instruction to the jury.

First — That if the defendant, at the time of voting, believed that she had a right to vote, and voted in good faith in that belief, she is not guilty of the offense charged.

Second — In determining the question whether she did or did not believe that she had a right to vote, the jury may take into consideration, as bearing upon that question, the advice which she received from the counsel to whom she applied.

Third — That they may also take into consideration, as bearing upon the same question, the fact that the inspectors considered the question, and came to the conclusion that she had a right to vote.

Fourth — That the jury have a right to find a general verdict of guilty or not guilty, as they shall believe that she has or has not been guilty of the offense described in the statute.

This certainly makes it clear that the question was not "a pure question of law," and that there was "something to go to the jury." And this would be so, even if, as that writer erroneously supposes, Miss Anthony had openly avowed before the Court that she voted.

But even if this point be wholly laid out of the case, and it had been conceded that Miss Anthony had knowingly violated the law, if she should be proved to have voted at all, so that the only questions before the Court were, first, whether she had voted as charged, and secondly, whether the law forbade her voting; and if in this state of the case a hundred witnesses had been brought by the government to testify that she had "openly avowed" in their presence that she had voted, so that practically the question of her having voted was proved beyond all possible question, still the judge would have had no right to order a verdict of guilty. The proof that she voted would still be *evidence*, and *mere evidence*, and a judge has no power whatever to deal with evidence. He can deal only with the law in the case, and the jury alone can deal with the facts.

But we will go further than this. We will suppose that in New York, as in some of the states, a defendant in a criminal case is allowed to testify, and that Miss Anthony had gone upon the stand as a witness, and had stated distinctly and unequivocally that she did in fact vote as charged. We must not forget that, if this had actually occurred, she would at the same time have stated that she voted in the full belief that she had a right to vote, and that she was advised by eminent counsel that she had such a right; a state of the case which we have before referred to as presenting a vital question of fact for the jury, and which excludes the possibility of the case being legally dealt with by the judge alone; but this point we are laying out of the case in the view we are now taking of it. We will suppose that Miss Anthony not only testified that she voted in fact, but also that she had no belief that she had any right to vote; making a case where, if the Court should hold as a matter of law that she had no right to vote, there would seem to be no possible verdict for the jury to bring in but that of "guilty."

Even in this case, which would seem to resolve itself as much as possible into a mere question of law, there is yet no power whatever on the part of the judge to order a verdict of guilty, but it rests entirely in the judgment and conscience of the jury what verdict they will bring in. They may act unwisely and unconscientiously, perhaps by mere favoritism, or a weak sympathy, or prejudice, or on any other indefensible ground; but yet they have entire

power over the matter. It is for them finally to say what their verdict shall be, and the judge has no power beyond that of instruction upon the law involved in the case.

The proposition laid down by the writer before referred to, that "in jury trials all questions of law are decided by the judge," is not unqualifiedly true. It is so in civil causes, but in criminal causes it has been holden by many of our best courts that the jury are judges of the law as well as of the facts. Pages could be filled with authorities in support of this proposition. The courts do hold, however, that the judges are to *instruct* the jury as to the law, and that it is their duty to take the law as thus laid down. But it has never been held that if the jury assume the responsibility of holding a prisoner not guilty in the face of a charge from the judge that required a verdict of guilty, where the question was wholly one of law, they had not full power to do it.

The question is one ordinarily of little practical importance, but it here helps to make clear the very point we are discussing. Here the judge laid down the law, correctly we will suppose, certainly in terms that left the jury no doubt as to what he meant; and here, by all the authorities, the jury ought, as a matter of proper deference in one view, or of absolute duty in the other, to have adopted the view of the law given them by the judge. But it was in either case the *jury only* who could apply the law to the case. The judge could *instruct*, but the jury only could *apply the instruction.* That is, the instruction of the judge, no matter how authoritative we may regard it, could find its way to the defendant *only through the verdict of the jury.*

It is only where the confession of facts is *matter of record* (that is, where the plea filed or recorded in the case *admits* them), that the judge can enter up a judgment without the finding of a jury. Thus, if the defendant pleads "guilty," there is no need of a jury finding him so. If, however, he pleads "not guilty," then no matter how overwhelming is the testimony against him on the trial, no matter if a hundred witnesses prove his admission of all the facts, the whole is not legally decisive like a plea of guilty; but the question still remains a question of fact, and the jury alone can determine what the verdict shall be. In other words, it is no less a question of fact for the reason that the evidence is all one way and overwhelming, or that the defendant has in his testimony admitted all the facts against himself.

The writer has intended this article for general rather than professional readers, and has therefore not encumbered it with authorities; but he has stated only rules and principles that are well established and familiar to all persons practicing in our courts of law.

This case illustrates an important defect in the law with regard to the revision of verdicts and judgments in the United States Circuit Court. In almost all other courts an application for a new trial on the ground of erroneous rulings by the judge is made to a higher and independent tribunal. In this court, however, an application for a new trial is addressed to and decided by the same judge who tried the case, and whose erroneous rulings are complained of. Such a motion was made and argued by Miss Anthony's counsel before Judge Hunt, who refused to grant a new trial. Thus it was Judge Hunt alone who was to decide whether Judge Hunt was wrong. It is manifest that the opportunity for securing justice, even before the most honest of judges, would be somewhat less than before an entirely distinct tribunal, as the judge would be prejudiced in favor of his own opinion, and the best and most learned of judges are human and fallible; while if a judge is disposed to be unfair, it is perfectly easy for him to suppress all attempts of a party injured by his decision to set it aside.

The only remedy for a party thus wronged is by an appeal to the public. Such an appeal, as a friend of justice and of the law, without regard to Miss Anthony's case in any other aspect, the writer makes in this article. The public, thus the only appellate tribunal, should willingly listen to such a case, and pass its own supreme and decisive judgment upon it.

The writer cannot but regard Judge Hunt's course as not only irregular as a matter of law, but a very dangerous encroachment on the right of every person accused to be tried by a jury. It is by yielding to such encroachments that liberties are lost.

REMARKS OF MRS. HOOKER

BEFORE THE

Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives,

AT WASHINGTON, IN JANUARY, 1871.

IN REPLY TO A SUGGESTION OF THE COMMITTEE AS TO THE PROPRIETY OF A GREATER RESTRICTION RATHER THAN ENLARGEMENT OF THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

[Taken down by a Stenographer.]

We are told by men themselves that there are too many voters already; restriction is what we want, not enlargement of the suffrage. Let us see how this is, my friends,—let us reason together on this point for a few moments. The one great propelling power of this government that moves the great political engine, and that keeps us alive as a nation on the face of the earth, is God's own doctrine of personal liberty and personal responsibility. That is all we have to go upon. It is, in fact, fuel and steam. Liberty is the steam, responsibility puts on the brakes, and then what is the safety valve, I ask you? Is it not our election day? Look at it in this way. Every honest lawyer will tell you that the next best thing to settling a quarrel between two belligerents is to bring the parties into court; because the court room is a great cooling off place, a perfect refrigerator. A man who has quarreled with his neighbor comes into court, and, before the lawyers get through with him, he wishes he hadn't quarreled. How is it that our courts act in this way? What do we gain in this? Everything. In old times a dispute between man and man was settled by blows — fisticuffs — gradually superseded by the sword; and now we have thrown that out, and established a system of jurisprudence. Now all these petty grievances must be settled in court. Private violence must no longer be permitted, and that is a great march in civilization.

Now the parallel case is this: We in this country — we men, I mean, for women are nobodies and nowhere when you come to the discussion of great questions like these — but I use the conventional we,—"we" in this country are attempting to carry our ideas

of liberty and responsibility into legislation; and we don't agree — we quarrel bitterly and almost come to blows again; but election days cool us off, acting like a court room itself upon us. We accept their judgment, and go about our business quietly till next time. Now if we were all Americans, acting under an intelligent sense of responsibility, everything might be expected to run smoothly under this regime; but the trouble is when the foreigner comes in who does not understand our institutions, who is, perhaps, ignorant, debased, and superstitious. But the foreigner is, it seems to me, the very man who needs this safety valve of the election day. We ourselves could run our own nationality; but here comes this man from the principalities and kingdoms of the old world,— and he has an idea that he is going to be richer, smarter, happier — more on an equality with every other man than ever he was before. He comes here, and what does he find? He finds a ladder, reaching higher into the clouds, perhaps, but the lower rounds are just as near the earth as over there, and he is on the lowest round still. He sees his next-door neighbor has more money than he has, is better educated, and commands the respect of the community, as he does not, and he is filled with disappointment, and sometimes with rage. What would he naturally do, with his old world antecedents and training, when he is thus aggrieved, as he conceives himself to be? Why, burn your barn — break into your house — steal all he can from you. But what does election day do for him? On that day he is as good as anybody. He goes to the polls side by side with the first man in the land, and he rides in a carriage there — if he is too drunk to walk — and he can vote the first man in the line if he chooses. The richest man in the country must walk behind him and wait for his turn. He drops his ballot and he is cooled off. He soon begins to get hold a little of this idea of responsibility that I am speaking of, and after a while it will come into his head — very slowly, perhaps, for we are all slow to learn these things — that he has got to work himself up and get on a par with those intelligent and influential people who are so powerful in making laws and customs.

Now, friends, it seems to me if you could disfranchise every foreigner to-day who is not intelligent, or if you could make intelligence the test of voting, you would have ten barns burned where you have one now. I believe it firmly. Being naturally conservative, as I think all women are, a few years ago I really thought that ten, even twenty years' residence might be required of foreigners before they should be allowed to vote. I said they did not know enough, and

so ought to be kept out as long as that. To-day, after years of careful observation and of study of the question, I would not require a day more than the brief term fixed by our present statutes. If disfranchisement meant the annihilation of the trouble I might be glad to get rid of this troublesome question in that way; the task of running this country would then be a far easier one than it is; but it does not mean annihilation. So when gentlemen talk with me, and say we have too many voters already, I reply,—do not disfranchise these men,—enlighten them, for God has sent them here for a purpose of His own. And I say to you to-night, that the ballot in the hands of every man is the only thing that saves us from anarchy to-day, that keeps us alive as a republic,—the ballot in the hands of these ignorant men, and the more ignorant they are the more they need it, and the more we need they should have it. And let me say in passing, that reconstruction in the South is hindered to-day for the same reason; responsibility is taken away from a large class of citizens. A disfranchised class is always a restless class; a class that, if it be not as a whole given up to deeds of violence, will at least wink at them, when committed by men either in or out of its own ranks. What the South needs to-day is ballots, not bullets.

I leave out of the question the ultimate educating power of the ballot, though I would like to make you an argument upon that alone. But I say give the poor men, ignorant men, the ballot, for purposes of self-defense, and because we could not live in safety in our homes otherwise. New York is poorly governed, we say, to-day, and getting to be a pretty dangerous place to live in. But what would it be if every foreigner and every ignorant man could not go out on election day and prove that he is as good as anybody? That is human nature, and it is human nature, and plenty of it too, that we have to deal with.

And now, my friends, let me ask you, what are these men sent here for, and who sent them? We have got all Europe, and all Asia is coming; and who sends them? When God put into that good ship Mayflower those two great ribs of oak, *personal liberty* and *personal responsibility*, He knew the precious freight she was to bear, and all the hopes bound up in her, and He pledged Himself by both the great eternities, the past and the future, that that ship should weather all storms and come safe to port with all she had on board. And what God has promised He will perform. So I beg of you not to think for a moment of limiting manhood suffrage. You cut your own throats the day you do it.

And if men cannot live in this country in safe homes unless their neighbor men are enfranchised, can they live without enfranchised women any more? If you cannot live in safety with irresponsible men in your midst, how can you live with irresponsible women? Much more, how can you grow into the stature of perfect men in Christ Jesus our Lord, how can you become perfect legislators, except your mothers are instructed on these great subjects you are called to legislate upon, that they may instruct you in their turn! You do not know anything so well as what your mothers have taught you; but they have not taught you political economy. It is not their fault that they have not, nor yours, perhaps. No man or woman studies a subject profoundly except he or she is called upon to act upon it. What business man studies a business foreign to his own? What woman studies a business foreign to her own? In past ages this woman, in the providence of God we will say, has been shut out from political action, for, so long as the sword ruled and man had to get his liberty by the sword, so long woman had all she could do to guard the home, for that was her part of the work—and she did it bravely and well, you will say. But now men are not fighting for their liberty, with the gun by the door and the Indians outside. You are fighting for it in halls of legislation, with the spirit of truth, with spiritual weapons, and woman would be disloyal to her womanhood if she did not ask to share these heavy responsibilities with you. And she has really been training herself all these years she has seemed so indifferent; she has neglected her duty in part — I confess it freely; it is not your fault alone, gentlemen, that we are not with you to-day. If we had been as aware of our duty and privilege, years ago, as we are to-day, if we had known our birthright, we should have stood by your side, welcome coadjutors, long since. So we will take the blame of the past alike; we have all been walking very slowly this path of Christian civilization. But in the greatest conflict of modern times you announced great principles and fought for them on the field, and we stood by them in the home; and we stand by them still there. And when we come to deliberate with you in solemn council as to how these principles shall be carried into legislation, your task will be easier, our opportunity will be larger, and still our hearts will be where they have ever been, in our homes.

OPINIONS OF LEADING THINKERS ON THE GENERAL SUBJECT OF

HUMAN RIGHTS.

RICHARD HOOKER, 1594.

"Law to bind all, must be assented to by all; and there can be no legal appearance of assent without some degree of representation."

GRANVILLE SHARP, 1778.

"No tax can be levied without manifest robbery and injustice where legal and constitutional representation is wanting, because the English law abhors the idea of taking the least property from freemen without their free consent."

LORD SOMERS, ABOUT 1700.

"Amongst all the rights and privileges appertaining unto us, that of having a share in the legislation, and being governed by such laws as we ourselves shall cause, is the most fundamental and essential, as well as the most advantageous and beneficial."

PRIESTLY, 1772.

"Political liberty, I would say, consists in power which the members of the state reserve to themselves of arriving at the public offices, or at least of having votes in the nomination of those who fill them."

HERBERT SPENCER.

"However much the giving of political power to women may disagree with our notions of propriety, we conclude that, being required by that first prerequisite to greater happiness, the law of equal freedom, such a concession is unquestionably right and good."

HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE.

"The turn of thought of women, their habits of mind, their conversation, insensibly extending over the whole surface of society, and frequently penetrating its intimate structure, have, more than all other things put together, tended to raise us from the dust in which we are too prone to grovel."

REV. CHARLES KINGSLEY.

"One principal cause of the failure of so many magnificent schemes, social, political, religious, which have followed each other age after age, has been this, that in almost every case they have ignored the rights and the powers of one-half of the human race, namely, women I believe that nothing will go right, that politics will not go right, that society will not go right, that religion will not go right, that nothing human ever will go right, except in so far as woman goes right; and to make woman go right she must be put in her place, and she *must have her rights*, and as to what those rights are I have very definite opinions, which I shall not give up for any arguments which I seem likely to meet with in this present generation."

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

"Every man of this commonalty, except infants, insane persons, and criminals, is of common right and by the laws of God a *freeman*, and entitled to the free enjoyment of liberty. They who have no *voice* nor *vote* in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes and their representatives; for to be enslaved is to have governors whom other men have set over us, and be subject to laws made by the representatives of others, without having had representatives of our own to give consent on our behalf."

OTIS'S RIGHTS OF THE COLONIES.

"The very act of taxing exercised over those who are not represented appears to me to be depriving them of one of their most essential rights as freemen, and if continued seems to be, *in effect, an entire disfranchisement of every civil right.* If a man is not his own assessor in person, or by deputy, his liberty is gone, or he is entirely at the mercy of others."

JAMES MADISON.

"Under every view of the subject it seems indispensable that the mass of the citizens should not be without a voice in making the laws which they are to obey, and in choosing the magistrates who are to administer them."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"I go for all sharing the privilege of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, *by no means excluidng women.*"

HON. B. GRATZ BROWN, MISSOURI.

"I venture to affirm that the purity, the refinement, the instinctive reading of character, the elegant culture of the women of our land, if brought to bear on the conduct of political affairs, would do

much to elevate them in all their aims, and conform them to higher standards of justice. * * * The participation of woman in civil affairs is neither a new nor an uncommon experiment."

HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN, INDIANA.

"I am highly gratified with the late demonstration in the Senate on the question of woman suffrage. Do you not admire the speech of Senator Brown? He takes the ground that I have ever done, that the right of suffrage and representation is a natural right, and not a privilege as many argue, and even some claiming to be radicals."

SENATOR ANTHONY, RHODE ISLAND.

"If women are fit to rule in monarchies, it is difficult to say why they are not qualified to vote in a republic."

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

"If the principle on which we founded our government is true, that taxation must not be without representation, and if women hold property and are taxed, it follows that women should be represented in the state by their votes." * * * "I think the state can no more afford to dispense with the votes of women in its affairs than the family."

HON. L. F. S. FOSTER, CONNECTICUT.

"If there can properly be taxation without representation, our American Revolution was an unjustifiable rebellion, and our government is founded on fraud and falsehood."—[*Letter to John Hooker with regard to the right of tax-paying women to vote in Connecticut.*

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.

"If De Tocqueville was right in attributing the 'singular prosperity and growing strength of the American people mainly to the superiority of their women,' it is time that the commonwealth availed itself more *directly* of the reserve forces and sources of such superiority." * * * "I earnestly desire to see a more rational basis for the political future of our sex, which is as sure to develop as the dawn to follow the dark. I have never faltered for an hour either in this wish or this assurance."

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

"Women have quite as much interest in good government as men, and I have never heard or read of any satisfactory reason for excluding them from the ballot-box. I have no more doubt of their ameliorating influence upon politics than I have of the influence they exert everywhere else."

REV. S J. MAY, SYRACUSE, N. Y.

"The true family is the type of the true state. It is the absence of the feminine from the conduct of the governments of the earth that makes them more or less savage. There are fathers of the state, but no mothers."

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

"We need the participation of women in the ballot-box. It is idle to fear that she will meet with disrespect or insult at the polls. Let her walk up firmly and modestly to deposit her vote, and all men will make way for her ; and if any one ventures to molest her, the crowd will swallow him up as the whale swallowed Jonah."

BISHOP SIMPSON.

"I believe that the great vices in our large cities will never be conquered until the ballot is put into the hands of the women."

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

"I do not think our politics will be what they ought till women are legislators and voters."

REV. GEORGE W. BOARDMAN, PHILADELPHIA.

"America's salvation lies under God in America's women. It is precisely because I desire to conserve our glorious past that I plant myself on the platform of woman suffrage."

GOVERNOR M'COOK, COLORADO.

"The logic of a progressive civilization leads to woman-suffrage as an inevitable result."

SENATOR HOAR, MASSACHUSETTS.

"If there be anything in politics which would degrade women, it is time for that thing to come to an end. The thing we wish chiefly to change is government, and not women. If there be anything in politics which would tend to degrade or stain the delicacy of the purest and best woman, it is something which ought not to exist, and which the presence of woman would tend to banish."

THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES RELATE TO THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

CHIEF JUSTICE TANEY.

"The words 'people' of the United States and 'citizens' are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing; they both describe the political body, who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the government through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the 'sovereign people,' and every citizen is one of these people and a constituent member of this sovereignty."

CHIEF JUSTICE JAY.

"At the revolution the sovereignty devolved on the people, and they are truly the sovereigns of the country; but they are sovereigns without subjects (unless the African slaves may be so called), and have none to govern but themselves. The citizens of America are equal as fellow-citizens and joint tenants of the sovereignty."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG.

"These died that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, should not perish from the earth."

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY.

"A citizen is a person, native or naturalized, who has the privilege of voting for public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people."

BOUVIER'S LAW DICTIONARY.

"A citizen is one who, under the constitution and laws of the United States, has a right to vote for representatives in Congress and other public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people."

WORCESTER'S DICTIONARY.

"A citizen is an inhabitant of a republic who enjoys the rights of a citizen or freeman, and who has a right to vote for public officers as a citizen of the United States."

THE DUTCH PUBLICIST, THORBECKE.

"The right of citizenship is the right of voting in the government of the local, provincial, or national community of which one is a member. In this last sense the right of citizenship signifies a participation in the right of voting, in the general government, as member of the state."

WHEATON'S INTERNATIONAL LAW.

"The possession of the *jus suffragii*, at least, if not also of the *jus honorum*, is the principle which governs at this day in defining citizenship in the countries deriving their jurisprudence from the civil law."

ARISTOTLE.

"A citizen is one who is a *partner in the legislative and judicial power*, and who shares in the honors of the state."

JUSTICE DANIEL (U. S. SUPREME COURT).

"There is not, it is believed, to be found, in the theories of writers on government, or in any actual experiment heretofore tried, an exposition of the term 'citizen' which has not been understood as conferring the actual possession and enjoyment, or the perfect right of acquisition and enjoyment, of an entire equality of privileges, civil and political."

THOMAS PAINE.

"The right of voting for representatives is the primary right by which other rights are protected. To take away this right is to reduce man to a state of slavery, for slavery consists in being subject to the will of another."

JUSTICE M'KAY (SUPREME COURT OF GEORGIA).

"It is the settled and uniform sense of the word 'citizen,' when used in reference to the citizens of the separate states of the United States, and to their rights as such citizens, that it describes a person entitled to every right, *legal and political*, enjoyed by any person in that state, unless there be some express exceptions made by positive law covering the particular persons whose rights are in question."

JUDGE WASHINGTON (U. S. CIRCUIT COURT).

"The inquiry is, what are the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states? They must all be comprehended under the following general heads." [Here follows a statement of numerous rights, civil and political, closing as follows:] "To which is to be added *the elective franchise*, as regulated and established by the laws or constitution of the state in which it is exercised."— *Corfield* v. *Coryell*, 4 Wash. C. C. R., 380.

SUPREME COURT OF KENTUCKY.

"No one can, therefore, in the correct sense of the term, be a citizen of a state who is not entitled, upon the terms prescribed by the institutions of the state, to all the rights and privileges conferred by these institutions upon the highest class of society."

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES—FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

"All *persons* born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are *citizens* of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.

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Susan Look Avery

SECOND EDITION.—February, 1889.

Freedom's Conquests;

THE GREAT SPREAD

—OF—

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THROUGH THE WORLD,

WITH A

ROLL OF HONOR

SHOWING OVER

One Hundred Regions

WHERE IT NOW EXISTS,

IN AMERICA, AFRICA, EUROPE, ASIA AND OCEANICA.

By HAMILTON WILLCOX, M. S., L. L. B.,

Chairman State Executive Committee of New York Woman Suffrage Party, and Author of

"Suffrage a Right, Not a Privilege." (1867.)

"First Argument before House Committee of Congress Against Women's Disfranchisement in the District of Columbia." (1868.)

"Review of the Judiciary Committee's Report on Woman Suffrage, New Jersey Assembly." (1868.)

"Address to the Women of the United States, Calling the First National Woman Suffrage Convention at Washington, D. C." (1869.)

"Joint Resolution to Amend the U. S. Constitution." (1869.)

"Law Enfranchising the Women of Utah." (1870.)

"First and Subsequent Arguments Before Congressional Committee Against Disfranchisement of Women of the Territories." (1869, etc.)

"Woman's Sphere." (1870.)

"Fifty Reasons Against Woman's Disfranchisement." (1880.)

"A Law Repealing the Disfranchisement of Women at School Elections, Passed by the New York Legislature, 1880."

"Brief on the Legislature's Power to Extend the Suffrage, For the Assembly Judiciary Committee." (1880.)

"Reply to Attorney General's Opinion Against School Suffrage in Cities." (1880.)

"Reply to Superintendent of Public Instruction's Opinion Against Mothers' Right to School Suffrage." (1880.)

"Objections to Amending the Constitution." (1880.)

"Woman Suffrage Constitutional." (1881.)

"Reply to Attorney-General Russell." (1882.)

"Circular to School Commissioners Regarding Woman Suffrage at School Elections." (1883.)

"Why Attorney-General Russell Should Not be Re-elected." (1883.)

"Buffalo Platform of N. Y. Woman Suffrage Party." (1884.)

"Bills to Prohibit Disfranchisement, and Protect the Common Law Rights of Women, in the New York Legislature, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884 and 1885."

"Cases of the Legislature's Power Over Suffrage." (1885.)

"Text of New York Suffrage Law, with Notes." (1885.)

"Women's Common Law Right To Vote." (1887), etc.

"Freedom's Battle, Once Begun,
Though Baffled Oft, Is Ever WON."

NEW YORK:
JOHN W. LOVELL CO., 14 VESEY STREET.

SEE BACK OF COVER.

This Second Edition
Of a Brief Work Designed
To Strengthen the Workers For Woman's Freedom,
Which In A Few Weeks Has Gained Its Object
To An Extent Beyond The Author's Hopes,
Is Reverently

Dedicated

To The Memory
Of One Of the Greatest, Bravest, and Loveliest
Of Her Sex;
One of the Greatest Masters Of the Healing Art
In All Recorded Time;
Whose Half Century of Toil For Freedom and Virtue
In The Metropolis of the Western World,
And Whose Keen And Generous Appreciation
Of Others' Like Efforts,
Made Her Medical Skill And Her Open Purse
The Strength Of Woman's Cause
To A Degree The World Will Never Know,
And Made Her Truly
The Author's "Second Mother,"
His Devoted Friend, Confidante, Counselor and Helper
To Her Dying Day;

CLEMENCE SOPHIA LOZIER:

With Deep Regret That The Knowledge It Gives
Could Not Be Completed In Her Lifetime,
So As To Give Deep Joy
To Her Noble, Tender Soul.

NOTES TO SECOND EDITION.

It should be fully understood that the author means just what he says; no more. The facts are strong enough; he has no wish to overstate them. He urges all friends and journals who may quote hence to quote precisely, and to avoid making him appear to make incorrect statements.

For instance, one prominent journal, with the kindest design, credits him with stating that women can vote for members of Parliament in Russia! while another, also friendly, says he states that women have *entire* suffrage in New Zealand and Tasmania! when neither of these statements is made herein. Those who know the facts in either country, and see such statements ascribed to him, will be very likely to say that the whole work is unreliable; and thus it will be deprived of its just effect.

No attack, as far as the author knows, has been made on "Freedom's Conquests;" but had he issued such statements as the above the work would deserve severe attack and no faith at all.

Others have cited him as saying that woman suffrage extends over fifteen millions of square miles, and is enjoyed by 294 millions of people; which statement also cannot be found in these pages. In British Columbia, for instance, the local Parliament has enfranchised the women taxpayers of Victoria and other

cities and villages, but outside of these there are no elections at all, the rural officers being appointed. While it is correct to say that the law of British Columbia, which recognizes women's right to vote in certain cases, extends over 341,000 square miles and fifty thousand population, it is *not* true that woman suffrage exists in every one of those square miles; but it *is* true that wherever a town springs up women will have suffrage under the law. The like is the case, in various forms, in British India, Siberia and some others. The ground and population covered by the *law* are the essential points.

It should also be understood that, as Mr. George William Curtis well says in *Harper's Weekly*, the purpose of this pamphlet is not to "show the practical value to good government of women's vote." That value was proved long since by both experience and reason; it does not need to be *shown*, though it does need to be *taught* to those who are ignorant of it. Nor is it the main point. The hopeless exclusion of *any* class from all share in the government which they have to live under and help support, is a foul, disgraceful, tremendous WRONG, as vile and wicked as war, slavery, piracy, or any other organized public oppression; and whether good government would be promoted by stopping it, is about as important a question as—whether a woman promotes good government when she slays a ruffian in self-defense. The practical fact is, that experience shows that DISFRANCHISEMENT of any class makes good government impossible, and that the disfranchisement of women is the real cause of prostitution, pauperism, crime, courts, jails, State prisons, almshouses, lunacy, divorces, the "servant girl question," and other ills, to an extent undreamed by those who have not investigated. The woman suffragist does not seek in a mild, dreamy way to improve good government; he seeks to cut these dire evils up by the roots, and stop *bad* government. He does not aim to bring in heaven; he aims to *drive out hell*.

It is revolting to hear men brag of their "chivalry" toward women, and then demand that women be kept in a state that starves thousands of them into evil lives in every great city in the world. Such "chivalry" is disgusting hypocrisy, and disgraceful brutality beside; and the condition it seeks to keep masses of women in, is a shame on civilization.

Nor is it important whether women wish their freedom. Justice and public weal demand that their *disfranchisement* shall STOP.

And yet this pamphlet incidentally *does* show the value of women's vote to good government very strongly. The fact that in some form that vote so widely exists, that there is so little complaint of it, and that experience everywhere testifies in its favor, freshly proves its value. Beside, what *is* good government? None is good that does not protect all classes; and *no* government protects those who are shut out from all share in it. On the contrary, it always, in some way, oppresses them. This brutality of men, who insultingly tell women they "will never get husbands" if they demand their freedom, and who in some cases known to the writer have actually threatened to *murder* their wives if the latter dared to use the vote the law gave them, is the real hindrance to the faster growth of the cause; *not* that "apathy of women" to which it is too often laid. Were men what they should be, women would not *need* to demand their freedom—they would *have* it without a demand.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

In response to the request in the first edition for further information, Miss Lydia E. Becker, Editor of the London *Women's Suffrage Journal*, sends the following, which, though not on the same subject, is near enough to be very interesting. She says:

"I almost wonder you did not adduce the *sovereign* rights of women among the examples of political enfranchisement. Till the present year the two great Asiatic empires were ruled by women. Though the Empress of India reigns but does not govern, the Empress Regent of China has governed the Empire for twenty years, and has made it a power in the world. The Princess Regent of Brazil is a wise ruler. The heir of the Austrian Empire is a girl. [This was written before the Crown Prince's suicide.] The Queen Regent of Spain is a capable ruler. The heir to the throne of Holland is a girl."

In this connection it is also very interesting and encouraging that the appointment of Miss Minna R. Pollock to the office of Commissioner of Deeds by the New York Board of Aldermen—which the author hereof pushed through the Board in 1887 and published through the country—has been lately followed by the appointment of Mrs. Ella F. Braman (1270 Broadway, New York) to the same office by the authorities of no less than *thirty-five* States and Territories—over three-fourths of the whole. This concurrence of an overwhelming majority *settles* the law in favor of liberty, and shows that, as the Woman Suffrage Party and the author in particular have always contended, there is no rule of law against women's holding office.

The author learns that in Tuscany, Lombardy and Venetia, before 1860, women had municipal suffrage, but lost it when those regions were brought under the laws of Italy. They will soon regain it, as the women of all Italy are soon to receive it. In Holland, from 1814 to 1887, women real estate owners could vote for members of Parliament. The recent great extension of suffrage among men has suspended the property qualification among women, but this suspension is temporary.

In France, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Greece, Canada, Australasia and elsewhere, active movements, which will doubtless succeed in time, are making for more enfranchisement of women. The pronouncements of Queen Victoria and Prime Minister Lord Salisbury in that direction, the advent of women into politics in both England and the United States—all parties in both countries having urged their co-operation, and the women's organizations led by Mrs. Judith Ellen Foster, having decided the Presidential election—are unmistakable signs.

The author has received various requests to add more information. This will be done in future editions if practicable, but must raise the pamphlet's price.

FREEDOM'S CONQUESTS;

THE GREAT SPREAD

—OF—

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

By HAMILTON WILLCOX.

[The author desires to make his acknowledgements, for much of the important information here condensed, to Lord Knutsford, of the British Colonial Office, Downing street, London, and his subordinates, Messrs. Edward Wingfield and R. H. Meade; to Viscount Cross, of the Indian Office, Whitechapel, London, and his subordinates, Secretary C. A. Bernard and Mr. J. A. Godley; to Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada; to Hon. John Robson, Premier of British Columbia; to Hon. Joseph A. Defoy, Assistant Attorney General of Quebec; to Miss Caroline Ashurst Biggs, editor of the *Englishwomen's Review*, London; to Miss Lydia E. Becker, Secretary National Society for Women's Suffrage, Manchester, and editor of the London *Women's Suffrage Journal;* to Miss Helen Blackburn, Secretary West of England Woman Suffrage Association, Bristol, compiler of the "Women's Suffrage Calendar;" to Miss Isabella M. S. Tod, Secretary Woman Suffrage Society of Ireland, Belfast; to Mr. Henry B. Blackwell, Secretary American Woman Suffrage Association, Boston; to Mr. George Kennan, the distinguished explorer of Russia and Siberia; to Mr. Theodore Stanton's "Woman Question in Europe;" to Baroness Gripenborg, of the Board of Education, Helsingfors, Finland; to Mrs. Caroline Healy Dall's "Woman's Rights Under the Law;" to Sir Charles W. Dilke's "Greater Britain;" to Mrs. Lucy Stone's *Woman's Journal*, Boston; to Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby's *Woman's Tribune*, Beatrice, Neb.; to Mr. George W. Olney, compiler of the *World Almanac*; to Mrs. Mary McDonell, President District W. C. T. U., Toronto, Ont.; to Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage, Fayetteville, N. Y., and her "History of Woman Suffrage;" to Hon. James A. Bayard, Secretary of Arizona; to Mr. James L. Hughes, Inspector of Schools, Toronto; to the Governor of Cape Colony, and his courteous subordinate, Mr. Charles S. Dawkins, and others.

He will be very grateful to any one who will send him farther information on this subject.]

Both foes and friends of woman's freedom know not how far her suffrage has been gained. They never dream that her liberty covers an area greater than any of the famous empires of history, and than any of to-day. Both think it exists mainly in one or two obscure nooks. To inform both, to abash foes and cheer the workers for the Right,—and to enlighten and rouse the indifferent—the following facts have been toilsomely gathered. What a toil it is, none know who have not tried.

Foes of woman's freedom hold that she is inherently and hopelessly unfit for any voice in government; that she has no right whatever to take part in the State which she lives under, and must obey and help support; that the principle of the Declaration of Independence, that all are entitled to a share of political power, does not apply to her. They hold that her endless disfranchisement is ordained of God; that any objection to it is impious, silly, and presumptuous, to a degree that justifies exclusion of the objectors from respectable society, warrants persecution of these objectors in business and the church, and entitles themselves to ignore the plainest rules of courtesy and truth, and to heap on those who claim political liberty for women, all kinds of insult and slander. Wherever these "chivalrous" men have sway, this is the rule by which they act—that women never shall have the least share of political suffrage.

This being the principle, the slightest yielding of suffrage to any woman yields the principle of sex disfranchisement. The matter then becomes a mere question how far such disfranchisement continues, and how long it will.

How far, then, has the disfranchisement of women been abandoned? Briefly survey the world.

North America.

The large province of ONTARIO touches the whole northern bounds of New York and Michigan, and part of those of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and reaches to the shores of Hudson's Sea. This great region, throughout which women vote (unless married) on like terms with their brothers for all elected officers save two, has *a hundred and*

two thousand square miles. It is more than twice the size of New York, nearly equals New York and Michigan together; equal to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey and Maryland; much larger than Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island; greater than Pennsylvania and Ohio; than Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland; than South Carolina and Georgia; than Kentucky and Tennessee; than Illinois and Indiana; than Alabama and Mississippi; than Louisiana and Arkansas.

Crossing the ocean, ONTARIO is more than double the size of England; about equals England, Scotland, Wales, Belgium and Holland; larger than Ireland, Portugal, Denmark and Switzerland; than all the German Empire outside of Prussia; nearly equals Italy and Sicily; is about the area of Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia; greater than Turkey, Greece and Montenegro; much larger than Barca; almost as great as Tripoli; larger than Tunis, Nubia and Natal; than Liberia and Orange Free State; than Cuba and all the West Indies; that Uruguay or Paraguay: than British Guiana, and than French and Dutch Guiana together.

In the adjoining province of QUEBEC, which lies immediately north of New England and stretches to Hudson's Sea and Labrador, women are voters in the famous cities of Quebec and Montreal, and in various other cities, by provincial law.

Next, WYOMING, where women vote for every office for which their brothers do, and on like terms. This great Territory has *ninety-eight thousand square miles,* so near the size of Ontario that most of the above comparisons apply to it. But some others will be interesting.

It is half as large again as all New England, and nearly as large as New England and New York. It is about as large as New York, New Jersey and Virginia; more than twice Pennsylvania and Delaware; larger than North and South Carolina; than South Carolina and Florida.

WYOMING is over three and a fourth times the size of Scotland; about an eighth larger than all England, Scotland and Wales; more than three times the size of Ireland; nearly half the area of France or Germany; over half that of Spain; above two and a half times that of Portugal; much larger than Italy or Hungary; four-fifths that of Norway; half as large again as Turkey; larger than Bulgaria, Montenegro, Rumania, and Servia together; five-twelfths the extent of the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire; nearly nine times that of Belgium; seven and a half times that of Denmark; nearly four times that of Greece; eight times than of Holland; two-thirds that of Finland; about five times that of Servia; more than six times that of Switzerland; a fourth larger than Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Greece and Switzerland together; about nine-twentieths the mileage of Morocco; five-eighths that of Algeria; over double that of Tunis; a fourth that of Egypt; above a third that of Afghanistan; five-sevenths that of Beloochistan; a sixth larger than Corea; two-thirds the area of Japan; half that of Anam; half that of Burma; a third that of Siam; five-sevenths that of Syria; in excess of that of Nepaul and Ceylon combined; two-fifths greater than Malacca; about half that of Abyssinia; four-ninths that of Cape (of Good Hope) Colony; seven times that of Liberia; four-ninths that of Madagascar; more than double that of Mozambique; four and a half times that of Natal; nearly thrice that of Nubia; two-fifths more than Orange Free State; nearly ten-elevenths that of Transvaal; about five-ninths of Sumatra; a third greater than Celebes; nearly double the size of Java; almost equal to that of all New Zealand; nearly an eighth larger than Victoria (Australia); almost four times as big as Tasmania; two and a fourth times as much so as Cuba; larger than Chihuahua, Sonora, or any State of Mexico; double the size of Nicaragua, and larger than Guatemala, Honduras and San Salvador conjoined; two-fifths of Chili or Ecuador; greater thau Uruguay, Paraguay or British Guiana; and than French and Dutch Guiana united; more than half as large as Quebec; five times as large as Nova Scotia; three and a half times as large as New Brunswick.

BRITISH COLUMBIA, where women likewise vote for all elective officers but member of Parliament, contains *three hundred and forty-one thousand square miles.* It is larger than eleven of the Atlantic States together; than Texas, Louisiana and Missouri united; than the combined extent of Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan; than the joint area of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Nebraska; than the total mileage of Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona; than Texas and Indian Territory; than the whole of Utah, Idaho and Nevada; equal to California, Oregon and Washington. It exceeds the British Islands, France and Switzerland; it surpasses the size of Germany, Italy and Holland; of Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Greece and Montenegro; of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. It equals Spain, Portugal, Italy, Sicily and Sardinia combined; also Madagascar and Transvaal. It is greater than Siam: than Afghanistan and Nepaul; than Syria and Beloochistan; double the Japanese Empire; larger than all Mongolia; than Nubia, Abyssinia, Mozambique and Zanzibar; than Cape Colony, Orange Free State and Natal; than New South Wales; than the vast island of Borneo; than Sumatra, Java, Celebes and Mindanao; than New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario; than Chili and Uruguay.

KANSAS, the State where municipal woman suffrage exists, contains *eighty-two thousand square miles.* It is thus greater than New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; than all New England, New Jersey and Delaware. It equals Pennsylvania, Maryland and West Virginia; is nearly double Virginia; equals both Carolinas; exceeds Ohio and Indiana; equals Kentucky and Tennessee; exceeds Ireland, Scotland Wales and Belgium; also Turkey and Servia;

also Greece, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, and Montenegro; also Bulgaria and Rumania; also all Germany but Prussia; it equals Corea; exceeds Nepaul; is more than treble Ceylon; larger than the whole Malay peninsula; than Tunis and Mozambique; nearly equal to Orange Free State with Liberia added; larger than the great island of Celebes; than the other great island, Java; than the three Central American States of Nicaragua, Costa Rica and San Salvador; than the other two, Guatemala and Honduras; than all the West Indies; than British Guiana or Uruguay. KANSAS is one-fourth greater than all New England; sixty-seven per cent. greater than New York; eighty-two per cent. greater than Pennsylvania; greater than the joint extent of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and Rhode Island — of nine States of the Union combined, and greater than either of the original thirteen; than a majority of the thirteen together, and than either of thirty-two of to-day's thirty-eight!

But there is a greater region in the United States where women exercise suffrage, though not at the polls. Many will be surprised to learn that this is—TEXAS! In many counties of that State the school officers are chosen by petitions to the county judge, and he of course appoints those whose petitions are most largely signed. These petitions women, on like terms with their brothers, can sign, and thus practically vote without leaving home. The State authority, which thus recognizes women's right to vote in certain cases, rules *two hundred and sixty-five thousand square miles.*

But this is not all. For five thousand miles, from Atlantic to Pacific, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Puget Sound, without one gap, stretches a belt of thirty States, Territories and provinces where women have begun to exercise some degree of self-government. In every Territory but one (New Mexico some law has been passed, more or less relieving women from disfranchisement! When the sun's rays at Cape Breton first touch the shore of civilized America they fall on women whom Nova Scotia's laws make free; as those beams light up a long range of communities, they strike but one spot (Maine) where women are wholly enslaved; and when they fade from the beach of Queen Charlotte Islands, they bid farewell, in sunset's glowing hues, to thousands of women whom British Columbia has enfranchised. This vast realm is wondrous, too, for breadth. From Cape May to Hudson's Sea; from the Tennessee border to the Saskatchewan river; from the Alaska boundary to the Mexican Gulf, reaches this mighty region where woman in in some measure free! and besides its splendid length of five thousand miles, its greatest breadth is two thousand! From the petition-vote for Texas school officers, the petition-vote of Arkansas and Mississippi for and against liquor license, the taxpayer's school vote of Vermont and the widow's school vote of Kentucky, to the full, free, equal suffrage of Wyoming, the degrees of woman's enfranchisement vary; but everywhere is the principle rejected, that never may women vote; the iron rule of relentless, endless disfranchisement is broken! Behold the figures; the facts exceed the power of words:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BELT.

Arizona,	113,000	square	miles.
Arkansas,	54,000	"	"
British Columbia,	341,000	"	"
Colorado,	104,000	"	"
Dakota,	149,000	"	"
Idaho,*	64,000	"	"
Indiana,	36,000	"	"
Kansas,	82,000	"	"
Kentucky,	40,000	"	"
Manitoba,	123,000	"	"
Massachusetts,	8,000	"	"
Michigan,	59,000	"	"
Minnesota,	83,000	"	"
Mississippi,	49,000	"	"
Montana,	146,000	"	"
Nebraska,	77,000	"	"
New Brunswick,	27,000	"	"
New Hampshire,	9,000	"	"
New Jersey,	8,000	"	"
New York,	49,000	"	"
Nova Scotia	21,000	"	"
Ontario,	102,000	"	"
Oregon,	96,000	"	"
Quebec	188,000	"	"
Texas,	265,000	"	"
Utah,*	85,000	"	"
Vermont,	9,000	"	"
Washington,*	90,000	"	"
Wisconsin	56,000	"	"
Wyoming	98,000	"	"
	2,630,000	square	miles.

In round numbers TWO AND A HALF MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES! Equal to six-sevenths of this country without Alaska, and to five-sevenths with it; nearly equal to the enormous Northwest (Hudson's Bay) Territories, nearly treble the organized Dominion of Canada, much larger than Russia, far larger than all the rest of Europe! larger than China, Mongolia, Mantchooria and Siam; larger than all Asiatic Turkey, Arabia and Persia; greater than all India, Thibet and Afghanistan; larger than the Great Sahara; than all the organized States of Africa; than Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia!

810,000 square miles of this are in the Dominion of Canada; all its provinces but one (Prince Edward's Island).

1,820,000 are in the United States, and, even counting Alaska, are more than half our area, and larger than the whole of thirty-six of our thirty-eight States! They include twenty-four of the forty-six States and Territories, an absolute majority of all.

* Idaho, Utah and Washington are included because, though their woman suffrage laws are temporarily inoperative, their Legislatures have not repealed them, public sentiment in those Territories favors them, and as soon as the wicked pressure from without ceases, those laws will again operate.

Where not otherwise specified in this work, school suffrage is the degree existing in the above regions.

EUROPE.

In ENGLAND, SCOTLAND and WALES, women (unless married) vote for all elective officers but one (member of Parliament), on like terms with their brothers. They will soon vote for Parliament, too.

In IRELAND women vote everywhere for poor-law guardians ; in Dundalk and other seaports, for harbor boards; and in Belfast for all municipal officers.

In SWEDEN their suffrage is about the same as in Britain ; and they vote, too, indirectly for members of the House of Lords.

In RUSSIA, women, heads of households, vote for all elective officers and on all local questions.

In AUSTRIA-HUNGARY they vote (by proxy) at all elections, including members of provincial and imperial Parliaments.

In CROATIA and DALMATIA they vote at local elections in person.

In ITALY widows vote (by proxy) for members of Parliament.

In FINLAND women vote for all elective officers but one.

ENGLAND, whose common law has for ages recognized the right of women to vote on the same terms as their brothers, has fifty thousand square miles. It is about the size of New York; larger than New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland; than Pennsylvania, Delaware and Rhode Island ; than any Atlantic State but North Carolina, Georgia or Florida ; than Louisiana or Mississippi, on the Gulf ; than Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, West Virginia, or Indiana ; than either of twenty States of the Union. It is larger than Ireland and Switzerland togeth r ; than Scotland, Wales and Holland ; about equal to Portugal and Denmark; larger than Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Saxony and Baden together ; than Rumania ; than Greece, Servia and Montenegro together ; than Guatemala or Honduras; almost equal to Nicaragua; greater than Cuba and Jamaica together ; than Hayti and all the rest of the West Indies; than Orange Free State; double Bulgaria; a fourth larger than Iceland; nearly double Tasmania,

IRELAND equals all New England but Maine. It is almost as large as Maine; as West Virginia and New Jersey; nearly equal to Indiana ; much larger than New Brunswick or Nova Scotia; larger than Scotland; than Sweden proper; than Galicia; larger than Belgium and Holland joined.

RUSSIA has *two millions and sixty thousand square miles.* It is a third larger than all the rest of Europe; larger than all the States of the Union but California; half as large again as all the Territories; nearly as much greater than all India; a fourth more extensive than China; over double Arabia; more than treble Persia or Thibet; four times the size of Egypt; four times that of Assyria ; as large as the Great Sahara; more so than Venezuela, Peru, Chili and Colombia.

ASIA.

In BRITISH BURMA women taxpayers vote in the rural tracts.

In MADRAS PRESIDENCY (Hindoostan) they can do so in all municipalities.

In BOMBAY PRESIDENCY they likewise can.

In all the countries of RUSSIAN ASIA they can do so wherever a Russian colony settles. The Russians are colonizing the whole of their vast Asian possessions, and carry with them everywhere the "mir" or self-governing village, wherein women heads of households vote.

AFRICA.

The government of the Cape of Good Hope, where women have municipal suffrage, rules about a million of square miles.

AUSTRALASIA.

Some of the largest conquests of Freedom have been made in Australasia. Municipal suffrage exists in NEW ZEALAND, and the Legislature has resolved that women shall vote for members of Parliament. It also exists in VICTORIA, NEW SOUTH WALES, QUEENSLAND and SOUTH AUSTRALIA. The latter, whose Parliament has declared for women's voting at Parliamentary elections too, and where they will soon do so, has *nine hundred and sixteen thousand square miles.* It is larger than all the United States east of the Mississippi ; greater than Texas, Indian Territory and Alaska; than California and Mexico; larger than the British Islands, France, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland and Belgium; than Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Turkey, Finland, Rumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro ; greater than all British India ; than Persia, Syria and Beloochistan; than all native India, Nepaul and Siam; than Asiatic Turkey and Japan ; than Mongolia, Manchuria and Afghanistan ; than Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt and Nubia ; than Abyssinia, Madagascar, Cape Colony, Transvaal, Mozambique, Zanzibar and Natal; than all the provinces of the Dominion of Canada ; more than double the organized part of the Northwest Territories; equal to Bolivia with Uruguay added ; greater than Columbia, Ecuador, British and French Guiana; than Peru, Chili and Paraguay ; than Venezuela, Dutch Guiand Uruguay. The area of municipal suffrage in Australasia is over *two millions of square miles;* almost equal to Russia, a third greater than all the rest of Europe; greater than all the States of the Union but California; fifty per cent. larger than all the Territories; forty-three per cent. greater than all India ; twenty-five per cent. greater than China; double Arabia; more than treble Thibet or Persia; quadruple Egypt; quadruple Assyria; equal to the Great Sahara; greater than Colombia, Venezuela, Peru and Chili.

ISLANDS.

On opposite sides of the globe are two small islands; one in the British seas, the other in the South Pacific, both so small as to be mere specks on the ocean—the ISLE OF MAN, with but two hundred and eighty square miles, and PITCAIRN ISLAND, with not a tenth as many—where women have full suffrage. The Manxmen have had women voting about five years, the Pitcairners about a hundred. THE ISLE OF MAN, though, has over fifty thousand people.

There are also two great islands, opposite each other on the globe, where women are free to vote. TASMANIA, or Van Diemen's Land, in the South Pacific, has twenty-six thousand square miles; ICELAND, in the North Atlantic, has thirty-nine thousand. TASMANIA, with municipal suffrage, is larger than Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island: than New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware; than West Virginia; than Nova Scotia; about equal to New Brunswick; larger than Belgium and Holland; twice the size of Denmark; thrice that of Wales; larger than either Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, Switzerland or Wurtemburg; than Baden, all the Saxon States and Elsass-Lorraine together; twice the extent of Liberia; larger than Natal; four times the area of all the Sandwich Islands; larger than Costa Rica; six times the size of Jamaica; eight times that of Porto Rico; nearly equal to Hayti; thrice the extent of British Honduras.

ICELAND, where women have full suffrage, is larger than Maine; larger than all the rest of New England; nearly double New Jersey and Maryland; almost as large as Virginia; much larger than South Carolina; nearly equal to either Tennessee, Kentucky or Ohio; larger than Indiana; larger than Scotland and Wales; larger than Ireland and Wales; larger than Belgium, Holland and Denmark; than Portugal; than Switzerland and Servia; much larger than Greece and Montenegro; much more so than Bulgaria, or Ceylon; more so than Mozambique or Nubia, or than Liberia and Natal together; equal to Croatia, Servia, and Dalmatia; nearly so to Tunis; it much exceeds New Brunswick, is almost double Nova Scotia, and exceeds Hayti, San Domingo, Porto Rico and Jamaica united; also Costa Rica and San Salvador; is equal to Honduras; to Bavaria, Wurtemburg and Hesse, and larger than Saxony, Baden, Mecklenburg and all the rest of the German Empire but Prussia!

The ISLANDS ROUND GREAT BRITIAN are mostly parts of the kingdom and subject to its law. The Isle of Wight and the Scilly Islands off the English shore; Anglesea, and the famous isle of Holyhead, off the coast of Wales; Arran, Bute, the Hebrides, Orkneys and Shetlands, adjoining Scotland; all are under the noble common and statute law that gives single women and widows the power to vote on the same terms with their brothers. The Hebrides have seventy inhabited isles; the Orkneys thirty; the Scillys a hundred and forty; the Shetlands thirty-two; total two hundred and seventy-five smaller islands, surrounding the great island of Britain, wherein woman's liberty is in great part accorded. There are over three hundred more which are not permanently inhabited; but whenever they are settled, it will be under the same wise, just law. In Achil, the Arrans, the Rosses, and numerous smaller islands that surround Ireland, the women taxpayers are free to vote for poor-law guardians.

This freedom of woman in the British archipelago, compared with her disfranchisement in the adjacent Continental countries, inclines one to pray with Whittier:

> "Come once again, O blessed Lord!
> Come walking on the sea!
> And let the mainlands hear the word
> That sets the islands free!"

In the large island of SARDINIA widows can vote as in the Italian mainland. It is larger than Wales, larger than New Jersey, larger than any New England State but Maine. So they can in the greater island SICILY, which is nearly equal to Greece, double the area of Belgium, larger than Bohemia, Croatia, Transylvania, Servia or Nova Scotia, and much larger than Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Hanover or Piedmont; nearly equal to West Virginia; equal to Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey; and to Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. So they can in the Aegades, the Lipari islands, Ischia, Giglio, Elba, the refuge of the first Napoleon, Caprera, the home of Garibaldi, Capri the beautiful—and in all the multitude of isles that lie near Italy, Sardinia and Sicily.

Gottland and the other islands of WISBY, in the Gulf of Bothnia, are parts of Sweden, and women can vote there on the same terms as on the mainland. So they can in Oeland, on the Baltic Sea, and Holmon in the Gulf of Bothnia.

The Aland Islands in that Gulf are part of Finland, and subject to its municipal suffrage laws.

Dagol and Oesel in the Baltic, and the large island of Saghalien on the Pacific coast of Siberia, are under Russian law. So are the multitude of islands in the Caspian Sea.

Grand Menan, and its surrounding islets, in the Bay of Fundy, are under the law of New Brunswick. The Isles of Shoals are under that of New Hampshire. Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Naushon, and the many other islands of Massachusetts, are under the school suffrage law. Grand Isle in Lake Champlain is under that of Vermont. The famous Thousand Isles of the St. Lawrence River, Grand Island and Goat Island in Niagara River, Staten Island in New York Harbor, Green Island on the Hudson, Long Island, Shelter Island, and many smaller islands on the sea, are under that of New York. The multitude of islands in Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior and Michigan, and in Green and Georgian Bays, are all parts of communities where woman suffrage in some degree exists. Ship Island, and the other islands of the Gulf of Mexico, belonging to the Mississippi, are under that State's license law. Others belonging to Texas, are under its school law. The small islands around Australia, Tasmania and New

Zealand are under those colonies' laws. The number of islands where women can vote must be two thousand.

For the whole world, the figures are astounding. Behold them:—

FREEDOM'S ROLL OF HONOR.

	Square Miles.*	Population.*
Abruzzi	6,676	1,302,966
Amoor	173,552	44,400
Anglesea	346	51,040
Apulia	8,541	1,464,604
Arran	185	5,234
Arizona	113,020	90,000
Arkansas	53,850	1,200,000
Austria	12,288	2,727,265
Baltic Russia	58,931	3,268,160
Basilicata	4,122	517,069
Bohemia	19,983	5,557,134
Bombay	123,142	23,325,053
British Burma	88,556	3,707,646
British Columbia	341,305	49,459
Bukowina	4,036	548,518
Bute	60	10,064
Calabria	6,663	1,206,302
Campania	6,937	2,754,592
Carinthia	4,006	378,705
Carniola	3,857	469,996
Caucasus	178,839	5,749,509
Central Asia (Russian)	1,286,874	4,505,876
Colorado	103,925	325,000
Croatia	13,129	791;845
Dakota	149,100	600,000
Dalmatia	4,937	476,937
Eastern Russia	546,983	15,143,715
Emilia	7,926	2,113,828
England	50,879	24,608,391
Finland	144,222	2,728,021
Galicia	30,212	5,951,954
Gothland	35,335	2,567,194
Great Russia	835,031	24,155,534
Hebrides	3,000	115,000
Holyhead	15	5,916
Hungary	87,045	11,530,397
Iakutsk	1,517,063	251,977
Iceland	39,543	71,300
Ieniseisk	992,832	372,862
Idaho	64,800	97,250
Indiana	36,350	2,400,000
Ireland	32,529	5,159,839
Irkutsk	309,177	358,629
Isle of Man	280	53,492
Kansas	82,080	1,600,000
Kentucky	40,400	1,940,585
Kustenland	3,074	582,079
Liguria	2,055	843,812
Little Russia	86,429	7,635,361
Lombardy	9,086	3,460,824
Madras	138,856	38,839,181
Manitoba and Keewatin	409,275	65,954
Marches	3,751	915,419
Massachusetts	8,315	2,005,763
Michigan	59,915	2,078,658
Military Frontier (Austria)	7,239	679,228
Minnesota	83,365	1,400,000
Mississippi	46,810	1,400,000
Montana	146,080	130,000
Moravia	8,555	2,151,619
Naples	429	907,752
Nebraska	76,855	1,000,000
New Brunswick	27,174	321,233
New Hampshire	9,305	378,000
New Jersey	7,815	1,330,000
New South Wales	325,000	750,000
New York	49,170	5,709,969
New Zealand	106,260	463,729
Norrland	99,673	598,819
Nova Scotia	20,907	440,572
Ontario	101,733	1,923,228
Oregon	96,030	250,000
Orkneys	2,448	31,774
Piedmont	11,200	2,898,564
Pitcairn Island	8	200
Poland	54,356	6,136,792
Primorsk	731,910	500,512
Quebec	188,688	1,359,027
Queensland	678,600	226,077
Rome	4,553	836,704
Salzburg	2,757	153,159
Sardinia	9,399	636,660
Scillies	9	2,090
Scotland	27,463	3,556,448
Shetlands	5,000	31,608
Sicily	22,200	2,600,000
Silesia (Austrian)	1,981	511,381
Slavonia	3,656	400,000
South Australia	914,730	279,865
South Russia	172,585	6,089,302
Styria	8,671	1,217,367
Sweden proper	32,469	1,323,526
Tasmania	26,215	115,705
Texas	264,780	2,705,967
Tobolsk	531,959	1,086,848
Tomsk	329,024	838,756
Transbaikalia	240,770	430,780
Transylvania	21,159	2,101,727
Tuscany	9,287	2,142,525
Tyrol	11,287	911,887
Umbria	3,719	549,601
Utah	84,970	200,000
Venetia	9,060	2,642,807
Vermont	9,565	336,000
Wales	7,377	1,359,895
Washington	90,000	143,669
West Russia	162,442	9,822,259
Wisconsin	56,040	1,750,000
Wyoming	97,883	85,000
GRAND TOTAL	15,057,230	294,219,851

The "cold facts" are, as usual, beyond the greatest achievements of fancy. This magnificient list of *one hundred and nine* States, Territories and provinces, shows that the idea that womanhood is a necessary and hopeless bar to freedom and self-government; that all women, whatever their genius, must forever be, politically, slaves of all men, however stupid and criminal,—is rejected by communities whose extent is over FIFTEEN MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES, and whose population is nearly THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS! and that in this immense territory law, public sentiment, or both, admit that under some circumstances

* These figures are from official returns and estimates.

women may properly vote. It is also remarkable that many of these parts are those whereto immigration is flowing, and whose population is most rapidly growing; so that soon there will be several great empires where the women vote equally with the men.

"But why, then, does woman suffrage not work the benefits its advocates promise?" It does. From every quarter comes the same report, that women's partaking in elections, brings purer politics, better government, and fairer play for women. But this is under great disadvantages. In large regions women's political freedom is still limited to school or village elections; in many it is confined to mere municipal ones; only in Wyoming is it equal in extent to masculine suffrage. In many of these numerous communities the mass of men are still disfranchised, and so are the mass of women.

Only in America has the grand idea of universal suffrage been put in full practice for men; but in all these communities the idea that womanhood necessitates life-long, exceptionless disfranchisement, has been abandoned; women vote to some extent or another in most of them, and soon will vote to the same extent as men in all.

The area Freedom has already in some degree conquered, is nearly SEVENTY PER CENT. larger than the enormous British Empire, nearly NINETY PER CENT. greater than the vast dominions of the Tsar; four times the size of all Europe or Australasia, double that of both combined; larger than all North and South America. Its population equals that of all North America, South America and Africa; and almost equals the population of all Europe.

Woman suffrage in some degree exists in parts of every continent on the globe.

Oh, weary toilers for Freedom, take courage and rejoice! Through years of ridicule, slander and persecution we have kept alive the holy fire, proclaimed Liberty to all the earth, and warred on mighty wrongs. The seed we have sown bears splendid crops, the harvest day draws near. Despite your weariness the worst is past; despite the hindrances that remain, take courage and press on! Let the splendid measure of success the cause has won, inspire us to fresh toil; till the awful wrongs we strive against are withered at their roots, and the glory of real civilization blesses all the world!

Statesmen! politicians! editors! behold our movement's strength! Be wise in time; hasten, while yet you may, to join the hosts who struggle for the Right!

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, AND PRES'T OF THE WORLD'S W. C. T. U.

I regard the presentation of facts made by our Equal Suffrage champion, Hamilton Willcox, Esq., of New York City, as the very best and most cogent putting of the case that we have had. Americans "want facts;" they praise the bridge that carries them over; they succeed by their frank recognition of success. Here comes a man who tells them that woman's participation in the government that punishes and taxes her is already an accomplished fact to some extent over an area equal to *fifteen millions of square miles*, and among nearly *three hundred millions of people*. He shows that we have already given some form of woman suffrage in twenty-four of the forty-five States and Territories—an absolute majority of the whole. With such momentum the reform will be wrought out into success within the next quarter of a century.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

It is a wonderful document, most cheering and instructive, and seems more so every time I glance over it. The facts are amazing, and are skillfully presented. They must have cost infinite pains to collect. Women owe you a debt of gratitude.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE CANADIAN WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT ASSOCIATION.

I desire to bear testimony to the very high estimate I have of your services rendered through this little, but comprehensive, publication to the cause of woman's enfranchisement. As "nothing succeeds like success," the diffusion of such knowledge, as is contained in this little work, is celculated to help our cause more than we can estimate.

Very sincerely, EMILY H. STOWE, M. D.,
Toronto, Ont.

FROM A NATIONAL ORGANIZER OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

It meets the demand of the people, and is one of the best things ever done for our cause.

MARY SEYMOUR HOWELL.

FROM THE STATE ORGANIZER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

I am much interested in your contribution on the woman suffrage movement of the world. Many friends in Massachusetts have spoken highly of it.

CORA SCOTT POND.

FROM THE ORGANIZER OF THE CANADIAN WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT ASSOCIATION.

All who are working for woman suffrage should have a copy of "Freedom's Conquests." When I think of the Two and Half Millions of square miles in America where some law has been passed more or less relieving women from disfranchisement, my heart goes out in gratitude to the pioneers who have made it so easy for us to follow. I feel that I should do double work to make up for all they have endured.

MARY McDONELL.

FROM AN AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE."

It is an admirable showing of the progress of our reform; an effective answer to those who ask "What has been accomplished?" As one who from experience knows the labor involved in its compilation, you have my personal thanks for your work.

MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.

FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE LADIES' SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE, NEW YORK.

Your work is one of the most convincing proofs of woman's fitness for the position she claims that has ever been presented to the public; and will greatly assist in liberating her from lingering thraldom. Unborn generations will benefit by the higher cultivation that will spring from woman's emancipation, brought to successful issue through such work as you have devoted your powers to. Most respectfully,

KATE PALMER STEARNS.

FROM HON. O. B. POTTER.

POTTER BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY, Feb. 19, 1889.

The cause of woman suffrage has reason to be greatly encouraged by the facts and arguments therein set forth. I cannot doubt, if there be truth in the assumption as the basis of republican government, that such government derives its only just authority from the will of the people and the consent of the governed, the conclusion cannot long be deferred that all members of community of legal age, not otherwise disqualified, of both sexes, should have the equal right to vote. Very truly yours,

O. B. POTTER.

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WOMAN PREACHER

BY

REV. W. B. GODBEY, A. M.,

Author of "Baptism," "Sanctification," "Christian Perfection," "Victory," and Corresponding Editor of the Way of Life.

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OFFICE OF THE WAY OF LIFE,
NO. 48 STONEWALL ST.,
ATLANTA, GA.

INTRODUCTION.

Nothing has done more to hinder the progress of the gospel than the long silence imposed upon our Sisters. It was not so in the beginning, and would not be so now but for the long night of a thousand years brought on by Satan's Millennium through the Roman Catholic Church. We rejoice to know that the morning of a better day cometh. And it is with the hope of hastening the sunrising of that blessed day that this little work has been written and sent forth on its mission of salvation to our Sisters from this long bondage. God speed it to the ends of the earth.

W. A. Dodge.

SHALL THE WOMEN PREACH?

Yes. By this we don't mean the modern theological, metaphysical, scientific, sermonic preaching so common in our pulpits. It is unknown in the Bible, and a great pity it ever became known in the church. It has been for ages, and is to-day, a millstone around the neck of the church, dragging her down to the present awful apostasy. God help the men out of that awful hell-trap, and forbid the women should ever be caught in it. I thank God, so far I have never known a woman caught in that trap.

But, sad to say, many a noble man has there fought, bled and died. So don't mistake us. We don't mean for the women to do what you call preaching; we are sorry the men are doing it. We want them to quit, and the women never to begin. But we do know that it is the God-given right, blood-bought privilege, and bounden duty of the women, as well as the men, to preach the gospel with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. 1 Peter, i. 12. This is what we mean when we say, let the women preach. God wants to save, sanctify, fill with the Holy Ghost, and arm with a tongue of fire, every man, woman and child, and send them out to conquer the world for his Son, whom He promised long ages ago: "I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." The ends of the earth are upon us; the Lord delayeth his coming because of our tardiness; the world's redemption is overdue; Satan has had it far too long; it is high time for the Apocalyptic angel to come down and chain him, cast him out, and lock him up in hell, and usher in the millennium.

Eighteen hundred and sixty-eight years ago, our Lord positively commanded us: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." It is a burning shame on the escutcheon of the church that there are more unevangelized heathens to-day than when the commission was given.

A thousand millions of heathens, two hundred millions of Mahammedans and Jews, and three hundred millions of Roman and Greek Catholics, besides millions of poor, dead Protestants and wicked, gospel-hardened sinners under Protestant influence, are clamorous for the Bread of Life. Old, dark Africa is being penetrated with railroads from ocean to ocean. Thousands of Ethiopian kings, amid their wailing subjects, are stretching out their hands and pleading for men and women to come and tell them of Jesus.

Old Asia, the cradle of humanity, with her time-honored heathen empires, amid vain philosophies and pagan orgies, has waited six thousand years for deliverance. The light is now breaking from every shore and inter-penetrating the dark interior. She is rocking like a volcano, impatient of the tardy progress of the long expected redemption. South America, Central America and Mexico are now revolutionizing against the intolerable despotism of papal priestcraft, and everywhere pleading for missionaries to come and teach them the way of salvation.

Millions of angels would gladly volunteer and take the place God offers the poorest saint who will dare to enter the open door, and receive a crown that will outshine the stars.

Amid this universal cry, I am glad not a church in Christendom is found mean enough to say no to the women. All the churches on the globe indorse women's preaching by sending them to preach to the heathens. Where is the church that has not her women this day in the heathen field? "Brother Godbey, my church doesn't allow the women to preach." You are mistaken; your church has already sent out women to preach to the heathens over the sea, and you ought to be preaching to the heathens at home.

Psa. lxviii. 11 reads in the inspired Hebrew, as corroborated by Dr. Clarke and the revised version: "The Lord gave the word; and great was the army of those women that preached it." This is a prophetic vision setting forth the glorious evangelism of the latter days, in which great armies of women such as General Booth's Salvation Army, in which five thousand women are preaching this day, shall sweep out, preach the gospel to all nations, and bring on the millennium. Rev. xvi. 16, prophesies the battle of Armageddon, the great final conflict which shall signally defeat Anti-christ, dethrone him forever, and prepare the way for the millennium. This wonderful Arma-

geddon in which the hosts of God are to defeat the devil and bring on the millennium, is taken from Judges v. 19, where Deborah, a mother in Israel, marshalled and led the hosts of God, and Jael, a brave young Christian woman, with her own heroic hands slew Sisera, the commander-in-chief of king Jabin's army, and the greatest military chieftain on the globe. He was much such a man as Napoleon Bonaparte. Though the women led the war which brought deliverance to all Israel, the men fought by their side. According to these prophecies, this is the war that is to conquer the world, chain the devil (Rev. xx. 1) and send him to hell where he belongs, bring on the millennium and reinstate King Jesus on the throne of the world to reign forever. And it is going to be done; the Bible, God, angels, and saints say "Amen!" Who says "No"? The devil howls it from hell, and poor, stereotyped, dark-age theologians who know the women will beat them preaching if they get a half a chance, howl it from gilded pulpits and cushioned tripods: "No! don't let the women preach, they will ruin everything."

Are the women included in the commission? Certainly. Read it for yourself. Acts ii. 17, 18. The commission had been given in an incipient form, and restricted to the Jews.

Now amid the splendors of pentecostal glory, it is given in its final evangelical and unincumbered form, and you see it not only includes our daughters along with our sons, but it takes in our servant women. I am glad the Lord is raising up so many witnesses to this truth. Hannah Smith is certainly one of the greatest white preachers in the world, while Amanda Smith, born in Southern slavery and still so illiterate, she speaks the darkey dialect, is to-day the world's model of pulpit oratory. She has preached in America, Europe, Asia and Africa, everywhere holding spellbound the multitude regardless of culture, rank or nationality.

The word here is prophesy.

Does it mean preach? It means preach, exhort, pray, testify, appeal, and everything else you can do with your tongue for the Lord. 1 Cor. xiv: 3. "The one who prophesieth speaketh unto human beings, edification, exhortation and comfort." So you see the word used in the commission and generally used in the Bible means to talk for the Lord any way you will.

This technical, sermonic, steel-ribbed, ironbound, icebergy stuff you call preaching, is the devil's counterfeit to freeze and ritualize the church to death and send the world to hell. No, I don't mean that the women are to do that. For I want all the men to quit it and the women never to begin. Now don't forget that what the Bible means and what we mean is simply to get emptied of sin and filled with the Spirit so you will run over the balance of your life, with your pentecostal tongue of fire loose at both ends, reading the Word, expounding it, exhorting, testifying, praying, shouting, etc., as free for Jesus as a bird of paradise.

"Brother Godbey, I thought the preachers constituted an order distinct from and superior to the laity." If you mean the elders or bishops (which mean the same office), whom the church ordains to take the pastoral charge of the Lord's flock, and the deacons whom they ordain to attend to the temporal interest of the churches, we have no controversy. And I don't care a picayune whether you ordain a solitary woman or not. Perhaps we would better show our sisters courtesy by relieving them of pastoral charges and temporal burdens, unless it be in the foreign field where a lonely woman may be (as is now in some of Bishop Taylor's work) the only chance to look after, preach, baptize and sacrament the people. In that case let her be ordained like Sister Phebe of the church at Cenchrea.

But what about the ministry as a separate and distinct order in all bygone ages?

It was so under the law, but not under the gospel. In the former dispensation the people stood without, the priests in the sanctuary, and the highpriest in the *Sanctum sanctorum.* When the plan of salvation was perfected by the crucifixion of Christ, God with His own hand tore down the veil and invited all his people right into the *Sanctum sanctorum.* Thus the Aaronic priesthood was forever superseded by that of Melchizedek. "Without father or mother," without special distinction, neither male nor female. So you see when the Holy Ghost dispensation came in, the priesthood was transferred to the membership of the gospel church in which we are all called to preach with diversities of gifts. I. Cor. xii. Justification makes us priests and sanctification makes us high-priests. I. Peter ii: 5–9 and Rev. i: 6.

Hence all this pomp and pageantry of priestly orders in the gospel church is Satan's buncombe, not a vestige of truth in it. On that

Satanic heresy, proud hierarchies have risen, trodden down people beneath the iron heels of their cruel despotism and cursed, ritualized, debauched and diabolized the church the last fifteen hundred years. It is a trick of the devil so transparent that I am only astonished the people have tolerated it so long. The degradation and disfranchisement of the sisterhood are some of the bitter fruits of that heresy.

God's word positively assures us that sanctification makes us not only priests but royal, that is, high-priests unto God. This is the crowning glory of the gospel dispensation that we not only gain the spiritual eminence of the Aaronic priesthood, but are all invited to walk right in through the rent veil into the Holy of Holies and there abide, amid the unutterable glories of the shekinah, feasting on the hidden manna in the golden pot while Aaron's rod, all the time adorned with blooming flowers, growing and ripening fruits, is the constant memento of our wonderful growth in grace. But does that include the women? It includes the entire membership of God's church. This fact, so well authenticated in the Word of God, sweeps from the field the last vestige of cavil as to the women preaching. Did not the high-priest have a right to preach? Why, he was the tiptop of the ministry. So, woman, get sanctified, and you are not only a preacher but you stand at the very top of the ministry. Let devils howl and "dry-bone" preachers croak, and still it is so. Now, women, what more do you want? They will not give me license. Go and preach along with the Apostles, for not one of them ever got license. Jesus himself had none. The church he belonged to, instead of giving him license, put him to death. The servant is not above his Lord. You go and do likewise. What would you think of the high-priest putting on a long face and holding back for license, when his office put him amid the glories of an ever-present Jehovah, a million of miles above all license. Oh, woman, quit bothering your dead church about license. Go and preach like lightning till the stars fall.

"Brother Godbey, did the women preach side by side with the Apostles?" They certainly did.

In Paul's letter to Romans we find seven women preachers in fifteen verses, Rom. xvi: 1–15. Sister Phebe a "deacon" of the church of Cenchrea. In Methodism, the deacons are all ordained preachers of the gospel. So you see I prove by Paul that she was a preacher and by the Methodist church that she was an ordained preacher. Then

Priscilla, Mariam, Tryphena, Tryphosa, Persis, the mother of Rufus, the sister of Nereus. Acts xvi: 13. During Paul's missionary tour in Europe, he enjoyed his first opportunity to preach the gospel to our fathers and mothers in a woman's meeting. Neither was it fortified by Satan's false modesty against the attendance of men. It was free for all. The people of Europe and America ought to be ashamed to say a word against the women preaching, when all that keeps us out of heathen darkness to-day came in that way. It all started from a woman's meeting. No wonder Paul, writing back to them, Phil. iv: 3, remembers "Those women who assisted me in the gospel." Did he mean that they cooked his dinner and washed his clothes? No. He meant just what he said, "that they assisted him in the gospel," *i. e.*, helped him preach. Acts xxi: 9, tells us about Paul in one of his missionary tours stopping with Philip, the evangelist, who had been sent out by the Apostles to preach in that country. He had four daughters who prophesied. What do you think they did? Paul tells us, I. Cor. xiv: 3, "They spoke to men edification, exhortation and comfort." Now don't you know that is precisely what the preacher does? If he does not do that he would better quit, and if he does everything else he would better quit. I. Cor. xi: 5, reveals the women preaching right along there at Corinth. Paul puts it to record with full approval, meanwhile he advises them when they pray and preach to wear something on their heads because it was customary, and in so doing they would avoid unnecessary criticism. But he says in v. 13, that it was not a matter of authority, but a mere suggestion of his that the women put something on their head instead of preaching bare-headed like the men. When you remember that men and women in that country dressed alike, you will at once see the propriety of the woman wearing something on her head to designate her from a man. But the passage shows plainly that to see the women preaching was a matter of constant observation.

"Brother Godbey, please explain I. Cor. xiv. 34: 'It is a shame for a woman to speak in church.'"

It is certain it does not mean that the women shall not pray, testify, exhort, and preach, for we have just learned from the same Apostle in the same letter, that the women, right there, were doing those things. In vs. 34 and 35, we have an antithesis. It is a well known fact in rhetoric that every antithesis has two co-equal arms. One of these

arms is prohibitory, in v. 34, and the other permissive, in v. 35. So now we have the key to the solution of the problem out of which the devil has made so much capital, and hoaxed millions of women into a do-nothing attitude, which has proved a greased plank on which they have slipped into hell. The permission in v. 35 is that of asking their husbands at home, showing plainly that the prohibition in v. 34 is simply that of asking their husbands in church. The Greeks, at that time, were the most learned people in the world, but learning (as it always has been, and is now among heathens) was confined to the men. Now look at the case a moment. They are all on tiptoe with interest to understand this wonderful new gospel. The men, with their learning, have greatly the advantage of the women. No wonder the latter speak to the former in an undertone, "what does he say? Explain that big *katalambanousthai* for me." This would produce a promiscuous buzz very confusing to an audience all enthused with interest to catch every word that fell from the speaker's lips. Hence, no wonder Paul corrected them, and told them to wait and ask their husbands at home instead of asking them in the church. A further exegesis we find in the word *lalein* here used. The Greek language has three words used currently for speak: *legien* and *eipien* always mean to speak intelligently and articulately; while *lalein*, though sometimes used in that way, primarily means an articulate sound, such as the humming or buzzing of an insect, and especially the jabbering of infants before they can speak distinctly. The root of the word is *lal*, from the first effort of a child to talk, saying *lal, lal.*

This is a clear case of discipline. Paul is simply correcting disorder. Why did he not correct the men? He did in v. 32, "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, for God is not the author of confusion, but of peace."

Remember that was none of your dead churches. They were not only converted and sanctified, but so endowed with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, I. Cor xii. 8–11, that something had to be done to teach them quietude while the word was preached. It is no trouble to keep your graveyard churches quiet. Dead women don't talk. But when they get flooded with the life of heaven, you don't have to beg them to talk, but when quietude is important it is a common thing for me to have to come out about as plain as Paul. Many a time in red-hot holiness meetings I have found it necessary to quote these verses before

I could command the necessary quietude for the poor, unsaved people to hear me with profit. This Scripture is disciplinary, and easily understood if you will leave it where Paul put it. If you had been with me at Scottsville, Tex., or Indian Springs, Ga., you would have heard me do just what Paul did at Corinth to get a hearing, especially in my Bible-readings.

These Scriptures, as shown by the connection, are not corrections of Satan's people, but of the Lord's, flooded with salvation, and running over while the preacher is trying to preach to the unconverted. I have often been where they would talk and shout, under the impression that they could not help it, till I would turn and read this Scripture to them: " 'The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.' Now, keep your amens and hallelujahs inside, and pray for these sinners while I preach to them." In that way I have commanded quietude till I could preach. I don't know a Scripture in all the Bible by whose perversion the devil has dragged more souls into hell than this. He has not only kept the women from saving others, in consequence of which millions of sinners are now in hell who would have been saved through the instrumentality of faithful, godly women, if they had done their duty, but millions of women have failed to get saved because they were so scared out by Satan's perversion of this Scripture, that they forfeited their salvation by a failure to pray and confess. Again, it is a significant fact that no woman nor man can keep saved after they get it if they don't keep their tongues loose for God. Whenever they cease to pray and testify, they backslide.

Could you uncap hell, look down and see the multiplied millions of souls which have slidden into the pit on the devil's perversion of this Scripture, you would no longer need this little tract to stir you up to open your mouth for God. John Wesley knew nobody could get religion, nor keep it, without opening the mouth for God and keeping it open. Hence, he made the class-meetiong, a most indefatigable mouth-opener, the test of membership in the Methodist church. The day Methodism gave up the class-meeting as a test of membership, Satan wrote Ichabod on her escutcheon. That Hebrew word means, "The glory is departed."

Satan has no conscience. Give him an inch and he will take an ell. Suppose we should give up the right of the woman to preach (which I shall never do), the devil would shove right on and do what he has

done all over this country—tell them they are not to pray or testify. Then they would all go to hell for the want of personal salvation.

The Judgment Day alone will reveal the responsibilities of the preachers in this matter. Thousands of preachers, by their false interpretation of this and other Scriptures, have arbitrarily kept their women from getting and keeping religion enough to keep them out of hell.

"Brother Godbey, explain I. Tim. ii: 11,:" "I do not permit a woman to teach and usurp authority over her husband." Teach, in this passage, is the same word translated "master" in James iii: 1. "Usurp authority over her husband," is explanatory. Paul is simply expounding domestic government, of which man is the constituted head. The church and civil society begin in the family. Hence, the hope of the church and state are forever blighted if home is not a success. So our Lord has been very good to organize the family on a solid foundation. It must have a head or it could have no organization. Man is that head. But you know full salvation brings in the heaven of perfect love, and sweeps away forever all possible tyranny. Surely our God hath done all things well. I am the head of my family, and my wife is perfectly obedient. Yet she is just as free as if she had no husband. Glory to God in the highest!

In Gal. iii: 28, Paul caps the climax and clinches the last nail: "In Him there is neither male nor female." It needs no comment. We enter Christ in regeneration, and are kept and established in Him by sanctification. Farewell old controversy on the woman question, you have wrapped the church in sackcloth and given the devil the world the last fifteen hundred years. Here the *ipse dixit* of the Almighty, by his servant, Paul, settles you forever. "In Him there is neither male nor female." What does it mean? In the kingdom of grace and glory there is neither male nor female. Hence, we see beyond the possibility of cavil, there is no such a thing as sexual distinction in the kingdom of grace and glory.

When we are born of the Spirit into the Kingdom of God, sexual distinction goes into eternal eclipse, forever perpetuated by sanctification and glorification. Hence, the matter is settled, Satan's trick exposed, and all controversy forever swept from the field. This enfranchisement of the sisterhood is the crowning glory of the present age. When the devil succeeded in sidetracking the church into Antinomianism, *i. e.*, sinning religion, about fifteen hundred years ago, he

maneuvered to horn the sisters off the gospel platform. It is astonishing how long he has kept them horned off. Oh, how he roars when he sees them coming back. But sisters, just come along, don't be afraid of his roaring, for that is all Jesus will let him do. So if he roars from the iceberg pulpits of North-pole churches and from the tripods of anti-holiness papers, just let him roar. It will do you good. Jesus lets him roar to scare off the unworthy and inspire the elect.

When God made man he made him out of the dirt. When he made woman he made her out of man. So woman is a double refinement. She everywhere vindicates her superiority. A wise general always attacks the stronger citadel first. Man is physically stronger than woman. So is the lion stronger than man. But woman is morally stronger than man. Oh, what a victory Satan won when he so awfully paralyzed the larger, truer and more efficient wing of the army.

Give the women a chance, (and they are taking it), and they will rob Satan of his whisky, confront him on every ramification of the battle field, fill the saloons and brothels of Christendom, and the jungles of heathendom, with blood-washed and fire-baptized missionaries, march to the music of full salvation to the ends of the earth, belt the globe with the glory of God, and transform a world long groaning in sin and misery into a paradise.

Homer, the heathen poet, puts into the mouth of Hector the great Trojan hero, thus addressing his intrepid wife, Andromache, who wanted to follow him to the battle field:

"My wife, go back to your work at home,
To guide the spindle and direct the loom;
Me glory summons to the martial plain;
The field of battle is the field for man;
Where heroes war the foremost place I claim,
The first in danger and the first in fame."

That will do for a heathen warrior on whom the "Sun of Righteousness never shone." Not so in the army of the Lord. The women are better by nature and by grace than the men. Hence, they are the more efficient wing of the army. They lingered last at the cross, and hastened first to the sepulchre. First to greet the risen Savior, and first to receive from His lips the commission of the full-orbed gospel to a despondent church, and a lost world. She is first in every noble

enterprise when the men will let her. Bishop Taylor, God's greatest living saint, says whereas he prefers a husband and wife, if he has to take a single person for a missionary station, give him a lonely woman rather than a single man. I doubt not but God has given him deeper insight into gospel work than any other man in the world. He gives his verdict in favor of woman. We need millions of holy women right now to help us save the world. Brethren, some of us are heartily ashamed we have done so little for the Master. I, for one, have setttled the question; if I can do no more I will get out of the way of the women. Remember Aesop's fable of the surly dog that would not eat the hay nor let the ox eat it. Oh, brethren, for the sake of the souls Jesus bought with his blood, let us get out of the way of the women.

Many of us have done more harm by discouraging the women than we have ever done good. Let us make a new departure, and take a solemn vow to encourage all the men, women and children as long as we live, to get all the religion they can, and do all the good they can. Shame on you to put the brakes on the Lord's train instead of the devil's. Don't you know the New Jerusalem railway is all up grade and needs no brakes? So let us all turn firemen.

I once heard of a man who saw a vision in hell—five thousand people, all dancing on the point of one cambric needle. They all had room enough to dance and still room enough for the fiddler. What was the solution? Souls so wonderfully small! The soul of a man must be wonderfully small, who, actuated by ignorance, prejudice, or egotism, would lay the weight of a straw on the dear sisterhood, whose hearts the Lord has touched, and whose lips he has anointed with a live coal from heaven's altar.

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EQUAL RIGHTS.

AN APPEAL TO THE WOMEN OF OHIO.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1891.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE WOMEN OF OHIO IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1891.

As the time for holding the next Constitutional Convention in Ohio is rapidly approaching, the educated women of this state should carefully study the present Constitution to see if by its provisions their inalienable rights are secured.

In deciding to call a Constitutional Convention once in twenty years, the founders of this government evidently thought that within such periods the ideas of the people would necessarily broaden, and demands for larger liberties be made.

And such is now the case with the women of Ohio. It is nearly forty years since they held a series of conventions and made their first protests against the unjust laws for wives and mothers on the statute books, and against the limitations of the franchise in the Constitution. But neither the convention of 1851 nor 1871 took the slightest action on their protests, although successive Legislatures essentially modified the laws.

A commission of honorable gentlemen has been appointed to decide whether the Constitution needs any revision, and if so, what amendments are desirable. Hence, now is the time for the women of the state to make their demands known to this commission, for as representatives of only one half the people, they cannot with justice ignore all consideration of the rights, privileges and immunities of the remainder—for those who, though dependent on their decisions, have no voice whatever in their selection.

So long as section 1, article 5, limiting the right of suffrage to "male" citizens, remains in the constitution, women must have a deep interest in every revision. This article as it now stands deprives one-half the people of the state of their fundamental rights in government.

According to every principle of equity women should be represented in the commission just appointed, and in the Constitutional convention when held. They have the right not only to vote for members to the convention, but are eligible to seats in that body also. Leading publicists have declared "that in the revision of a state constitution the state is for the time being resolved into its original ele-

ments, and all disfranchised classes should have a voice in such revision and be represented in such conventions."

Judge Beach Lawrence, of Massachusetts, in a letter to Charles Sumner, said: "A state constitution must originate with, and be assented to, by a majority of the people, *including as well those whom it disfranchises* as those whom it invests with the suffrage."

We have two well-known precedents to sustain these opinions:

The Legislatures of 1801 and 1821 of the State of New York furnish a precedent for extending to disfranchised classes the right to vote for delegates to a Constitutional Convention. Though the Constitution of the State restricted the right of suffrage to every male inhabitant who possessed a freehold to the value of £20, or rented a tenement at the yearly value of forty shillings, and had been rated and actually paid taxes to the State, *the Legislatures of those years passed laws setting aside all property limitations, and providing that all men—black and white, rich and poor—should vote for delegates to said Conventions.* The act recommending a convention for the purpose of considering the parts of the Constitution of this State, respecting the number of Senators and Members of Assembly—and also for the consideration of the 23d article of said Constitution, relative to the right of nomination to office—"but with no other power or authority whatsoever"—passed April 6, 1801: Session Laws 1801, chap. 69, page 190, sec. 2, says:

And be it further enacted, that the number of delegates chosen shall be the same as the number of Members of Assembly from the respective cities and counties of the State, and that all free male citizens of this State, of the age of twenty-one years and upward, shall be admitted to vote for such delegates, and that any person of that description shall be eligible.

The above law was passed by the Legislature of 1801, which derived its authority from the Constitution of the State.

The act recommending a convention of the people of this State was passed March 13, 1821. Session laws of 1821, act 90, page 83, sec. 1.—"Persons entitled to vote.":

All free male citizens of the age of twenty-one years or upward, who shall possess a freehold in this State, or who shall have been actually rated and paid taxes to this State, or who shall have been actually enrolled in the militia of this State, or in a legal, volunteer, or uniform corps, and shall have served therein either as an officer or a private, or who shall have been or now are, by law, exempt from taxation or militia duty, or who shall have been assessed to work on the public roads and highways, and shall have worked thereon, or shall have paid a commutation therefor according to law, or shall be allowed during the three days of such election to vote by ballot as aforesaid in the town or ward in which they shall actually reside.

Extract from Sec. 6, Act 90.

And be it further enacted, that the number of delegates to be chosen shall be the same as the number of Members of Assembly from the respective cities and counties of this State, and that the same qualifications for voters shall be required on the election for delegates as is prescribed in the first section of this act, and none other. * * * And that all persons entitled to vote by this law for delegates shall be eligible to be elected.

Extracts from the constitution of the State of New York, under and by which the Legislatures sat, which passed the acts of 1801 and 1821, from which the extracts above are taken.

Sec. 7.—Qualification of electors:

That every male inhabitant of full age, who shall have personally resided for six months within one of the counties of this State, immediately preceding the

The Executive Committee of the Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association met in Cleveland August 2d, 1888, and presented the following Memorial:

"*To the Joint Commission of the 68th General Assembly of Ohio on Amendments to Constitution—Hon. Charles Townsend, Chairman:*

"We, the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, heartily believing that women should vote on equal terms with men, do memoralize this joint commission, appointed by the Legislature for revising the Constitution of Ohio, that the word "male" shall be stricken from article 5, section 1, of said Constitution."

MRS. MARTHA H. ELWELL,
President.

DR. ORPHA D. BALDWIN,
Secretary.

day of election, shall at such election be entitled to vote for representatives of the said county in Assembly, if during the time aforesaid, he shall have been a freeholder possessing a freehold of the value of £20, within the said county, or have rented a tenement therein of a yearly value of forty shillings, and been rated and actually paid taxes to this State.

Sec. 10.—And this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this State, ordain, determine and declare that the Senate of the State of New York shall consist of twenty-four freeholders, to be chosen out of the body of the freeholders, and they be chosen by the freeholders of this State, possessed of freeholds of the value of £100 over and above all debts charged thereto.

By Section 17, the qualifica ions for voters for Governor are made the same as those for Senators.

The laws above quoted show this striking fact: Those men, black and white, prohibited from voting for members of the Assembly, were permitted to vote for delegates to said conventions; and more than this, on each occasion they were eligible to seats in the body called to frame the fundamental law—the fundamental law from which governors, senators and members derive their existence.

The Constitutional Convention of Rhode Island, in 1842, affords another precedent of the power of the Legislature to extend the suffrage to disfranchised classes.

At this time all foreigners voted on a property qualification, and colored men denied the suffrage altogether; yet, as in New York, these classes, by an act of the Legislature, were permitted to vote for delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

These precedents suggest two important considerations to the statesmen of Ohio:

1st. A due respect for the fundamental rights of the people, and the principles of government involved in the revision of a State constitution.

2d. The power of the Legislature to extend the suffrage to the only disfranchised class in this State, namely, the women, to enable them to vote for delegates to the coming convention. If the Legislatures of New York and Rhode Island had the power to extend the suffrage to all disfranchised classes of men, white and black, to enable them to vote for delegates to a Constitutional Convention, Ohio has the power, on the same principle, to extend this right to women.

It is folly to say that women are not logically included in the term "people," so long as they are counted in the basis of representation, can hold any office under government to which their constituency may choose to elect them, and are compelled to pay taxes, and the penalty of their own violations of laws. So long as in the criminal code they are recognized for punishment under the masculine "he," "his," "him," why are they not equally recognized in all the privileges of citizens under the same masculine pronoun?

But it is proposed that, in order to save time and money, the legitimate work of the Convention, provided for by the Constitution, to be held in 1891, be placed in the hands of a joint committee of the Senate and House, to decide what amendments are needed. If this is done, the Constitutional door for women's enfranchisement will be practically closed for another generation; unless the joint committee, moved by a

sense of justice and a feeling of chivalry, should recommend that the word "male" should be expunged from Article 5, Section 1, of the Constitution; and the Legislature, acting on the recommendation, should pass an enabling act, which it has the power to do, enfranchising the women. We have precedents in many of the Eastern States for this exercise of power by the Legislature, both extending and limiting the suffrage. Women voted in several States in the Colonial days; in New Jersey as late as 1807, when they were denied the right, by an arbitrary act of the Legislature, without any Constitutional amendment having been submitted to a vote of the people.

At the close of another twenty years, women have the right to ask some consideration for their political disabilities, either for an Enabling Act by the Legislature, or an amendment of the Constitution that shall make them equal factors in government.

This is the crucial hour for the women of Ohio to show their interest in their own emancipation, and to organize their forces throughout the State, that their demands may be recognized in the coming convention. With this event in view they are already actively engaged in forming societies, distributing tracts and holding conventions. Mrs. Louisa Southworth, Vice President of the National Association, has undertaken to canvass the entire state, and enroll the names of those who "believe that women should vote on equal terms with men," thus extending the suffrage to all citizens. She has in her books of enrollment already 11,000 signatures, and hopes before the time arrives for the Constitutional convention to have at least 50,000 more. She has all these names arranged according to their assembly and congressional districts, and will thus be able to tell every member of Congress and the Legislature just how his constituency stands on the question.

Miss Sara Winthrop Smith, member of the Executive Committee of the National Association; has presided over a booth at the Centennial Exposition in Cincinnati ever since it opened, and will continue there until its close, circulating suffrage literature and receiving names for the books of enrollment. Miss Smith will also have a booth in the Exposition at Columbus, and carry on the same work, giving friends of this movement an opportunity to enroll their names.

All communications in reference to the enrollment should be sent to Mrs. Louisa Southworth, 844 Prospect street, Cleveland, or to Miss Sara Winthrop Smith, 377 Kemper Lane, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati.

It is earnestly hoped that all women in the State will unite in this undertaking, and make this census so large as to forever disprove the assertion that "women do not want to vote," and thus ensure some consideration from the statesmen of Ohio.

The National and American Suffrage Associations should now concentrate their forces in Ohio, sending suffrage tracts and able speakers into every county and school district of the State. Let us at least manifest as much enthusiasm in the revision of a state constitution as political parties do in a Presidential campaign.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,
President of National Woman Suffrage Association.

CLEVELAND, August 20, 1888.

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HEARING OF THE

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,

MONDAY, JANUARY 18, 1892.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, *Monday, January* 18, 1892.

The committee met, Mr. Culberson in the chair.

The committee having under consideration House resolution 14, proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the rights of women to vote at all Federal elections, this day heard argument in regard to the same.

ADDRESS OF MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, addressed the committee. She said.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: We have been speaking before Committees of the Judiciary for the last twenty years, and we have gone over all the arguments in favor of a sixteenth amendment which are familiar to all you gentlemen; therefore, it will not be necessary that I should repeat them again.

The point I wish plainly to bring before you on this occasion is the individuality of each human soul; our Protestant idea, the right of individual conscience and judgment—our republican idea, individual citizenship. In discussing the rights of woman, we are to consider, first, what belongs to her as an individual, in a world of her own, the arbiter of her own destiny, an imaginary Robinson Crusoe with her woman Friday on a solitary island. Her rights under such circumstances are to use all her faculties for her own safety and happiness.

Secondly, if we consider her as a citizen, as a member of a great nation, she must have the same rights as all other members, according to the fundamental principles of our Government.

Thirdly, viewed as a woman, an equal factor in civilization, her rights and duties are still the same—individual happiness and development.

Fourthly, it is only the incidental relations of life, such as mother, wife, sister, daughter, that may involve some special duties and training. In the usual discussion in regard to woman's sphere, such men as Herbert Spencer, Frederic Harrison and Grant Allen uniformly subordinate her rights and duties as an individual, as a citizen, as a woman, to the necessities of these incidental relations, neither of which a large class of women may ever assume. In discussing the sphere of man we do not decide his rights as an individual, as a citizen, as a man by his duties as a father, a husband, a brother, or a son, relations he may never fill. Moreover he would be better fitted for these very relations and whatever special work he might choose to do to earn his bread by the complete development of all his faculties as an individual.

Just so with woman. The education that will fit her to discharge the duties in the largest sphere of human usefulness will best fit her for whatever special work she may be compelled to do.

The isolation of every human soul and the necessity of self-dependence must give each individual the right to choose his own surroundings.

The strongest reason for giving women all the opportunities for higher education, for the full development of her faculties, forces of mind and body; for giving her the most enlarged freedom of thought and action; a complete emancipation from all forms of bondage, of custom, dependence, superstition; from all the crippling influences of fear, is the solitude and personal responsibility of her own individual life. The strongest reason why we ask for woman a voice in the government under which she lives; in the religion she is asked to believe; equality in social life, where she is the chief factor; a place in the trades and professions, where she may earn her bread, is because of her birthright to self-sovereignty; because, as an individual, she must rely on herself. No matter how much women prefer to lean, to be protected and supported, nor how much men desire to have them do so, they must make the voyage of life alone, and for safety in an emergency they must know something of the laws of navigation. To guide our own craft, we must be captain, pilot, engineer; with chart and compass to stand at the wheel; to watch the wind and waves and know when to take in the sail, and to read the signs in the firmament over all. It matters not whether the solitary voyager is man or woman.

nature having endowed them equally, leave them to their own skill and judgment in the hour of danger, and, if not equal to the occasion, alike they perish.

To appreciate the importance of fitting every human soul for independent action, think for a moment of the immeasurable solitude of self. We come into the world alone, unlike all who have gone before us; we leave it alone under circumstances peculiar to ourselves. No mortal ever has been, no mortal ever will be like the soul just launched on the sea of life. There can never again be just such a combination of prenatal influences; never again just such environments as make up the infancy, youth, and manhood of this one. Nature never repeats herself, and the possibilities of one human soul will never be found in another. No one has ever found two blades of ribbon grass alike, and no one will ever find two human beings alike. Seeing, then, what must be the infinite diversity in human character, we can in a measure appreciate the loss to a nation when any large class of the people is uneducated and unrepresented in the government. We ask for the complete development of every individual, first, for his own benefit and happiness. In fitting out an army we give each soldier his own knapsack, arms, powder, his blanket, cup, knife, fork and spoon. We provide alike for all their individual necessities, then each man bears his own burden.

Again we ask complete individual development for the general good; for the consensus of the competent on the whole round of human interests; on all questions of national life, and here each man must bear his share of the general burden. It is sad to see how soon friendless children are left to bear their own burdens before they can analyze their feelings; before they can even tell their joys and sorrows, they are thrown on their own resources. The great lesson that nature seems to teach us at all ages is self-dependence, self-protection, self-support. What a touching instance of a child's solitude; of that hunger of the heart for love and recognition, in the case of the little girl who helped to dress a Christmas tree for the children of the family in which she served. On finding there was no present for herself she slipped away in the darkness and spent the night in an open field sitting on a stone, and when found in the morning was weeping as if her heart would break. No mortal will ever know the thoughts that passed through the mind of that friendless child in the long hours of that cold night, with only the silent stars to keep her company. The mention of her case in the daily papers moved many generous hearts to send her presents, but in the hours of her keenest suffering she was thrown wholly on herself for consolation.

In youth our most bitter disappointments, our brightest hopes and ambitions are known only to ourselves; even our friendship and love we never fully share with another; there is something of every passion in every situation we conceal. Even so in our triumphs and our defeats. The successful candidate for the Presidency and his opponent each have a solitude peculiarly his own, and good form forbids either to speak of his pleasure or regret. The solitude of the king on his throne and the prisoner in his cell differs in character and degree, but it is solitude nevertheless.

We ask no sympathy from others in the anxiety and agony of a broken friendship or shattered love. When death sunders our nearest ties, alone we sit in the shadow of our affliction. Alike mid the greatest triumphs and darkest tragedies of life we walk alone. On the divine heights of human attainments, eulogized and worshiped as a hero or saint, we stand alone. In ignorance, poverty, and vice, as a pauper or criminal, alone we starve or steal; alone we suffer the sneers and rebuffs of our fellows; alone we are hunted and hounded through dark courts and alleys, in by-ways and highways; alone we stand in the judgment seat; alone in the prison cell we lament our crimes and misfortunes; alone we expiate them on the gallows. In hours like these we realize the awful solitude of individual life, its pains, its penalties, its responsibilities; hours in which the youngest and most helpless are thrown on their own resources for guidance and consolation. Seeing then that life must ever be a march and a battle, that each soldier must be equipped for his own protection, it is the height of cruelty to rob the individual of a single natural right.

To throw obstacles in the way of a complete education is like putting out the eyes; to deny the rights of property, like cutting off the hands. To deny political equality is to rob the ostracised of all self-respect; of credit in the market place; of recompense in the world of work; of a voice in those who make and administer the law; a choice in the jury before whom they are tried, and in the judge who decides their punishment. Shakespeare's play of Titus and Andronicus contains a terrible satire on woman's position in the nineteenth century—"Rude men" (the play tells us) "seized the king's daughter, cut out her tongue, cut off her hands, and then bade her go call for water and wash her hands." What a picture of woman's position. Robbed of her natural rights, handicapped by law and custom at every turn, yet compelled to fight her own battles, and in the emergencies of life to fall back on herself for protection.

The girl of sixteen, thrown on the world to support herself, to make her own place in society, to resist the temptations that surround her and maintain a spotless integrity, must do all this by native force or superior education. She does not acquire this power by being trained to trust others and distrust herself. If she

wearies of the struggle, finding it hard work to swim upstream, and allows herself to drift with the current, she will find plenty of company, but not one to share her misery in the hour of her deepest humiliation. If she tries to retrieve her position, to conceal the past, her life is hedged about with fears lest willing hands should tear the veil from what she fain would hide. Young and friendless, *she* knows the bitter solitude of self.

How the little courtesies of life on the surface of society, deemed so important from man towards woman, fade into utter insignificance in view of the deeper tragedies in which she must play her part alone, where no human aid is possible.

The young wife and mother, at the head of some establishment with a kind husband to shield her from the adverse winds of life, with wealth, fortune and position, has a certain harbor of safety, secure against the ordinary ills of life. But to manage a household, have a desirable influence in society, keep her friends and the affections of her husband, train her children and servants well, she must have rare common sense, wisdom, diplomacy, and a knowledge of human nature. To do all this she needs the cardinal virtues and the strong points of character that the most successful statesman possesses.

An uneducated woman, trained to dependence, with no resources in herself must make a failure of any position in life. But society says women do not need a knowledge of the world; the liberal training that experience in public life must give all the advantages of collegiate education; but when for the lack of all this, the woman's happiness is wrecked, alone she bears her humiliation; and the solitude of the weak and the ignorant is indeed pitiable. In the wild chase for the prizes of life they are ground to powder.

In age, when the pleasures of youth are passed, children grown up, married and gone, the hurry and bustle of life in a measure over, when the hands are weary of active service, when the old armchair and the fireside are the chosen resorts, then men and women alike must fall back on their own resources. If they cannot find companionship in books, if they have no interest in the vital questions of the hour, no interest in watching the consummation of reforms, with which they might have been identified, they soon pass into their dotage. The more fully the faculties of the mind are developed and kept in use, the longer the period of vigor and active interest in all around us continues. If from a lifelong participation in public affairs a woman feels responsible for the laws regulating our system of education, the discipline of our jails and prisons, the sanitary condition of our private homes, public buildings, and thoroughfares, an interest in commerce, finance, our foreign relations, in any or all these questions, her solitude will at least be respectable, and she will not be driven to gossip or scandal for entertainment.

The chief reason for opening to every soul the doors to the whole round of human duties and pleasures is the individual development thus attained, the resources thus provided under all circumstances to mitigate the solitude that at times must come to everyone. I once asked Prince Krapotkin, a Russian nihilist, how he endured his long years in prison, deprived of books, pen, ink, and paper. "Ah," he said, "I thought out many questions in which I had a deep interest. In the pursuit of an idea I took no note of time. When tired of solving knotty problems I recited all the beautiful passages in prose or verse I had ever learned. I became acquainted with myself and my own resources. I had a world of my own, a vast empire, that no Russian jailor or Czar could invade." Such is the value of liberal thought and broad culture when shut off from all human companionship, bringing comfort and sunshine within even the four walls of a prison cell.

As women ofttimes share a similar fate, should they have not all the consolation that the most liberal education can give? Their suffering in the prisons of St. Petersburg; in the long, weary marches to Siberia, and in the mines, working side by side with men, surely call for all the self-support that the most exalted sentiments of heroism can give. When suddenly roused at midnight, with the startling cry of "fire! fire!" to find the house over their heads in flames, do women wait for men to point the way to safety? And are the men, equally bewildered and half suffocated with smoke, in a position to do more than try to save themselves?

At such times the most timid women have shown a courage and heroism in saving their husbands and children that has surprised everybody. Inasmuch, then, as woman shares equally the joys and sorrows of time and eternity, is it not the height of presumption in man to propose to represent her at the ballot box and the throne of grace, to do her voting in the state, her praying in the church, and to assume the position of high priest at the family altar?

Nothing strengthens the judgment and quickens the conscience like individual responsibility. Nothing adds such dignity to character as the recognition of one's self-sovereignty; the right to an equal place, everywhere conceded; a place earned by personal merit, not an artificial attainment, by inheritance, wealth, family, and position. Seeing, then, that the responsibilities of life rest equally on man and woman, that their destiny is the same, they need the same preparation for time and eternity. The talk of sheltering woman from the fierce storms of life is the

sheerest mockery, for they beat on her from every point of the compass, just as they do on man, and with more fatal results, for he has been trained to protect himself, to resist, to conquer. Such are the facts in human experience, the responsibilities of individual sovereignty. Rich and poor, intelligent and ignorant, wise and foolish, virtuous and vicious, man and woman, it is ever the same, each soul must depend wholly on itself.

Whatever the theories may be of woman's dependence on man, in the supreme moments of her life he can not bear her burdens. Alone she goes to the gates of death to give life to every man that is born into the world. No one can share her fears, no one can mitigate her pangs; and if her sorrow is greater than she can bear, alone she passes beyond the gates into the vast unknown.

From the mountain tops of Judea, long ago, a heavenly voice bade His disciples "Bear ye one another's burdens," but humanity has not yet risen to that point of self-sacrifice, and if ever so willing, how few the burdens are that one soul can bear for another. In the highways of Palestine; in prayer and fasting on the solitary mountain top; in the Garden of Gethsemane; before the judgment seat of Pilate; betrayed by one of His trusted disciples at His last supper; in His agonies on the cross, even Jesus of Nazareth, in these last sad days on earth, felt the awful solitude of self. Deserted by man, in agony he cries, "My God! My God! why hast Thou forsaken me?" And so it ever must be in the conflicting scenes of life, in the long, weary march, each one walks alone. We may have many friends, love, kindness, sympathy, and charity to smoothe our pathway in everyday life, but in the tragedies and triumphs of human experience each mortal stands alone.

But when all artificial trammels are removed, and women are recognized as individuals, responsible for their own environments, thoroughly educated for all positions in life they may be called to fill; with all the resources in themselves that liberal thought and broad culture can give; guided by their own conscience and judgment; trained to self-protection by a healthy development of the muscular system and skill in the use of weapons of defense, and stimulated to self-support by a knowledge of the business world and the pleasure that pecuniary independence must ever give; when women are trained in this way they will, in a measure, be fitted for those hours of solitude that come alike to all, whether prepared or otherwise. As in our extremity we must depend on ourselves, the dictates of wisdom point to complete individual development.

In talking of education how shallow the argument, that each class must be educated for the special work it proposes to do, and all those faculties not needed in this special walk must lie dormant and utterly wither for want of use, when, perhaps, these will be the very faculties needed in life's greatest emergencies. Some say, Where is the use of drilling girls in the languages, the sciences, in law, medicine, theology? As wives, mothers, housekeepers, cooks, they need a different curriculum from boys who are to fill all positions. The chief cooks in our great hotels and ocean steamers are men. In our large cities men run the bakeries; they make our bread, cake and pies. They manage the laundries; they are now considered our best milliners and dressmakers. Because some men fill these departments of usefulness, shall we regulate the curriculum in Harvard and Yale to their present necessities? If not, why this talk in our best colleges of a curriculum for girls who are crowding into the trades and professions; teachers in all our public schools, rapidly filling many lucrative and honorable positions in life? They are showing, too, their calmness and courage in the most trying hours of human experience.

You have probably all read in the daily papers of the terrible storm in the Bay of Biscay when a tidal wave made such havoc on the shore, wrecking vessels, unroofing houses, and carrying destruction everywhere. Among other buildings the woman's prison was demolished. Those who escaped saw men struggling to reach the shore. They promptly by clasping hands made a chain of themselves and pushed out into the sea, again and again, at the risk of their lives, until they had brought six men to shore, carried them to a shelter, and did all in their power for their comfort and protection.

What special school training could have prepared these women for this sublime moment in their lives? In times like this humanity rises above all college curriculums and recognizes Nature as the greatest of all teachers in the hour of danger and death. Women are already the equals of men in the whole realm of thought, in art, science, literature, and government. With telescopic vision they explore the starry firmament and bring back the history of the planetary world. With chart and compass they pilot ships across the mighty deep, and with skillful finger send electric messages around the globe. In galleries of art the beauties of nature and the virtues of humanity are immortalized by them on canvas and by their inspired touch dull blocks of marble are transformed into angels of light.

In music they speak again the language of Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Chopin, Schumann, and are worthy interpreters of their great thoughts. The poetry and novels of the century are theirs, and they have touched the keynote of reform in religion, politics, and social life. They fill the editor's and professor's chair, and plead at the bar of justice, walk the wards of hospital, and speak from the pulpit

and the platform; such is the type of womanhood that an enlightened public sentiment welcomes to-day, and such the triumph of the facts of life over the false theories of the past.

Is it, then, consistent to hold the developed woman of this day within the same narrow political limits as the dame with the spinning wheel and knitting needle occupied in the past? No! no! Machinery has taken the labors of woman as well as man on its tireless shoulders; the loom and the spinning wheel are but dreams of the past; the pen, the brush, the easel, the chisel, have taken their places, while the hopes and ambitions of women are essentially changed.

We see reason sufficient in the outer conditions of human beings for individual liberty and development, but when we consider the self dependence of every human soul we see the need of courage, judgment, and the exercise of every faculty of mind and body, strengthened and developed by use, in woman as well as man.

Whatever may be said of man's protecting power in ordinary conditions, mid all the terrible disasters by land and sea, in the supreme moments of danger, alone woman must ever meet the horrors of the situation; the Angel of Death even makes no royal pathway for her. Man's love and sympathy enter only into the sunshine of our lives. In that solemn solitude of self, that links us with the immeasurable and the eternal, each soul lives alone forever. A recent writer says:

> I remember once, in crossing the Atlantic, to have gone upon the deck of the ship at midnight, when a dense black cloud enveloped the sky, and the great deep was roaring madly under the lashes of demoniac winds. My feeling was not of danger or fear (which is a base surrender of the immortal soul), but of utter desolation and loneliness; a little speck of life shut in by a tremendous darkness. Again I remember to have climbed the slopes of the Swiss Alps, up beyond the point where vegetation ceases, and the stunted conifers no longer struggle against the unfeeling blasts. Around me lay a huge confusion of rocks, out of which the gigantic ice peaks shot into the measureless blue of the heavens, and again my only feeling was the awful solitude.
>
> And yet, there is a solitude, which each and every one of us has always carried with him more inaccessible than the ice-cold mountains, more profound than the midnight sea; the solitude of self. Our inner being, which we call ourself, no eye nor touch of man or angel has ever pierced. It is more hidden than the caves of the gnome; the sacred adytum of the oracle; the hidden chamber of eleusinian mystery, for to it only omniscience is permitted to enter.

Such is individual life. Who, I ask you, can take, dare take, on himself the rights, the duties, the responsibilities of another human soul?

Miss SUSAN B. ANTHONY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I now wish to introduce to you Mrs. Lucy Stone, of Boston, one of the pioneers of our movement, and one, I believe, who has not yet spoken before the Judiciary Committee of the House, although Mrs. Stanton and myself have been here for the last twenty-five years. We are very proud to present to you Mrs. Lucy Stone.

ADDRESS OF MRS. LUCY STONE.

Mrs. Lucy Stone, of Boston, next addressed the committee. She said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I arrived in town only last night and did not even know of a hearing here to-day, so I have not any speech prepared. Nevertheless I am glad to be here, and I am glad to see this committee, and—I suppose I have the right to say it—I am glad to see you are the kind of looking men I see before me. It is something on our side to have you be the men you seem to be. I come before this committee with the sense which I always feel, that we are handicapped as women in what we try to do for ourselves by the single fact that we have no vote. This cheapens us. You do not care so much for us as if we had votes, so that we come always with that infinite disadvantage.

But the thing I want to say particularly is that we have our immortal Declaration of Independence and the various bills of rights of the different States (and George Washington advised us to recur often to first principles), and in the Declaration of Independence nothing is clearer than the basis of the claim that women should have equal rights with men. It is that those that are to obey the laws should make them. A complete government is a perfectly just government. Now it is easy to say that our fathers announced that principle but did not apply it. Of course they were in no condition to do so, and they could not. In the white heat of the struggle of the war of the Revolution these men declared better things than they could do. They saw the great truth that a complete government must be a just government; but they were too near the throne; they had the idea of the one man power, and so they were unable to carry out the principle of a just government. In my own State of Massachusetts they allowed none but church members to vote. Then property holders alone had the right to vote; and then the Democratic party came in and said that the poor man had as much right to vote as the man of property, and abolished the property qualification. Then the Republicans came and abolished the disfranchisement of the negroes; and to-day every human being in the United States except woman has the right to vote.

Now, what I want particularly to impress upon this committee is the gross and grave injustice of holding forty millions of women absolutely helpless under the

Government. The laws touch us at every point. From the time the little girl baby is born until the time the aged woman makes her last will and testament, there is not one of our affairs which the law does not control. It says who shall own property, and what rights the woman shall have, and it settles all her affairs, whether she shall buy or sell or will or deed; it settles all that a woman has to do; and so, except in the single State of Wyoming—how glad I am you have two Senators from Wyoming—women are in a helpless position. Mrs. Stanton has told you about the solitude of the individual, but think what it is to be in the power of others in such a way that in nothing that concerns you have you any voice! If you are a woman and happen to have property and wish to rent it, somebody decides what you shall have for rent, how much you shall pay for taxes, etc., and in not a single solitary thing are you allowed to have a voice for yourself. Persons are elected by men to represent them in Congress and the State legislatures; and here are forty millions of women, with just the same stake in the Government that men have, with a class interest of their own, and with not one solitary word to say or power to help settle one of the things that concern them.

Men must know the value of votes and the value of the possession of power, and I look at them and wonder how it is possible for them to be willing that their own sisters, mothers, wives, and daughters should be debarred from the possession of like power. We have been going to the legislature in Massachusetts—we have been going there longer than Mrs. Stanton has been coming here—and we asked that when a husband and wife make a contract with each other as, for instance, if the wife loan the husband her money, the contract should be considered valid just as it would between any other parties, for now, in case the husband fails in business, she can not get her money, and the legislature very kindly gave us leave to withdraw. Then we asked that when a man dies and the wife is left alone, with no man to help her and she has to bear the whole burden of life on her shoulders, the law might give the widow more than forty days in which to stay in the house without paying rent.

But we could not defeat one of our legislators, and they cared not a cent for our vote and less than a cent for our opinion; and so when we went there and asked this they gave us leave to withdraw. But when some voters wanted about 6 inches of mud out of a river, the legislature passed it unanimously. They respect the wants of the voter, but they care nothing about the wants of those who do not have votes. So, when we asked in Massachusetts for protection for wives beaten by their husbands, that there might be a committee to stand between such wives and their husbands, and that the husband should be made to give a portion of his earnings to support the minor children, again we had leave to withdraw. Of course we have obtained many concessions, and I am happy to say that in the legislatures of the different States the laws have been modified very greatly since the old common law which prevailed everywhere, which took away from the wife everything, even the right to herself, even the right to her children, even the right to her money and her real estate. The daughters of Cassius Clay are here to-day; and in Kentucky this same question is being considered, and they are trying there to get property rights for wives. As Mrs. Stanton says, we believe in the rights of the individual, hence this effort is being made to secure the right of married women to their property.

Now you see, gentlemen, the helplessness of our position. I can think of nothing so helpless and humiliating as the position of a disfranchised person. I do not know whether I am treading on dangerous toes when I say that after the late war the Government in power wished to punish Jefferson Davis, and it considered that the worst punishment it could inflict upon him was to take away from him the right to vote. Now, the odium which attached to him from his disfranchisement is just the same that attaches to women from their disfranchisement. The only persons who are not allowed to vote in Massachusetts are the lunatics, idiots, and felons, and people who can not read and write. In what a category is that to place women, after one hundred years, and at the close of this nineteenth century! And yet that is history. In Massachusetts we are trying to get a small concession—the right to vote in the cities and towns in which we live in regard to the taxes we have to pay. In 1792, in the town of Newburyport, Mass., it was not thought necessary to give women education. At that time there were no schools for girls; the public money was not used for girl's schools, and when one man said that he had five daughters, and paid his taxes like other men, and his girls were not allowed to attend school, and that they ought to give the girls a chance, another man said, "Take the public money and educate shes? Never!"

Remember, this was one hundred years ago. One of the fathers urged that the girls should be educated in the public schools, and the men—God forgive them!—said this: "We will let the girls go to school in the morning between 6 and 8 o'clock, before the boys want the schoolhouse." Just think of the time those girls would have had to rise in order to get a little education before the boys got there! This plan did not work well, and the teacher was instructed not to teach females any longer. Every descendant of those men in the town now feels ashamed of them; and I think that in one hundred years the children of the men who are now

letting us come here, year after year, pleading for suffrage, will f[illegible] Men would rather lose anything than their votes; they would fight for th[illegible]ote, and if anybody attempted to deprive them of the suffrage, it would be war to the knife and the knife to the hilt. We come here to carry on this bloodless warfare, year after year, asking and praying that the privilege granted in the foundation of the Government should be applied to women.

What I wish, gentlemen, this winter, is for you to recommend a sixteenth amendment with an educational qualification in it. I believe you should never put obstacles in the way of anybody's right to vote. Everybody should have the right to vote who cares to vote, but anyone who does can learn to read. What I think you should recommend is a sixteenth amendment with an educational qualification. I do not suppose there is a State in the Union that would adopt it, not one; but the fact that you put it forward as a thing which ought to be adopted is a part education of the great public mind. What we look forward to is part of the eternal order. It is not possible that forty millions of women should be held forever as lunatics, fools, and idiots. It is not possible, as the years go on, that each person should not at last have the right to look after his own interests. As the home is at its best when the father and mother consult together in regard to the family interests, so it is with the Government. I do not think it possible for a man to see from a man's point of view all the things that a woman needs, and I do not think a woman from her single point of view sees all the things that a man needs. Now, I think men have brought their best, and also brought their worst, into the Union, and it is all here, but the thing you have not in the Government at all is the qualities that women possess, the feminine qualities. It has been said in regard to this matter that women are more economical and peaceful and law-abiding than men, and all those qualities are lacking in the Government to-day.

How much do we spend for war, and how much should we save if this peace element were only represented in the Government? If the peaceful sex can have their way it will go toward helping peace. It will be the same way in regard to the economy of the Government. The part that a woman does in the family no man can do. When she brings up her children who are to be Senators and Representatives, or farmers or ranchmen, that woman, who has given twenty years to bringing up that family, has rendered a service to the Government that no man can render. She does not get compensation for it in money; there is no compensation in money that can buy such labor, and she does not ask for that. At the same time, women who earn a compensation (and I am sorry to say it is very much less than the wages of men), when they get a dollar do not go and spend it on carriage hire, etc., but they get the things they need, for they have learned economy. If women came into the Government, they would bring with them that economy and those traits which the Government needs.

But whether this would be so or not, it is right that every class should be heard in behalf of its own interests. When the common law was being indited, if there had been one single woman there, and the question had come up as to when a baby was born who should own that baby, would it have been decided that the man should own the baby? Not at all. The woman would have said, "I had an equal share in this child's life, and I have an equal share in its future." Suppose a woman had been there when the question was raised as to when a woman married who should own that woman. Would a law have been passed that the custody of her person shall belong to the husband, who may give her mild correction and use gentle restraint, and that if she breaks her leg and damages are awarded, he shall receive the damages? Not at all. The woman would have said, "My legs are my own, and I shall have the custody of my own person, and if I break my leg and get damages, the money shall be my own."

Now, gentlemen, I hope you will try and make this case your own. It is simple justice and fair play, and it is also a fundamental principle of the Government. Here we are trying to have a complete government, and yet there are forty millions of disfranchised people. I believe, among the great people—and by the people I do not mean men, but men and women, the whole people—that nothing that makes such disrespect for the fundamental principle of our Government as not to apply it. The Government was founded upon the principle that those who obey the laws should make them, and here it shuts out a full half. As long as that is done and continues to be done, it certainly tends to create disrespect for the principle itself. Do you not see it?

What I wish to impress upon you is that you should present a sixteenth amendment, with an educational qualification, and strongly support it, and as far as in you lies, try to get rid of this odious class distinction, this oligarchy of sex which is more hateful than the oligarchy of wealth or the oligarchy of color. This Government gives to a criminal taken from the State's prison and pardoned higher privileges than it grants to Mrs. Stanton, and makes her his political inferior. I have seen a man who was so drunk that he had to be helped to the polls, yet who in the eye of the law was the political superior of Miss Anthony. Why not reach out a hand to woman and say, "Come and help us make the laws and see fair play."

[illegible] power to impress you with the fact that greater than the free coinage of silver, or the tariff, or anything you have before you, is the question whether the people shall have the right to govern themselves, irrespective of whether they are men or women.

MISS ANTHONY. We have with us one not so old in our cause as Mrs. Stone—I never call myself old because I shall be young until the crack of doom—and that is Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, a sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher. The world has always made special place for the family of Beechers.

ADDRESS OF MRS. ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER.

Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker next addressed the committee. She said :

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I want to speak to you, gentlemen, as a grandmother. Miss Anthony speaks of me as if I was young ; well, I am young in spirit. I have simply this to say : You all know those old Jewish words we read in the Decalogue, "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee." If we want to help the Republic, and if we want to perpetuate the institutions our fathers brought across the water, we have got to honor the mothers equally with the fathers in the Government ; and for this reason, that to-day our laws compel our sons the moment they are twenty-one years old to come to us and say : "My mother, I owe you much ; sometimes I think all that is good in me has come from you, but to-day you will retire and I will rule. I will no longer listen to your counsel ; the law will not permit me to in that sense, but I will make the laws for you and my sisters, and you must obey them. Henceforth I am your ruler."

Now, friends, a government can not last long that teaches its sons to disrespect its mothers. It is our principle that we recognise the mother element in the Government as well as in the family. Suppose we tried to cross the ocean in a vessel with paddles and we locked up one set of paddles, how many Atlantics could we cross ? Then another point : To-day we have all Asia and Europe coming here, which complicates our case. You do not get along as well as you did when you had no complication of foreigners and you lived entirely with each other ; but to-day you have got to carry all Europe and Asia, and you have got to unlock the mother paddle and let American women's voices be heard, her powers be felt.

ADDRESS OF MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

Miss Susan B. Anthony next addressed the committee. She said :

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the only words I would like to add to those spoken are that the committee recommend to the House the passage of the resolution which is before you. It was presented by the Hon. Mr. Greenleaf, of New York. I am proud to say that it is my district which Mr. Greenleaf represents ; we never send a man down here that is not right. Then I am proud to say about Mr. Greenleaf that he is not only right himself, but his wife is, too. She is president of the New York State Woman's Suffrage Society. The point we wish to make clear to you is this : We do not ask you to decide whether women in different States shall have the right to vote. We want simply to make it possible for the States to decide whether the women of their respective States shall have the right or not conceded to them. All that is within the power of Congress is to pass this resolution submitting the proposition to the State legislatures, and, as you know, it is a long way after that, because we have to get a majority of three-fourths of the legislatures ; and I wish gentlemen would dispossess their minds of the idea that they are saying whether women shall vote or not when they pass this resolution.

We expected to have had, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the committee on petitions that has been at work. We wanted them here in time to have presented them to you, petitions representing various associations, Knights of Labor, etc., who are sending up appeals to Congress to pass it on the basis I have represented. The petitions so far gathered represent men who believe, not all of them, in suffrage, but in the right of each State to express itself on this point. As I said in the beginning, we have been coming here for a great many years. Mrs. Stanton, after the hearing before this committee of the Fifty-first Congress, declared that she would never come up here again "to talk to those boys." But here is a woman past her seventy-sixth year. When she was a young girl she began to make this demand. Most of you were not born when she and Lucy Stone determined to secure to women the right to vote in this country, and yet these aged women have been working for this reform for forty-five or fifty years. They plead before young men in Congress who have not thought upon the subject until they see them before the committee table. So we have come here to-day to make you think of this question, and we know you will think of it.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is very much obliged for the speeches you have been kind enough to deliver before it.

MISS ANTHONY. We are exceedingly obliged, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, for the courtesy of giving us a chance once more of presenting our claims before you.

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REPRESENTATIVE

WOMEN.

THE

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OF THE

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

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THE WORLD'S CONGRESS

OF

Representative Women,

CHICAGO, MAY 15th to 21st, 1893.

• • • •

To the Representative Women of the World:

The great Congress of Representative Women which convened under the auspices of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, of which Mrs. Potter Palmer is President, and Mrs. Charles Henrotin Vice-President, has already attracted such universal attention and secured so much favorable press comment that it is hardly necessary to remind any one of the matchless manner in which the story of "Woman's Progress" and her present status in all departments of life were set forth in its sessions. It was the largest and most representative gathering of women ever convened in this or any other country. There were seventy-six sessions and over six hun-

dred speakers. The greatest interest was manifested in all parts of the world and the attendance for the week was nearly two hundred thousand. Mrs. May Wright Sewall was the General Chairman, and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery was the General Secretary. The Official Report of this great Congress will be issued within a month. It is being edited by Mrs. Sewall, who was also the Chairman of the Committee of Organization of the Congress, and it is believed that as regards women it will be the most remarkable literary production of the Nineteenth Century. As will be seen from the accompanying table of contents, it will contain a condensed statement of the position of women in all countries at this date, and will contain in whole or in part all of the valuable papers presented in the sessions of the General Congress. These volumes will also contain an account of each of the Department, Report and Conference Congresses held in connection with the General Congress.

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Your attention is called to the accompanying table of contents.

Very respectfully yours,

Clarence E. Young.

Secretary World's Congress Auxiliary.

Approved:

CHARLES C. BONNEY,
President World's Congress Auxiliary.

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President Woman's Branch W. C. A.

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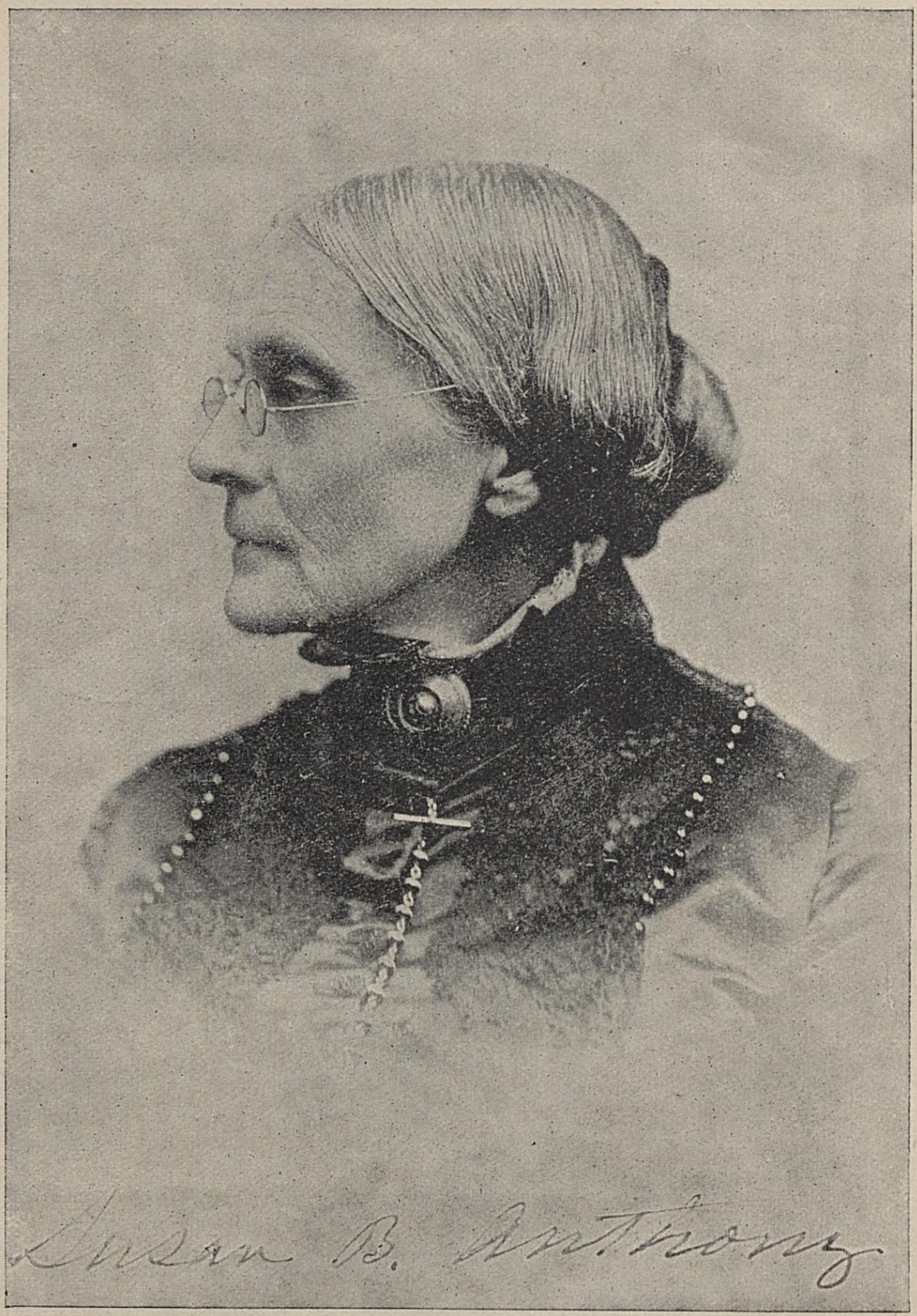

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Suffrage a Right of Citizenship.

AN ADDRESS

BY

SARA WINTHROP SMITH, OF CONNECTICUT,

BEFORE

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The language of the U. S. Constitution which establishes the right of suffrage is as follows:

"The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year BY THE PEOPLE of the several States; and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." (Sec. 2, Art I.).

WASHINGTON, D. C.:
STORMONT & JACKSON, PRINTERS.
1893.

SUFFRAGE A RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP.

By the principles adopted at the very foundation of our Government, the right of suffrage was vested in the citizenship of the United States. This idea is not necessarily in conflict with the present political atmosphere (or the present theory of Government,) nor is it in conflict with the political atmosphere which prevailed yesterday. In brief, it is not a question of the rights of State governments at all, nor even the rights of Congress. But it *is* a question of THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE! The United States Constitution declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States;" (*first,*) "and" (*then,*) "citizens of the States wherein they reside." And it further expressly declares that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Therefore, such interpretation of provisions in the several State constitutions which would exclude woman-citizens of the United States from the elective franchise on account of sex violates alike the spirit and letter of the United States Constitution. Under all the fundamental laws of our Republic, citizenship, subject to proper qualifications (for the protection of the people), is the only true basis for the ballot, *and our naturalization laws alone would prove this.* Such laws are expressly withheld from the States, and, as the States would clearly have no right to deprive naturalized citizens of the right to vote (among whom women are definitely included), still more clearly have the States no right to deprive native-born women citizens of this privilege. Thomas Jefferson said: "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but can not disjoin them."

Mr. Madison said, in comment upon the U. S. Constitution:

The definition of the right of suffrage is very justly regarded as a fundamental article of republican government. It was incumbent on the convention (1787) to define and establish this right in the Constitution.

To have left it open for the occasional regulation of the Congress would have been improper for the reason just mentioned. *To have submitted it to the legislative discrimination of the States* would have been improper for the same reason, *and for the additional reason* that it would have rendered too dependent upon the State governments that branch of the Federal Government *which ought to be dependent* ON THE PEOPLE ALONE.

The United States, as such, came into existence as a protest against the unjust and oppressive acts of a political superior—the Parliament of Great Britain. They began to exist, moreover, when the words "liberty," "equality," "fraternity," were throbbing into a terrible life. In choosing their own political organization, therefore, the people of the American States resolved to have a government in which political superiors should have no place—in which the ruled should be also, and as such, the rulers—i. e., *the people* should be the sovereigns. The fundamental principles of this Government were tersely yet comprehensively laid down in the Declaration of Independence, thus:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men were created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that to secure these rights, governments were instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, *whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends*, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government.

Recall the opening words of the U. S. Constitution:

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

Justice, liberty, the general welfare, these are the great objects of the Constitution. This opening sentence furnishes the commanding rule by which the entire Constitution is to be interpreted. Of it Judge Story says that it was not intended to provide merely for the exigencies of a few years, but was to endure through a lapse of ages. In a government like ours the right to vote precedes the election of both National and State legislatures. It also precedes the adoption of National and State constitutions: without voters, no laws can be legally or constitutionally adopted. There has been much said about the dangers of a centralized government—a centralized despotism; but the only centralized despotism really existent to-day is the rule of men over women without their consent. If the right of suffrage exist at all it is *an individual right* and must be exercised by individuals; it is not a right which belongs to a class or to a sex. Do *men* vote

by classes? Are the most sacred rights of the people in the gift of a privileged class? If women citizens of the United States have the right to a voice in this Government, then the dignity of our position should be sustained. If we concede that the State governments may confer, *as a gift*, the most sacred right of citizenship, then, indeed, is our humiliation complete; we are to beg for favors where we should demand as a right! What woman of us all will stoop to conquer? None, I hope, in the name of the higher womanhood which should demand the recognition of its higher needs. Our task is to lift a prone humanity into a realization of the dignity of human life. The dignity of the human being is that each one is both the doer and the judge of his own actions. The right of suffrage is and makes the difference between *dis*franchisement, the punishment inflicted upon felons, and *en*franchisement, the recognition of the personality as sacred. It is the difference between a government of the people by the people, for the people and a government of the people, by an oligarchy, for an oligarchy!

Yet, behind all misinterpretation and injustice born of an inordinate love of power, lie—still safe—the magnificent institutions which have made our country known the world over as "The Land of the Free!"

The only restriction placed upon the States by the United States Constitution [if indeed that can be called a restriction which was intended to protect the body of the people] is that the States shall not exchange republican for anti-republican constitutions [Sec. 4, Art. IV,] a restriction which cannot be called a grievance, since it declares to the people of every State that the National Government [*i. e.*, the governments of all the States as represented in the nation,] will protect *the citizens* of any State from any invasion of their rights by such men as they [the citizens] may have chosen to guard their interests within their State.

Mr. Justice Wilson, of the United States Supreme Court [Chisholm *vs.* Georgia,] said in 1793:

> Let a State be considered as subordinate *to the people*, but let everything else be subordinate to the State.

And further said:

> Laws derived from the pure source of equality and justice must be founded on the consent of those whose obedience they require.

Chief-Justice Jay said, in the same case:

> It will be sufficient to observe briefly that the sovereigns in Europe, and particularly in England, exist on feudal principles. That system considers the prince as the sovereign and the people as his subjects. No such

ideas obtain here; *at the Revolution, the sovereignty devolved upon the people;* and they are truly the sovereigns of the country, but they are sovereigns without subjects, and have none to govern but themselves; the citizens of America are equal *as fellow-citizens and as joint-tenants in the sovereignty.*

It will be remembered by every student of constitutional history that, when the original Convention of State delegates met at Philadelphia in 1787, various plans were suggested for the reformation of that defective system of government known as *the Articles of Confederation.* Among these plans were the resolutions of Governor Randolph, of Virginia. It was he who proposed the great idea "that a National Government ought to be established consisting of a supreme Legislative, Executive and Judiciary." This proposition developed, in the course of debate, into the Constitution of the United States.

The XVI resolution read:

Resolved, That *a republican constitution and its existing laws* ought to be guaranteed to each State by the United States.

Compare Sec. 4 of Art. IV, United States Constitution.

The VII resolution read:

Resolved, That the right of suffrage in the first branch of the National Legislature ought not to be according to the rule established in the "Articles of Confederation," *but according to some equitable ratio of representation;* namely, in proportion to the whole number of white and other *free citizens and inhabitants* of every age, *sex,* and condition, including those bound in servitude for a term of years and *three-fifths* of all other *persons not comprehended in the foregoing description, except Indians* NOT PAYING TAXES in each State.

Compare §3, Sec. 2, Art I, United States Constitution:

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of *free persons,* including those bound in service for a term of years and, *excluding Indians* NOT TAXED, three-fifths of all other persons, etc.

We here find *women* included in the basis of representation and the slaves partially excluded. What does this prove? Evidently that the enslavement and disfranchisement of the colored race was contemplated and actually recognized by the United States Constitution as well as in the action taken upon the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, a majority of one vote striking out the clause which pleaded for the freedom of that subjected class. This made the amendment of the United States Constitution a necessity before the colored people could vote. On the other hand, the disfranchisement of women was not seriously considered for a moment.

James Madison, construing this article of the United States Constitution said [Federalist, No. 54]:

It is not contended that the number of people in each State ought not to be the standard for regulating the proportion of those who are to represent the people of each State. The establishment of this same rule for the apportionment of taxes will probably be as little contested, though the rule itself, in this case, is by no means founded on the same principle. In the former case the rule is understood to refer to THE PERSONAL RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE, with which it has a natural and universal connection. In the latter it has reference to the proportion of wealth of which it is in no case a precise measure, and in ordinary cases a very unfit one. But, notwithstanding the imperfection of the rule as applied to the relative wealth and contributions of the States, it is evidently the least exceptionable among the practicable rules, *and has too recently obtained the general sanction of America*, not to have found a ready preference with the Convention. All this is admitted, it will, perhaps, be said; but does it follow from an admission of numbers for the measure of representation, or of slaves combined with *free citizens*, as a ratio of taxation, that slaves ought to be included in the numerical ratio of representation? Slaves are considered *as property, not as* PERSONS; they ought, therefore, to be comprehended *in estimates of taxation* which are founded on property, and to be excluded from representation WHICH IS REGULATED BY A CENSUS OF PERSONS. The Federal Constitution, therefore, decides with great propriety in the case of our slaves when it views them in the mixt character of *persons and property*. This is in fact their true character. It is the character bestowed on them by the laws under which they live; and it will not be denied that these are the proper criteria; *because it is only under the pretext that the laws have transformed the negroes into subjects of property,* THAT A PLACE IS DISPUTED THEM IN THE COMPUTATION OF NUMBERS; *and it is admitted that,* IF THE LAWS WERE TO RESTORE THE RIGHTS WHICH HAVE BEEN TAKEN AWAY, *the negroes could no longer be refused* AN EQUAL SHARE OF REPRESENTATION."

Therefore, women, being counted in the enumeration upon which the apportionment is made, are entitled to *direct* representation in this Government.

In the face of the actual laws, it can never be claimed that there was ever such general understanding or discrimination against the right of a woman citizen of the United States to vote at the time of the adoption of the United States Constitution as would justify Congress or the courts in going outside of the Constitution to determine the meaning [or the limitations] of the word "people." If this supposition were true, why was it deemed necessary to insert the word "male" into the various State constitutions? If this supposition were true, why were not women disfranchised by name—left out from the enumeration upon which the apportionment was made, and relieved from taxation, as were the enslaved classes whose rights to direct representation were expressly denied?

The fact is that universal sovereignty to-day—except in one State—only exists in our grand fundamental institutions, never in the oligarchy which has built itself up in our midst!

In the Minor *vs.* Happersett case the United States Supreme Court knew that, in order to fulfill the wishes of the power behind it, it must ignore the high obligations of the Bench to construe all law in favor of liberty. The uniform practice of the American homocracy has been in controversion of all points brought up to protect the larger liberties of the people—for the XIV Amendment affords the only instance where citizenship was distinctly conferred by the Constitution of the United States. And we have seen the necessity for this in the fact that the enslaved classes were denied equal place in the basis of representation on the plea that, *being property*, they could not hold property in their own right. Neither was the Indian taxed, and he also was counted out of the basis of representation. *Therefore*, no amendment of the United States Constitution is *or ever will be* necessary to secure full protection for woman citizens of the United States in their right to vote. All that is necessary is the passage of a declaratory act by the Congress of the United States—as the agent whose duty it is, under our National Constitution, to guard and secure the chartered rights of the whole people.

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At The Temple Gate;

OR

The Right of Women to the Gospel Ministry.

BY

REV. H. P. FITCH, M. D.

AUTHOR OF

"THROUGH SHADOW TO SUNSHINE."

"SAVED BY HIS WIFE," ETC.

Your Sons and Your Daughters Shall Prophesy.—JOEL 2: 28.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The author of this little pamphlet wishes it understood that it is intended in no sense, as a reply to any of the numerous articles that have appeared on this important subject. He has sought to make an entirely independent investigation, un-influenced by what has been written, either for or against. If it shall stimulate to a more earnest study of the question, and a clearer apprehension of the truth, he will be more than repaid for a task that has been as pleasant, as it has interesting.

Does the New Testament prohibit women from entering the public ministry? Or does it furnish them reasonable authority for engaging in that sacred work?

PRELIMINARY STATEMENTS.

In entering on the discussion of this important, and much controverted subject, it is proper to make one or two preliminary statements.

First.—In order to arrive at the truth, on this, as on all other like questions, there must be the most perfect freedom from predjudice or preconceived opinion. The state of mind, in which a person engages in the study of any subject will very largely influence the conclusion at which he will arrive. Knowing this fact, and being conscious of a strong tendency, or leaning to one certain view, I long delayed entering on the study of this question, after my attention was forcibly directed to it. For reasons, which I will explain in their proper place, I was conscious of a predjudice against female preaching. I resolved, therefore, not

to commence the investigation till I was certain I could do so with impartiality. In this I think I have succeeded. I began its study with the one single desire of learning the truth. Recognizing the fact that this is a question to be decided by the New Testament alone, I have refrained from consulting human authors, and confined myself to the study of the Word. I do not undervalue human authority; but human opinion is what man thinks—in the Word we have what God says.

SECOND.—I confess to a great deal of hesitation and diffidence in presenting my conclusions to the public; and I assure the reader, that I do so with all due humility. I am not unconscious of the fact, that, with many of my brethren, the arguments will fail to convince, and the conclusions will be rejected. Greater minds, and more capable intellects than mine, have, doubtless just as honestly, investigated the same subject, and arrived at a directly opposite conclusion from that to which I have come. At the same time I recognize the perfect right of every person to investigate religious truth for himself, and, to express the opinions, and declare the conclusions to which such investigation leads. On questions like this, involving the personal rights of one half

the human race, it is not only his privilege, but duty, to aid in discovering the truth. I have confidence in the justice and good intentions of the male sex. I am convinced that this question of the rights of women, in all its various forms, has been viewed through a medium of conservatism, that has made the people slow to apprehend the right. Let them once be convinced that they have withheld from the opposite sex, rights that God has given them, and it will need neither persuasion nor argument to induce them to correct the mistake.

WOMAN AND HER CLAIMS.

For the last fifty years there has been waged, in this country, what has come to be recognized as an irrepressible conflict in behalf of the rights of women. Woman appeared at the gate of the strong city of exclusive rights, in which man had intrenched himself, and demanded that they should be opened to her. This being refused the conflict began, and to-day there are arrayed against each other two great forces, both alike obstinate, and both alike determined on victory. These forces are Conservatism on the one hand, and what may be termed Progressive Reform on the other.

In order to a better understanding of the true nature of this conflict, let us pause at the threshold of our investigation, and inquire, what is Conservatism, and whence its origin? And what is Progressive Reform, whence its origin, and what its object?

Conservatism is the principle, or element in society which clings to old ideas, practices and customs. It had its origin in the combination of selfishness, indifference and timidity, that in the earlier ages of the world's history, constituted so large a part of the human disposition—when nations and individuals were alike governed by the almost universal law, "Might conquers right." It has existed from time immemorial, and has come down to us from primeval ages. It is slow to recognize, and slower to grant the right to introduce, innovation or change. Doctrines once received, practices once established, and rules once adopted, especially if they come to bear the marks of time, become sacred and must not be disturbed. Their truth must not be doubted, their authority must not be questioned, nor their right to control, and shape public opinion disputed. While Conservatism does not go so far as to declare, "Whatever is, is right," it does declare, "Whatever has long existed is

more liable to be right than wrong, and, therefore, should not be changed." It has thus exerted an influence through, and left its mark upon all the passing centuries. It has taken the dogmas and practices of the past, brought them down from the ages of long ago, and presenting them to each succeeding generation, has demanded that they be the rules by which these successive generations shall be governed. By thus moulding public opinion as it came in contact with each succeeding age, it has retained the power of self perpetuation, so that, among many people, in our own day, it is the controling influence in moulding public opinion, and in shaping human thought. Under its influence nations have arisen, states have been organized, constitutions framed and adopted, and laws enacted. Under the same influence, judges have interpreted those constitutions, defined their limits and powers, and have executed those laws. It has thus given a bias to the legislation of every land, complexion to the government of every nation and state, and influenced the teaching of every passing generation.

Not only has Conservatism thus been a controling element in politics, but it has, to a great extent, influenced the teachings of

religion and moulded the doctrines and practices of the church. It was under the influence of these conservative ideas, that King James' translators rendered the Bible into English, and it is more or less under the same influence —doubtless unconsciously—that modern interpreters explain its meaning. As an illustration of its power in influencing the interpretation of Scripture, we have only to remember that for a hundred and fifty years, a half a nation of people, otherwise as grand and noble as any people under the sun, honestly believed that human slavery was a divinely appointed institution, warranted and upheld by the teaching of Scripture, and was, thereby, entitled to the fostering care and protection of the state. So thick has been this veil of conservatism through which the christian world has viewed the drinking habit, that it is only to-day, it has come to understand that the Bible, instead of upholding it, pronounces against it the most terrible curse.

To this conservatism, more than to any other cause, is attributable the fact that the equality of women with men, in matters of education, politics and religion has been hitherto unrecognized and withheld. This is the cause of the irrepressible conflict to which I have referred.

Influenced by this conservatism, men have withheld from women certain privileges and rights, which they believe to be God given. These rights they claim. Progressive Reform has championed their cause, and proposes to continue the conflict until the last God given right is granted.

What is Progressive Reform, and whence its origin? Progressive Reform had its origin in that instinct or intuition of the human soul, by which it grasps the two ideas of equality and progress. Taking as a starting point the two self-evident truths that "God has created all men free and equal"—I use the word man in its generic sense—and that He designs the advancement of the human race, on the basis of such equality, Progressive Reform boldly entered the field, as the champion of human rights, and, unfurling its banner, challenged Conservatism to the conflict. Its watchword was progress, and on its banner it wrote, equality for all, in matters of education, politics and religion, without regard to race, color or sex.

Conservatism accepted the challenge, declaring, "These temples are sacred to the use of man alone. Women may dwell near to, but they must remain outside the temple walls.

They may walk in the gardens, and, occasionally, cull a flower. They may stand within the vestibule, and bid their more fortunate brothers 'all hail,' as they pass into the inner sanctuary; but into that holy place, they, themselves, must not enter—up to the highest places they must not attempt to ascend."

This was the relative position of the two contending forces fifty years ago. A half a century of conflict has made a wonderful change, and has already indicated, beyond a doubt, what the final outcome will be. Steadily has new territory been occupied, as the idea of woman's equality with man has gained ground. The first step gained, and the first victory won, was when woman demonstrated her ability to stand by the side of her brother man, in every form of intellectual pursuit; and proved, herself his equal in every effort, requiring brain work. Wherever the two sexes worked side by side, in the store, in the office, the schoolroom, or anywhere else, woman proved herself man's equal in every respect. In every position, the essential qualifications for which were a cool head, a clear brain, and an honest heart, she proved herself, not only man's equal, but, in many instances, vastly his superior. Indeed, let it be written to her credit, that among the

great army of defalcating cashiers, clerks and others, who have proved unfaithful to their trust, and have found an asylum on foreign shores, women are not known. I desire that this fact shall be especially remembered, when the reader meets with the insinuation, so frequently presented, that the reputation, if not the character of an unmarried, though devoted, christian woman, is endangered by traveling alone to preach the everlasting gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

WOMEN AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

It is a fact, not even denied, that, in the pursuit of knowledge, with all the advantages in man's favor, and almost insurmountable obstacles in her way, woman has kept pace with her male competitor, and, in many cases, has left him far behind. The second demand she made, and the second victory gained, was that of equal advantages for securing a higher education. Here also an obstinate stand was made, and an obstinate fight ensued. The conflict has been long, and every inch of the ground, so far, has been most hotly contested. It is not yet fully settled; but there can be no possible question, as to what the final outcome will be. This question will never be settled,

until woman's perfect equality with man, in matters of education, come to be fully recognized, and her rights cheerfully granted. No one can study the progress of events, in this direction, for the last fifty years, without being convinced that God himself is directing the movement, and that through the granting of woman those God-given rights, of which a conservatism, so strong as to wear the aspect of prejudice, has robbed her, He designs to aid in working out His mighty problems in Divine government, and to accomplish His purpose in the elevation of our race.

Fifty years ago there was scarcely a university in the country, if indeed there was one, that admitted women to its course of study on a perfect equality with man. To-day, every state university in the land opens its doors, and says to females, as well as to males, "Come and welcome to the fountain of knowledge." Here women have won many of their proudest triumphs. With equal privileges, but with many obstacles thrown in their way, many discouragements, resulting from the unmanliness of male students, they have taken their place in the vanguard of intellectual progress, and carried off their full share of honors, from their male competitors.

And yet, with shame let it be written, several of our highest schools of learning, even yet, either close their doors to the entrance of women altogether, or provide an "annex," where, as by a kind of suffrance, they are permitted to *glean* what they can in the harvest field of learning. To their credit let the fact be written, that they have proved themselves capable of gleaning as many golden sheaves, as have their brothers in the field, who have enjoyed the full privileges of the harvest. Of the latter class of schools are Harvard and Columbia, while Yale, Princeton, Rochester and Madison universities, and Amherst, Williams, Dartmouth and Colby colleges, refuse to admit women on any terms. From these facts the reader can readily infer that there is yet much territory to possess, before women shall come into the full possession of her rights even in regard to higher education. Fortunately, many denominational colleges have come into existence, whose standard of education is as high as many of the great universities, in which women are admitted to equal privileges with men. The tendency in this direction is such, that ere long women will, in these schools, find their highest ambition gratified, and those honored seats of learning, at whose doors they

have so long knocked in vain, will open their doors and find the suppliants have departed. Through those christian colleges women will ere long be enabled to ascend to the high places, access to which is now denied, through those agencies, the benefits of which they have a right to claim.

WOMEN AND THE PROFESSIONS.

Here Conservatism had reared its most sacred temples, and around them had constructed its strongest fortifications. Standing on the battlements of its stronghold, it shouted defiance to the advancing host, "Thus far shalt thou come, but no further." "We will so far yield," it said, "as to grant women the right to a higher education. They may act as teachers —they may enter our stores as clerks—the counting room as book-keepers. They may copy our letters, nurse our patients, or write our briefs. Or, if they be of a pious turn, they may visit our poor, teach our children in the Sunday School, or carry the news of a risen Saviour to the neglected heathen; but through the closely guarded gates that lead to our learned professions, they must not, shall not pass." "Man" said the anatomist, "is so fearfully and wonderfully made, that woman's

weak intellect can never comprehend his organism." "Her nerves are so sensitive," replied the surgeon, "that she can never stand the strain that would be put upon them amid scenes of blood, and she can, therefore, never enter my profession." "Our Materia Medica is so complicated," said the physician, "that it would be worse than useless for her to attempt to unravel its mysteries, and it would therefore never do, to trust precious human life to her skill." "Her grasp of thought is so narrow," sagely remarked the metaphysician, "that it is impossible for her to comprehend the wonderful powers and methods of the human mind, or tread the intricate mazes of science and philosophy." "For the same reason," replied the lawyer, "and because of her modesty, and over sensitiveness, woman can never enter the practice of law, nor occupy a place in our courts of justice." The minister looked complacently on, and answered them all, "Keep the gates of your strong towers closed, brethren, as best you may, but as for me, I stand behind the mighty bulwarks of Divine interdiction, and into a temple thus guarded woman dare not force her way."

But alas for human reasoning! What mattered the strong fortifications, thus erected!

With awful horror those wise men beheld the sacriligious hands of progressive reform tear away, as though they had been a fence of reeds, those mighty barriers, conservatism had taken such pains to erect, and with undaunted tread march into the very citidel. On battle field, amid carnage and bloodshed, in hospitals, where poor maimed humanity lay bleeding, suffering, dying, woman displayed a strength of nerve, a force of will, and moral courage and heroism excelled by no man and equalled by few. With a clearness of intellect of which any man would be proudly vain, she has mastered the most difficult features of the materia medica of every school of practice, and to-day stands side by side with the most learned and successful, of the opposite sex, in the medical profession. With a grasp and depth of thought, that is alike the wonder and envy of man, she has grappled with the profoundest problems in science and philosophy, and clearing away the mists that enshrouded them, has revealed a beauty and power hitherto unknown. With a firm tread, a clear intellect, and an enlightened conscience, she has entered the temple of justice, and there, standing in the presence of the learned interpreters of the law, she has plead for the rights of suffering, down-trodden

humanity, with a force of logic, and an eloquence that have compelled admiration even from her most violent opposers. In short, every profession into which she has entered, has been honored by her connection with it, and among its brightest ornaments, woman finds a place.

WOMAN AND THE PULPIT.

An now, at last, she stands at the gate of the temple of the Most High, and pleads for the privilege, which God has given as a right, of entering its sacred portals, there to open the Divine oracles, and expound their life giving truths. Here however she assumes a different attitude. In the presence of the sacred office of the messenger of God, she stands with bowed head and meek spirit. Like Moses in the presence of the burning bush, she hears the voice of God saying, "The place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Here also, we must all pause. Here Progressive Reform meets an element not before confronting it. Here it must pause and wait till certain of Divine permission to pass within the gate, and unfurl its banner on the wall. A "Thus saith the Lord," is the only key that can unlock those temple doors, the only watchword that

will admit any, whether male or female, within that consecrated shrine.

I have purposely passed somewhat hurriedly over the subject thus far, because there is not now as obstinate a dispute, as to the right of women to enter the secular professions, as formerly, and because the discussion is not materially essential to the purposes of this paper. I have desired only to bring out the fact, that in every profession into which woman has entered, she has done so, in the face of the most obstinate opposition, and that, in every respect, she has honored that profession, equally with its brightest ornament among the male sex. Now however, we occupy different ground, and our progress must be slower and more careful. Now the question must be discussed from the stand-point of God's Word. We must "To the law and to the testimony." Unless we have authority in God's Word for women to enter this sacred temple, they must wait at the temple gate, for beyond it, only God himself can give them permission to pass.

The question, then, which confronts us, at this point is, has God given such permission? In other words, does the New Testament prohibit women from entering, or permit them to enter the gospel ministry? After the most

careful and thorough investigation that I have been enabled to make, I am compelled to believe that the burden of evidence is in favor of the latter. Not only have I failed to find any positive prohibition of female preaching, but, on the contrary, there is reasonable Scriptural authority in its favor. I am convinced that when the christian church shall have put entirely aside the veil of conservatism, through which this subject has been studied, and those so-called Scripture prohibitions, interpreted, this Scripture authority will become apparent. To present the reader, as clearly as I may, the ground on which I base this opinion, is the object of this pamphlet.

Permit me at this point, to fulfill my promise, to explain the reason for so long delaying the investigation of a subject, the importance of which I fully recognized, and which I was anxious to study. The reason was my strong leaning toward the opposite view, and my predjudice against women appearing in the pulpit. So conscious was I of this feeling that I knew it to be impossible for me to give the subject an impartial investigation.

In the early years of my ministry, it was my fortune—whether good or ill, is impossible for me to say—to attend a large meeting, where

the wife of a most excellent minister preached a very poor sermon nearly one hour long; while the husband strove in vain, by all the arts known to the male sex, to still the crying of a ten month's old baby. This incident appearing as it did, so ridiculous, produced, in my mind, a predjudice against what ministers, at that time, termed "petticoats in the pulpit," that it has taken years for me to so far conquer it, as to be able to give the subject a very impartial investigation. I still believe of that particular woman, as I have been reluctantly compelled to believe of some male preachers, that she was mistaken in reference to her call. During the intervening years, however, I have learned to reason more wisely, and to separate this individual case, from the general principle, and I trust, to enter upon the investigation with my mind evenly balanced; resolved to cheerfully accept the conclusion to which I should be led, whatever that conclusion might be. And I may add here—after making this impartial investigation, I am as firmly convinced that the New Testament permits women to enter the gospel ministry, as I am that it teaches the final perseverance of the saints, or the future punishment of the wicked; and on these doctrines my orthodoxy has never

yet been disputed. Lest this statement, however, appear over strong to some who may read it, I will say that I hold this, as I do all other religious opinions. I am always open to conviction. In the study of all theological subjects, I have sought to make the Bible my great text book. I profess neither infallability nor great scholarship. From a careful study of the Bible, I have formed certain opinions as to its teachings. If I have made a mistake in its study, and that mistake can be pointed out to me, I am ready to exchange my view for the one more consistent with the Divine teaching. But so long as I am satisfied that I have a "Thus saith the Lord" for my convictions, human opinion to the contrary has but very little weight.

THE ARGUMENT STATED.

Permit me to state the argument in this way:

First.—The New Testament either prohibits, or permits female preaching of the Gospel. If the former, there is an end of all argument. The question is, at once, settled against them.

Second.—If the New Testament prohibits women from entering the sacred office, it is certain that God does not call them thereto—otherwise he would be inconsistent with Himself.

Third.—If there be no such prohibition in the New Testament, God may call women to the work; and we are at liberty to apply the usual tests for deciding the question, the same as in the case of male candidates. And if the application of these tests, clearly indicate the call of the candidate to the ministerial work, we have no more right to withhold ordination from a female candidate, than if the applicant for ordination were a male. The only question we have to decide is—Does the application of the ordinary tests, furnish sufficient evidence of a call to the ministry? If it does, "What are we, that we should withstand God"? Ordination confers neither calling nor gifts. It is simply a formal recognition of a call already bestowed—a bidding God speed in the work to which we recognize the candidate as being called. It is not sufficient for us to answer, "These signs, rules and tests all indicate the fact that this candidate is called to the ministry, and, if a man, the candidate would be entitled to ordination; but they do not apply in this case, because the candidate is a woman," unless it can be clearly shown that the New Testament positively prohibits a woman from entering the work.

Let me illustrate this argument. Suppose I

am called to see a patient, whom I find to be a man. I make a most careful examination of the case. I note, in their proper order, all the symptoms—the temperature, pulse, tongue, brain symptoms, &c., and taking the sum total of these symptoms, I pronounce the case to be one of typhoid fever. From this patient I am called to see another, whom I find to be a female. I find a precisely similar set of symptoms. The same temperature, the same pulse, the same tongue and brain symptoms, in short, an exact counterpart of the former case. Shall I pronounce this, also, a case of typhoid fever? Most certainly—unless it is shown on good reliable authority, that women do not have typhoid fever. That by virtue of their peculiar constitution they are exempt from this disease. If this can be shown, I am justified in affirming some other diagnosis; if not, I must pronounce the two cases to be similar and treat them accordingly.

To apply this illustration. Let us suppose a council or examining committee, convened, for the purpose of examining, and, if thought proper, the ordination of a candidate to the work of the gospel ministry. The only question the council, or committee has to decide is, is this candidate Divinely called to the sacred

work? This question answered, the duty of the council is plain. How shall we find out whether or not the candidate has received such a call? In this way. From a careful study of the New Testament we have formulated a system of tests; and the candidate is required to undergo an examination, in order that these tests may be applied. They refer (1), to conversion; (2), to personal piety, or christian character; (3), to personal evidences, or conviction of duty; (4), to orthodoxy, or views of Bible doctrine; (5), to ability to teach, or talents adapted to the work; (6), to the seal of Divine approbation already set on the work. To these is sometimes added a seventh—the opinion of the church, inviting the council;* but it is probable that the church forms its opinion from the other six evidences named.

Here then are six tests, which the council applies—not primarily to decide whether the candidate shall be ordained, but whether he is Divinely called to the sacred work. Granted that the candidate is Divinely called, the council has no choice in the matter. They are as much in duty bound to ordain him, as were the Apostles to obey the command of God—"Sepa-

*The author here follows the order usually observed by the Baptists to which denomination he belongs.

rate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them." Now this is all true, and always results, in the case of a male candidate. But suppose the candidate, though possessing all these qualifications, and evidences, in as marked a degree as any other, be a woman? The council is bound to accept the conclusion, and proceed as in the case of a man, unless the N. T. prohibits women from entering the ministry, and the application of the tests is thereby barred, in such individual case. And this prohibition must be, as it will, if there is such prohibition at all—clear, positive and plain. It will be neither vague, uncertain, nor ambiguous, but clear cut positive prohibition.

Thus far we have all traveled together, but here our paths will diverge. It is at this point that many, perhaps the majority, of my good brethren in the ministry, will differ from me. They will probably answer—"That is just what the N. T. does. It positively prohibits women from entering the ministry, and it is certain, therefore, that God does not call them to the sacred office, and they have no right to ordination;" while, with all due deference to their opinions, I affirm just as positively, that the N. T. does *not* prohibit them, and the council is in

duty bound, from the same symptoms, to make the same diagnosis, and follow the same treatment—in other words, it should apply the same tests, accept the same conclusions, and be governed by the same rules, as in the case of a male candidate. Let us therefore, "To the law and to the testimony."

There are two classes of evidences, which have hitherto been regarded as disproving the right of women to the ministerial office. These may be denominated the indirect, and the direct prohibition. They consist, first, of the argument adduced from the subjects themselves, and second, the supposed positive prohibition of the New Testament.

It has been argued that woman's sex unfits her for the ministerial office. That she is, in consequence of her peculiar constitution and habits, incapable of performing much of the work required of a minister. It is claimed that the New Testament requires women to marry, bear children, and attend, exclusively to the duties of the household, being in subjection to the will of her husband. That she is physically incapacitated for administering the ordinance of immersion. That the Scripture is silent, as regards any reference to female ordination, and that it is improper for an unmarried

woman to place herself in positions, she would be compelled to occupy in the ministerial office; and it is therefore certain that she has no Scriptural right to the ministry.

Let it here be borne in mind that all these are only *objections* not *arguments*. To all which I answer:

First.—These objections all amount to nothing—*if God calls woman to the work*. One man may raise a hundred objections to another entering the ministry; but if the candidate possess all the evidences *that he is called*, that disposes of the whole question, notwithstanding the hundred real or imaginary objections of his neighbor. So in the case of women. I have admitted that if the New Testament prohibits them from preaching, there is an end of the matter. In that case, those objections may be urged as probable reasons for the prohibition; but if there is no such prohibition, we are at liberty to apply the ordinary tests for deciding the question; and if the candidate possess the evidence of a call to the work, we should allow objections to have no more influence on the action of the council, than in the case of a man. The whole and only question we have to decide is, has God called this candidate to this work? He knows all about her constitution,

her physical capacity, habits of life, talent, and everything else that either fits or unfits her for the ministerial office. He also knows all about the work to which He calls her, and the matter may safely be left to his Divine wisdom.

Second.—I will take the objections in their order and notice them a little more specifically. So far as ability is concerned, woman has proven herself fully man's equal, both on the platform and in the pulpit. In clearness of logic, forcible presentation of truth, earnest, pathetic appeal, combined with piety, devotion and zeal, woman has proven herself the equal, if not the superior of man. With my humble talent, I frankly confess that, in the presence of such women as Frances E. Willard, Caroline Buel, Clara Hoffman, J. Ellen Foster, Mary T. Lathrap, Frances E. Townsley and a hundred others I might name, I stand with uncovered head. Other men, blessed with greater talent, may speak lightly of their ability, and scorn their devotion to principle; but as for me, I will honor them for their work's sake, and pray God that He will long spare them to lead on the bannered hosts, in the world's grand march to a higher and nobler destiny.

It is a mistaken idea, that the New Testament requires every woman to marry, and con-

fine herself to the care of a family. If so, what does Paul mean, in First Cor. 7: 34 where he says, "There is a difference also, between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy, both in body and in spirit; but she that is married, careth for the things of the world how she may please her husband." Or in the 40th verse, where, speaking of widows, he adds, "She is happier, if she so abide, after my judgment, and I think, also, that I have the spirit of God." Or in the 8th verse, where he writes, "I say therefore, to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them, if they abide even as I." There is, and will be, but a small proportion of women who will enter the ministry, as there is but a small proportion of men. The fact that the New Testament requires men to be "diligent in business," does not contradict the other fact, that He requires some men to eschew business altogether, and devote their whole service to the Lord. So the fact that the general requirement is for women to become wives and mothers, does not contradict the other fact that God permits some women to consecrate their whole life service, to the work whereunto He calls them. If a woman has so much love for Christ, and His service, that she

gladly sacrifices what she knows to be her blessed privilege to do, for the sake of consecrating her life to the work of saving souls, the New Testament undoubtedly gives her that privilege, even as it does to a man. Or, if she be married, and her husband possess love in his soul and grace in his heart, sufficient to cheerfully consent to his wife's engaging in this work, he becomes thereby, in all domestic matters, none the less the head of the family, and "priest in his own house."

As to the physical incapacity for performing immersion, the objection has no weight whatever. There are hundreds of men who are physically incapacitated for performing immersion. Are they, for that cause, kept out of the ministry? Nor is it essentially necessary; leaving out of view, the great number of churches, where immersion is not practiced, that baptism be administered by the preacher, or pastor. There is no such positive requirement in the New Testament. Christ himself did not baptise, and Paul declares, "Christ sent me not to baptise, but to preach the Gospel." We need have no fear for the stability nor perpetuity of Christ's church, or his ordinances, by the promulgation of truth. It is perfectly competent for a church to appoint

any one of their number to administer the rite of baptism, just as Paul delegated that duty to those who attended him, and Peter, at the house of Cornelius, left the administration of the ordinance to others. Is there not a danger, of giving our denominational rules the preference over Bible requirements?

Besides, I question the physical incapacity of women, generally, for performing this ordinance. They seem to be capable of milking cows, hoeing corn, chopping wood, carrying coal, standing all day on their feet in a store, walking from one to five miles to church, carrying a heavy baby, and doing a dozen other varieties of manual labor, that ought to be performed by the men whom they are compelled to support by their own exertion; and everyone knows who has administered the rite of immersion, that it is one of the easiest things imaginable. If it be claimed that her peculiar style of dress unfits her for the administration of the ordinance, I answer: do not nineteen out of twenty ministers dress themselves in a gown when they immerse? Is it a more graceful and becoming for a man to put a gown on over his pants, than for a woman to put pants on under her gown? As for going down into the water of a baptistery or creek—does not every

female candidate do this, and the public does not consider such an act disreputable either. So far as personal appearance goes, I am free to confess, if it be possible for a woman to clothe herself in a dress that will appear less graceful and becoming, than does that of some ministers of my own sex, on baptismal occasions, I should be led, seriously, to doubt that particular woman's call to the ministerial office.

On the silence of the New Testament concerning female ordination, I have this to say. After a careful search, I am able to find the act of ordination referred to just seven times. These are, the ordination of the apostles, recorded in Mark 6: 6; the ordination of Matthias, recorded in Acts 1: 23; that of the seven deacons, recorded in Acts 6: 6; the ordination of Paul and Barnabas, in Acts 13: 3; the ordination of elders in every church, recorded in Acts 14: 23; the ordination of Timothy, referred to in First Tim. 4: 14; and Paul's direction to Titus to "ordain elders in every church." In two of those places, the candidates may have been either male or female, as I shall point out further along. There must have been hundreds, if not thousands, of other preachers, besides those. Shall we conclude that they preached without some form of ordination? or

that ordination was not of sufficient importance to require record? Necessarily, neither the one nor the other. The design of those records was not to indicate the sex of the preachers, but to establish the fact and duty of ordination. The subjects would be such, whether male or female as furnished satisfactory evidence of a Divine call.

As to the impropriety of woman engaging in ministerial work, and the danger to her reputation, perhaps the less reference that is made to it the better. The reader is capable of forming his own opinion, as to whether or not, in all those callings and professions, akin to that of the ministry, which she has entered, woman has honored her professions, and sustained an unsullied reputation, equal that of man. If God is willing to trust His sacred cause in her hands, surely man should neither claim authority to prohibit, nor entertain fears as to the result.

The truth is, this question, like scores of others, has been viewed through a veil of consevatism, so thick that it amounts to prejudice. Once let this veil be lifted—once let the christian men of America come to investigate this question in the light of that God-given equality, which is the christian heritage of all peo-

ple, and I have confidence that they will apprehend the right, and cheerfully concede it. For the rest we may have no fear—God will take care of His own.

THE SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENT.

Now for the direct Scripture argument. There are four passages, in the New Testament, which have generally been regarded as directly prohibiting female preaching. These are First Cor. 14: 34—First Tim. 2: 12—Second Tim. 2: 2, and First Tim. 3: 1-7.

Before taking up these passages in their order, permit me to state one or two facts, which are essentially necessary to be borne in mind, in order to a correct understanding of this subject.

First.—The same custom prevailed in New Testament times, that prevails now, of using the masculine gender, when speaking of persons without regard to sex. For instance in Romans 10: 10, we read, "With the heart *man* believeth unto righteousness, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." See, for further illustrations of this fact, Acts 16: 40, First Cor. 12: 11, Phil. 1: 12, Second Tim. 3: 2, First John 2: 7 and 3: 2. A hundred other illustrations could be given if necessary.

Second.—Influenced by this custom, and,

doubtless, though, perhaps, unconsciously, by this conservative idea to which I have referred, in most of our translations, of the New Testament, some passages are so rendered, as to convey a stronger meaning, in the translation than they do in the original. Two passages, both having a direct bearing on the subject under discussion, may be given as illustrations. In Acts 2: 13, we read "Others mocking, said, these *men* are full of new wine." In First Tim. 3: 1, Paul says, "If a *man* desires the office of bishop, he desires a good work," and in the same chapter, fifth verse, "If a *man* know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" The reader will doubtless be surprised to learn that, the word "man" occurs in neither of these quotations, and the only authority the translators had for thus translating it, was the customary use of the masculine gender generally thus used, when speaking or writing of persons without regard to sex.

Third.—The New Testament everywhere, and in the most positive manner, teaches perfect equality between the sexes, in the matters of religion. See, as illustrations, Acts 1: 4, First Cor. 7: 32-35, and 11: 11-12. A remembrance of all these facts will materially aid us

in our investigation of this subject. Please bear them in mind as we proceed.

Let us now examine the first of these supposed positive prohibitions. It is found in First Cor. 14: 34, "Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak. * * For it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church."

In studying this passage, permit me to call the reader's attention to the fact, that Scriptural commands and directions are of two kinds. First.—Those that are of general application, restricted by no local bounds or circumstances, such as that of Paul in Philipians 4: 4-6, and second—That class of injunctions that were called out by certain local conditions, and were intended to apply *only where like conditions prevail.* Does this passage belong to the first, or to the second class? Undoubtedly to the second. Why? Because (1), If otherwise, Paul would have left out that word "your" See how careful he is. He does not say, "Let women keep silence," but "Let *your* women keep silence." True he adds, "It is a shame for a woman to speak in the church," but this quotation is controlled by, and has only the force of the preceding one which governs it. (2), The condition of the assemblies of Corinth,

was such as to require just that kind of treatment. What was that condition? They had fallen into very grave error, in three different respects, (1), They were in a terrible state of contention. See Chap. 1: 11 and 3: 3; (2) They had fallen into grave error in regard to the Lord's Supper, and had turned the holy ordinance into a scene of feasting and revelry; (3) Their public service had degenerated into scenes of brawl and confusion. This condition of things had merited, and called forth Paul's severest censure. After correcting the other errors, he turns his attention, in the 14th chapter to the regulation of their worship. The key to the intent of this passage, is found in the 33d verse, "For God is not the author of confusion but of peace." Their public assemblies were directly the opposite of this, having degenerated into scenes of violent dispute. For the purpose of restoring order, Paul deemed it wise to require the women to keep silent; a wise and most judicious requirement in all similar circumstance, but it has no reference, whatever, to ordinary preaching of the gospel. I may add here that the very condition of things that called for Paul's restriction, argues in favor of the most perfect equality and liberty in all church matters; else how did those

women come to form the habit that made the apostle's restriction necessary? (2) It is a rule in evidence that a witness who proves too much, is of no value. This rule applies here. If Paul enjoins silence on all women in the church, that injunction prohibits them as much from prayer and exhortation, as it does from preaching. Indeed, it is in the memory of the most of us, when this very passage was urged as a prohibition of every kind of religious exercises by females, in the public assembly. It is not so used now, to any great extent, and it will not be regarded as prohibiting them from preaching a score of years hence. (4) It is plainly evident that Paul did not intend his restriction to apply to all women, even in the church at Corinth, nor to ordinary religious exercises in the mixed assembly. In this same chapter, in verse 23, he says, "If therefore the whole church come together, into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unbelievers, will they not say, ye are mad? But if ye all prophesy, and there came in one that believeth not, he is convicted of all." In the 31st verse, he says, "Ye may all prophesy one by one;" and in the 11th chapter, he instructs men to prophesy with their head uncovered, and the women with their faces

veiled according to the eastern custom. He thus proves, most conclusively, that he did not design to prevent women from engaging in this exercise. What that prophesying was we will learn further along.

The second passage is found in First Tim. 2: 12, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." The same objection presents itself in this passage as in the other. It proves too much. It as certainly prohibits women from praying and exhorting in the public assembly, as it does from preaching. If it does not prohibit the former, it certainly does not the latter.

But let us examine this passage a little more closely. Does Paul here refer to the church relation, or to the domestic relation? If the reader will turn to the chapter, and read to the end, he will find unquestionable proof that he refers to the latter. Suppose, as punctuation is merely arbitrary, we take the liberty of altering it a trifle, and move the comma back just two words. It now reads, "I suffer not a woman (more correctly *the* woman) to teach, nor to usurp authority over, the man." Mark, "*the* man." Now, if the reader wants the correct interpretation of this passage, let him

turn to Ephesians, 5: 22-25, and he will find it fully explained.

I am not yet done with the passage, however, as I have still stronger proof that it does not prohibit female preaching. There are two Greek words, translated by our English word "teach." The first is "*Matheteuo;*"* and means to teach, to make disciples. It is found in Christ's Commission, as given in Matthew 28th chapter, "Go ye, therefore, and *teach* all nations, baptizing them, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." the second is "*Didasko*," from which we get our English word didactic. Now, it is claimed by the opponents of female preaching, that didactic teaching is emphatically woman's work; which work, in all its branches, whether secular or religious, they most cheerfully accord to her. "Our female missionaries," they say, "are not preachers, but teachers." But then, the word rendered "teach," in this passage, is not "*Matheteuo*" to teach, in the sense of preaching, but "*Dikasko*" to teach didactically; and means the very kind of teaching that, it is claimed, is especially the work of females. If, therefore it prohibits any kind of female service, it is that of didactic teaching.

*I spell these Greek words, as nearly as possible, with English letters.

Shall we, then, recall our female missionaries? Shall we replace our female teachers in our schools and colleges? Shall we exchange all our female for male teachers in our Sunday Schools? I submit that they must either do this, or be chargable with inconsistency, if they claim the prohibition of this Scripture.

I insist therefore, that the only reasonable interpretation that can be given to this passage, is that which makes it refer to the domestic relation; and that Paul means just what he says that he does not allow the woman (wife) to usurp authority over, or to control the man (husband). So firmly do I believe in this interpretation that I am willing to challenge criticism.

The third passage is found in Second Tim. 2: 2, "The things which thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also." Concerning this passage, I do not hesitate to say, that, bearing in mind the general statements I have made, so far from prohibiting female preaching, a careful study of it, will convince the reader that it furnishes strong testimony in its favor. Indeed I am surprised that this passage should have been urged as a prohibition at all.

There are three Greek words in the New Testament, translated by our English word "man." Some of these mean the male sex, only, as opposed to females, and some refer, to people irrespective of sex. The first of these is "*Andros*;" which I find Robinson, in his Greek lexicon of the New Testament, defines as, "A man, one of the male sex, as opposed to woman." Another is "*Neanias*." This is defined as "A young man, or one in the prime of life, or under forty years of age." A third is "*Anthropos*;" from which we get our English term anthropology, or the science of the human race; and is defined as, "A man, one of the human race; a man or woman, a person." Now, as Paul had the choice of all these words, supposing he designed, in this passage, to teach, what it has been claimed he did, that the ministerial office was to be conferred exclusively on men, would he have used an indefinite, or a definite term? You answer, a definite term, most unquestionably. So I think. He would have selected the strongest term possible. But he does not. He uses the word "*Anthropos*," which we have found to mean "A man, or woman, a person." Some time ago, while engaged in a revival meeting, I was entertained at the home of a very intelligent

German lady. She is an excellent scholar, both in English and German. One day our conversation turned on the relative merits of the English and German translations of the New Testament; she favoring the latter. I requested her to read this passage, Second Tim. 2: 2, from her German translation, and then to translate into English for me. In her translation, I noticed that she used the word "persons," instead of "men." I asked her what word she had in her German Testament, and she said "*Menschen*," the meaning of which, she said, is persons, without regard to sex. I also recently met a Swedish minister, and from him learned that it is similarly translated in the Swedish Testament. When it is remembered that King James' translation was made, when this conservative idea ruled everyone, from the King to the bishop, it is easily understood how it came to be translated "men," instead of persons. Certainly Paul must have had a purpose, in choosing a word that means men and women alike, when thus instructing Timothy. I make no pretensions to Greek scholarship; but I claim that Paul in selecting this word, intended to teach that the gospel message was to be committed to faithful preachers, whether they be men or women.

The fourth and last passage is First Tim. 3: 1-7, "This is a true saying, if a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work. A bishop then, must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilent, sober, of good behavior, given to hospitality, apt to teach, &c., &c.

The meaning of the Greek word "*Episcopos*," from which comes our English words Episcopal, and Episcopacy, and which is here rendered "bishop," literally means, "An overseer, or superintendent." In a certain sense a bishop was simply an elder, or pastor of a church; but it is probable that, in large cities, such a minister had the general oversight of all the small assemblies meeting in various parts of the city. See Mosheim's History, Cent. First. Paul was not certain how soon he would visit Timothy again, and so writes him clearly, the qualifications for ministers and deacons, in order that wise and judicious selections might be made for these offices.

Now, admitting that Paul does teach, in this chapter that the general overseer of all the assemblies, shall be a man, it does not preclude woman from engaging in every other department of ministerial work. But I shall make no such admission. On the contrary, I affirm that a fair and reasonable interpretation of this

Scripture, comparing it with other passages, will furnish strong proof in favor of the right of women to the ministerial office. Let us study it in the light of the plain, ordinary mode of reasoning, and see to what conclusion it will lead us.

Does Paul design, in this Scripture to indicate the sex of the candidates for the ministry, and the deaconate? Or does he design to indicate moral qualifications? Undoubtedly the latter. Supposing the latter to have been his design, would he, in accordance with the usual custom, have used the masculine gender, the same as he has done? Most certainly; that was the usual form of expression. But now; if Paul had designed to teach that the bishop's office belonged to the male sex alone, would he, especially in a matter of such importance, have used a word that meant the male sex and nothing else? Most assuredly. No man had a better command of language than did Paul. He could select any word he wished. But you answer—"That is just what he does. Does he not say, 'If a *man* desires the office of bishop?'" So we read, and so, I supposed the apostle wrote, until I made a more careful investigation of the passage. The word translated "man," here, is "*Tis*," which is defined by

Robinson as "anyone, someone, anybody;" and is as applicable to females as to males. The American Bible Union translates it thus,—"If any one desires the office of overseer, he desires a good work. I submit then, that this and the parallel passage in Titus furnish strong proof in favor of my position, for the following reasons:

First.—These are the only places in the New Testament, where the qualifications of a ministerial candidate are clearly defined. Here Paul gives special instruction on that point. Here, most certainly, if the ministerial office was to be confined to the male sex, Paul would say so.

Second.—Paul was not only capable of choosing words that would express the intention, but he had, at his command words that could not possibly be misunderstood. As I have shown, there were words that were applicable to the male sex, and to them only. And yet what is the fact? He not only fails to so instruct, but he is careful to pass over every word in the Greek language, that can be applied to the male sex alone, and selects a word that is as applicable to females as to males.

If it is answered, "Paul does confine it to the male sex, by declaring that the candidate 'must be the husband of one wife.'" I reply—If you interpret it literally, you not only make

Paul's practice contradict his teaching, as both Paul and Timothy were unmarried, but you have the practice of every christian denomination in the world against you. More than half the men who enter the ministry, are unmarried, even at the time of their ordination. And if you admit, what is true, that Paul simply refers to moral qualifications, as I have before shown, in accordance with the custom, he would have used the masculine gender, whether the applicants were to be males or females.

Still further. Turn to the 8th and 12th verses of this same chapter and you will find the apostle gives the qualifications for a deacon, in which he uses, almost, precisely the same language, and employs the masculine gender also. In these verses you will notice the word "deacons." In the original it is the plural form of "*Diakonos.*" Remembering now that Paul uses the masculine gender, just as he does in describing the qualifications for the ministry, turn to Romans 16: 1, and you will read, "I commend unto you Phebe our sister, who is a servant of the church, which is at Cenchrea." The word here translated "servant," is "*Diakonos*," precisely the same word that is translated "deacon," in the chapter we are studying. Here then Paul commends a woman as filling

one of the very offices, the qualifications for which he names, using the masculine gender, just as in the case of the ministerial candidate. Was there any other word that Paul could have used, if he had wanted to simply state the fact that Phebe, was a servant. Certainly. There was the word "*Doulos*," used by him, and translated servant in Romans 1: 1, Romans 6: 19; three times in Gallatians 1: 10-11, Phil. 1: 1, and in a score of other places. I submit, therefore that a careful study of this Scripture proves that Paul designed only to indicate the moral qualifications for the ministerial and deacons offices, and that these offices could be filled by persons possessing those qualifications, whether they were male or female.

Permit me now to refer to still another fact, that has strengthened the opinion that Paul, in this chapter confines the ministerial office to the male sex. It is that he appears to give the qualifications for ministers' and deacons' wives. In the 11th verse he says, "Even so must their wives be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things."

It will not weaken my view of the question to admit that where God chooses a married man for a minister—for do not let us forget that this whole matter of choosing ministers is not with the church, but in God's own hands—

He would very probably, select those whose wives possessed the above characteristics. So also, is the lesson valuable to young ministers in selecting a life companion.

But the question is, does Paul in the 11th verse, refer to the qualifications of a minister's wife? Or does he refer to the qualifications of a female candidate for that, and the deacon's office? I sincerely believe the latter. Does it not appear stange that Paul, himself an unmarried minister, and writing instructions to Timothy, another unmarried minister, would name, as one of the qualifications for a minister that he must be a married man? And does it not appear stranger still that Divine and infinite wisdom would enact such a law, and then turn round, and, in more than half the cases ignore and violate His own law? Yet this is the irresistable conclusion, if we insist on the literal interpretation of the 2d, 11th and 12th verses, of this chapter, as they appear in our common version.

Let us now see, if a reference to the original will help us out of this difficulty. The word "*Gunaikas*," here translated "wives" is more properly translated "women." If the reader will refer to the version of the American Bible Union, he will notice that the word "their" is

in brackets; indicating that it is supplied, as not in the Greek. If he will refer to the new revised version, he will find it properly translated, "Women in like manner must be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things"—thus naming the very same qualifications for the minister and deacon that he has done before, and showing that these qualifications are as essential in a female, as in a male candidate. This view is also consistent with the practice of the churches in one respect. I have attended a good many councils, for the ordination of a minister; and I never yet heard the question raised, "Has this candidate met the requirement of taking unto himself a wife, and, if so, does she possess the Scriptural qualifications?" We have also seen that Paul commends one woman as filling one of these very offices, the qualifications of which he here names; and, so far as I remember, the only place where he personally commends such an officer.

To me, it appears plain, that Paul instead of naming the qualifications of the wives of ministers and deacons, gives those of female candidates to those offices themselves. Indeed, if we admit the correctness of the translation in the new revised version, as I think we are compelled to, where would be the necessity of

naming those qualification for women at all, if the right of female candidates to the ministry and deaconate were not recognized? Admit that right, and all discrepancy at once vanishes, and this Scripture is perfectly consistent with the New Testament history, and with God's method, both present and past.

I have thus carefully examined the four passages of Scripture, hithorto regarded as prohibiting women from entering the work of the ministry. I think the reader will agree with me, that, so far from furnishing such prohibition, the burden of their evidence is in its favor. Here I might rest the case, and claim our right to be governed by the ordinary rules and tests, the same in the case of females, as in that of male candidates. But I shall go further, and furnish Bible proof, I think sufficient to convince any earnest inquirer that, in apostolic days, women did occupy the ministerial office.

In the days of the apostles, there were several distinct orders of the ministry. In Ephesians 4: 11-12, we read, "And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." Also, in First Cor. 12:

28,—"And God hath set some in the church, first, apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly, teachers," &c. According to this, the second highest order of the ministry, and next to the apostles themselves, was that of the prophets. What was the special duty of the prophets in apostolic times. Certainly, not to predict, as, in this respect, the prophetic office had ceased with Malachi four hundred years before. True, there were one or two exceptions, as, for instance, Agabus, who prophesied of the drought that was to come upon Judea, and the binding and imprisonment of Paul. But this was not their primary office, or work. It was that of expository preaching, or expounding the prophecies. This was considered, next to the work of the apostles, the most important of any in the ministerial office. Indeed the claim is made that this work was performed under the direct influence of Divine inspiration. Now turn to Acts 21: 8, and you will read, "And the next day we departed and came to Caesarea; and entering into the house of Philip the evangelist being one of the seven we abode with him. And this man had four daughters, virgins who prohesied." Here then were four women in one family, who filled one of the ministerial offices, declared to be one of God's

special gifts to the church; an office higher, and more important, if possible, than that filled by their own father, and next to that of the apostles themselves. In First Cor. 11: 4-6, Paul gives special instructions how this service shall be performed, both by men and women. The reader will notice that, in these instructions, he makes not the slightest difference either in the office or the duty, as held and performed by males and females. He also clearly indicates that it is to be performed by both in the mixed assembly. The only difference is, one was to appear with head uncovered, the other, in accordance with the custom of the times, with her head veiled.

Another passage which will throw light on this question, is Acts 8: 4,—"Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went everywhere preaching the word." The Greek word here rendered "preaching," is not the word translated "teach," in the commission, as given by Matthew, nor the one translated "preach," as given by Mark. The word is "*Euangelidzo.*" It is the term from which we get our English word "evangelist." It is the word used by Paul, where he exhorts Timothy to "do the work of an evangelist." Let us now inquire, "Who were scattered abroad?" Read the first

verse. "They were *all* scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." All, both men and women. What did those who were scattered abroad do? They went everywhere preaching the word. Putting the statement into the form of a syllogism, we have it thus. All were scattered abroad. Those scattered abroad, went everywhere preaching the word—therefore they all preached the word. It must either be admitted that women preached, or that there were no female christians there. If it be claimed that, the women accompanied the men, but that only the latter preached, I answer, the record does not say so. We have no more right to twist one passage to suit our own ideas than we have another. The statement stands there clear and distinct; by what authority shall we "take from," or "add to" its meaning?

Turn now to Phil. 4: 2-3,—"I beseech Euadia, and I beseech Syntiche to be of the same mind in the Lord. And I beseech thee, also, true yoke fellow, help those women, who labored with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and other, my fellows laborers, whose names are in the book of life." Without stopping to discuss the question, whether or not, by those

female laborers, Paul means Euodias and Syntiche, previously mentioned,—a fair and impartial interpretation of this passage, must connect those female laborers, whoever they were, with Clement, and Paul's other fellow workers. All admit that Clement was a minister, and it is claimed, that he was the same Clement who afterwards became bishop of Rome. And yet the term that Paul uses to describe the work of those female laborers, is much stronger than that used to describe the work of Clement and the other male helpers. In the latter he uses the word "*Sunergos*" which mean simply "to work, to labor to join in work;" while in speaking of the female laborers, he uses the word "*Sunathleo*," which is defined as "to cöoperate vigorously, to strive earnestly." It is the term from which we get our English word athletic; and the idea is that of putting forth every effort; and proves those women to have been among the most prominent and active workers. I have no doubt but they sustained the same relation to the church that Clement and those other laborers did.

The introduction of the gospel into Caesarea, will also throw some light on this question. It will be found in Acts 10th. Cornelius was a devout Roman soldier, whose family were

christians. One day God appeared to him and told him that his prayers had been heard: and instructed him to send messengers to Joppa, for Peter. Up to that time Peter had been so full of this conservatism, that he as certainly believed the gospel was only for the Jews, as many good brethren now do, that the pulpit is only for the male sex. The Lord had, however, taken him in hand, with the result, that his views had materially widened. When Peter reached the house of Cornelius he found a large congregation awaiting him; for "Cornelius had invited his friends and kinsfolk" to come and hear the gospel. No one doubts that that congregation was composed of both men and women. Now read what follows,—"While Peter yet spake, the Holy Ghost fell upon *all* that heard the word. And they of the circumcision"—meaning the converted Jews—"were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with tongues and magnify God." Here, then, we have a whole congregation of Gentile men and women, to whom was miraculously imparted the very same Divine enduement, that was imparted to the apostles at the day of pentacost. Why was that gift imparted

to the apostles? That they might preach the gospel in languages they had not studied. Why is the same miraculous gift imparted to the Gentiles? For the self-same purpose. To whom was this gift imparted? *To men and women alike.* Not a particle of difference. The reader is capable of drawing his own conclusion, as to whether this was a mere accident or farce, or whether a gift thus miraculously bestowed, was intended to be used.

Permit me now to call the reader's attention to another fact, closely allied to this, and which is of the utmost importance in this investigation; but one which seems to have been quite generally everlooked. It is this; at the day of Pentacost when Christ, by the power of the Spirit, prepared and sent out the first gospel preachers, *the women received the very same Divine enduement for the gospel ministry that the men did.* Others may not have been so careless as I, but I am surprised, that, while I have not overlooked this fact, I have so long failed to apprehend its deep significance. Turn to Acts 1: 14,—"These all continued, with one accord in prayer, and supplication, *with the women*, and with Mary the mother of Jesus and with His brethren." Read now, the second chapter, "And when the day of Penta-

cost was fully come, they were *all* with one accord, in one place. And suddenly there came a sound, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them. cloven tongues, like as of fire, and *it sat upon each of them.* And they were *all* filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." If any fact can be more clearly or positively stated, than it is here stated that those women received the same miraculous enduemant for preaching the gospel that the men did, I have failed to notice it. What explanation does Peter give when charged with being "full of sweet wine?" He quotes from the second chapter of Joel's prophesy, and explains that this wonderful phenomenon is but the fulfillment of that prophesy. What was that prophesy? "And it shall come to pass in the last days saith God, that I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh, and your sons and daughters shall prophesy. And on my servants, and on my handmaidens, I will pour out my Spirit in those days and they shall prophesy." Here, then, we have a prediction, uttered eight hundred years before, that men and women should be alike endued for the preaching of the gospel. The centuries

pass, until, in the fullness of time, the day comes for the fulfillment of the Divine promise. By special direction of Christ, a company of men and women are gathered together. The Holy Spirit comes upon them in wonderful power, according to the Divine prediction, and they all receive the miraculous enduement. Then they go and begin to preach, in the various languages they had never learned. So strange and wonderful is it, that they are charged with intoxication. Peter answers, "No, this is not intoxication; this is the fulfillment of Joel's prophesy, that men and women should receive this miraculous preparation for preaching the gospel." Some importance has been attached to the fact that the word "men" is used, in the charge of drunkeness, as it appears in our version, but, as I have already explained, the word is not in the Greek, and the only authority for it is the usual custom of using the masculine gender when speaking of a mixed company. Indeed, in this passage there is not even so much authority as that. The simple expression is, "They are full of sweet wine."

Now, if God thus miraculously endued men and women alike, and gave them the same preparation for the same work, was it that part

of them might, at once throw that Divinely imparted gift away, or let it remain forever unused? I cannot think so. The truth is, this second chapter of Acts alone ought to forever settle the question of the right of women to the ministerial office.

INCIDENTAL EVIDENCE.

There is a class of testimony, or rather, perhaps, of passages, that will aid us, in the study of this question, that may be termed incidental evidence. I have only space for one or two illustrations. There are many others that will no doubt suggest themselves to the reader. It is that class of Scriptures that are more easily understood, and interpreted from this standpoint than from any other. If the reader will turn to the Third Epistle of John, he will read, "The elder unto the beloved Gaius, whom I love in the truth;" and in the 4th verse, "I have no greater joy, than to hear that my children walk in the truth." It is universally admitted that Gaius was a minister, and that, by the term "children," the writer refers to religious converts; doubtless those converted under his ministry. Now compare this with the Second Epistle, "The elder unto the elect lady, and her children, whom I love in the

truth;" and in the 4th verse, "I rejoiced greatly, that I found of thy children walking in the truth." The expression in the two epistles is the same, only in one case he refers to his own converts, and in the other to those of the "elect lady." Now admit that she was a minister, or pastor of a church, and the letter explains itself. Indeed it seems to me that the only reasonable interpretation we can give, is that which recognizes "the Elect Lady" as a christian minister, whose converts were steadfast in Gospel truth.

In First Cor. 14th chapter Paul gives instructions how to proceed with their worship, "When the *whole church* shall have come together." Not a particle of distinction is made in the privileges of the men and women. One is to have a psalm, another a doctrine, another a revelation, or a prophesy to expound, and in the 31st verse adds, "Ye may *all* prophesy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted." Rule women out of this exercise and you have Paul contradicting himself; give them the same privileges as men, and the contradiction vanishes.

The fact seems clear enough to me, and I believe the explanation will appear reasonable to a majority of my readers, that, not only was

the Bible translated under the influence of this conservatism, but under the same influence —doubtless unconsciously—it has been studied and interpreted. The result has been, that one generation has passed its opinion to the generation following, and that generation has read the Bible with its opinion already formed, and thus the idea has been perpetuated. We all remember, how frequently, twenty-five years ago, our brethren of the South quoted, "Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be," and how honestly they believed that that passage gave them full Scripture warrant for human slavery. Similarly, have the generations read those passages, referring to the gospel ministry, and, as a consequence, their opinions become stronger by study. Let me assure the reader, I do not advance this idea without due consideration, nor with any want of reverence. I know full well that it will, doubtless subject me to criticism, possibly to censure. It is no light thing to declare in favor of an unpopular cause, nor to meddle with the ancient landmarks, even though they may not mark the correct boundary. At the same time I hold tenaciously to the inalienable right of every man to study the Bible for himself—there is that masculine gender again, I include women

in this statement—and from its sacred pages alone to discover what the will of God is. So far as the question at issue is concerned, that study I have made, and have settled the question to my satisfaction. I claim neither more wisdom nor greater scholarship than my brethren. Especially do I confess my knowledge of Greek, and my ability to, critically study the original, much less than that of many of those who differ from me. At the same time I sincerely believe that I have made no mistake that will invalidate the conclusion to which I have come. Holding this opinion as I hold any other doctrine, always ready to change, when required to do so, by a "Thus saith the Lord," here I remain, till that Divine authority for a change is shown me. I have in this paper only indicated those Scriptures which have most influenced me in forming my present opinion, without following, step by step, the whole path along which I have traveled. That the Holy Spirit whose office work it is, to lead into all truth, may so influence us all, that we shall at last be perfect in the truth, seeing eye to eye, is my most earnest prayer.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Doubtless one inquiry will arise in the mind of the reader, which, before finally dismissing the subject, it will be proper to anticipate and answer. It is this, "Why, if your view be correct, have not more women entered the ministry in the past?" This question is easily answered. Let it be remembered, that while, in the apostle's days, and among themselves, there was the most perfect equality between the sexes, in religious matters, as the gospel spread to other nations, it came in contact with, and was influenced by the manners and customs of those nations. It is well known that in many countries, women have been considered man's inferior, and in some of them his slave. In heathen lands to-day, the hardest task religion has, next to breaking down caste, is to elevate women. It is scarcely to be expected that, in those countries, religion would lift women up to a position of perfect equality with men. Female elevation from the degredation into which paganism and heathenism plunged her has ever been a slow process. If the reader would understand what the gospel had to contend with, in the moral elevation of the people, let him read the first chapter of the

epistle to the Romans. How could it be expected that, among such a people, even the gospel would succeed in elevating woman to her true position? As christian civilization advanced, however, its purifying and elevating influences were more and more sure, so that in the course of time, woman attained to most of those rights which religion gives them. And yet there are, even at the present day, and in our own land, places where it is considered, and people who consider it, very improper for a woman to speak or pray in public. So late as fifty years ago, this feeling was almost universal. The result has been that women have smothered their feelings, stifled their convictions, and buried the talent that God gave them, notwithstanding the waste places have cried out for the laborer. Thank God the veil is being lifted. The darkness is disappearing, and the dawn of a better day approaches, God is revealing the purposes of His grace, and ere long, the full power and glory of the gospel will be manifested, in the elevation of the people, without regard, to race, color or sex.

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Please read and consider; then lend to some Friend.

WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION UNION.

THE DUTY OF WOMAN

TOWARDS HUMANITY AND OUR COUNTRY; TOWARDS OUR FAMILY; TOWARDS OURSELVES.

Paper read at the Bedford Conference, 14th March, 1894, by Mrs. E. O. FORDHAM.

"No human being can come into this world without increasing or diminishing the sum total of human happiness."

—BURRITT.

We women are members of a great family, daughters of God, who has given us life that we may employ it for the benefit of others—for the benefit of humanity.

It is not meant that we should live our life to ourselves; it is expected of us that we strive to make the best use of the years we have by seeking after the truth, by helping to make those around us happy, by educating ourselves and others to be better, nobler, truer men and women.

We are all soldiers in one army—an army which is advancing by different ways, divided into various battalions, to the conquest of one sole aim.

We are fighting that we and other women may be saved; struggling, that we may obtain victory, may win the day and set our sisters free—free from the shackles that bind them; free from old-world opinions which cramp them, limbs and brain.

We fight that *all* women may be free; free as their fathers and husbands to make their own lives, to live them as they themselves think best, to work at what they are most fitted for, and for wages in proportion to their work, not in proportion to their sex—so much for man and so much less for woman.

We fight—this woman's army—for the right to interest ourselves in what we please; in any and all questions.

We fight that we may kill the iniquitous custom that allows a man who has committed a certain wrong to be received everywhere, his wickedness condoned, passed lightly over, while the woman, she who has done the same wrong, is treated as an outcast, thought unfit to enter where he may freely go. For these and for hundreds of other questions which are eating day by day into the very heart of our boasted civilisation, we women have awakened from our lethargy to the deep responsibility of what we owe humanity. Awakened to the knowledge that wheresoever men and women make up a country, a nation, they must together govern, together strive to right wrong, to better the conditions under which they live.

You may say, "Yes, but you speak of a woman's army; you say women are banded together to fight, and then you follow with *men* and women must together govern, together strive and fight?"

Yes, but we women have *first of all* to fight alone, to trample down prejudice, ancient opinions, selfishness, apathy, that lie across our path and block our way. And as we struggle on, ever gaining a little in our uphill work, cutting in the mountains our stepping-stones of faith, some men stand aside, watching, losing nothing of the fight, sometimes asking us to help them in theirs, rarely helping us in return.

Our army is composed of women of different thoughts and opinions, some interested in one, some in another question, yet all with eyes fixed on one point above all others, striving for the great principle—Liberty.

And our enemies, what of them? Indifference, prejudice, old-world opinion, selfishness, and hostility, side by side against us, struggling to break through our ranks, to scatter the forces of those who would help them, if they only knew it.

Their army is made up of men of women who fight that nothing may be altered, that we women stay still while the rest of humanity advances. Is it possible that the children of women whose fathers and husbands would keep them sheltered even as their own little children, knowing nothing of the wrongs of others, nothing of outside sorrow, nothing in fact which can strengthen their character, give them self-reliance, a mind to think and act with—is it possible, is it likely that the sons and daughters of such women can advance in their time, can have strength of mind and purpose to do what the world requires of them for their children, for humanity, for their country? No!

The opposing army has among its recruits many who fear change, who dare not face the future, who believe that we shall not remain womanly, and must, as they express it, "unsex" ourselves, lose all gentleness and sweetness, and our love for husband, home, and children.

They fight to keep us *women*, to prevent our being lost to them—so they say!

For these, time alone will prove their foolishness. I, as a wife and mother, have no fear; I know that a true woman's love for home and those in it is deeper and nobler through working and fighting in this great army for the love of others.

Love is boundless; and to love humanity strengthens the

affections for home, husband, and children, and makes us better able to take care of them.

There are others in this army—men—who work from selfish motives, and desire that women care for them and for their children only, and would have us oblivious to any world but that of home. These fight, and they know it, a losing battle, for we have already learnt to take our share of interest and work in the world of men and women. In vain to try and keep us back; the game is up, and we are convinced that we have taken the right course.

Why be jealous? We have *our* part to play, our work to do outside the home, men or no men.

And, lastly, there are those who care not whether we work or are idle, whether we seek our share in life's battle or not. These, by far the most difficult of our enemies, are mostly women, still unconscious, still slumbering, women whom we have to win over to our ranks. And these oppose us. Why? if they care not either way. Because apathy and indifference will ever be upon the side of *what is*. *What will be* the future they are too idle to think of; it is less trouble to be contented, for the future needs thought.

We with our army have first of all to scatter the opposing forces. It will take time, but we *must* win, for they have no principle to guide them, only a worn-out tradition and sentiment, while we have justice and equality as our guiding power. We have to prove that we are in earnest, that we can do good work for our country and humanity, and can be just as good daughters, wives, and mothers—as loving, as tender—as in the past, and even better by virtue of deeper interests, nobler thoughts and deeds, wider sympathies for others.

Our children must benefit by their mothers taking up the duties of citizenship, for will it not help us to teach and influence them to be good, upright, useful men and women?

When this is proved—and it will be, it must be, before long—our woman's army will fight no more as now, alone; the two sexes will, united, fight side by side in the great battle of life, no rivalry between them save that of noble thought and deed.

Every cause has to go through its hobbledehoy stage, and it is at such a time that those who fight for it have to expect ridicule from those who understand not, hard words from those who, anxious for the "stay as we are" policy, will ever be against change.

What matter? We are fighting that we may be free; we have the right on our side; we are fighting for humanity, for our first duty is to humanity; are we not human beings, women, before we are wives or mothers?

Our country is our home, the house that God has given us, placing therein a numerous family that loves us, and whom we love.

Our country is our common workshop, from whence by the tools of life our lives are moulded for good or evil, from whence the products of our activity are sent forth for the benefit of the whole world; wherein the tools and implements of labour we can most usefully employ are gathered together. In labouring for our country we labour for humanity; our country is the fulcrum of the lever we have to wield for the common good. If we abandon that fulcrum,

we run the risk of rendering ourselves useless not only to humanity but to our country also.

So long as a single one amongst our brothers and sisters has no vote to represent him or her in the development of the national life; so long as there is one left to vegetate in ignorance where others are educated; so long as a single man or woman, able and willing to work, languishes in poverty through want of work—we have no country in the sense in which the country ought to exist; the country of all, and for all.

Education, Labour, and the *Franchise* are the three main pillars of the nation! Rest not until we have built them strongly up with our own work and exertion.

"The position of its women is the test of a nation's greatness," writes Mdlle. Crepaz.

Joseph Mazzini, speaking to his fellow-countrymen of their duty, said:—

"Love and respect Woman. Seek in her not merely a comfort, but a force, an inspiration, the redoubling of your intellectual faculties. Cancel from your minds every idea of superiority over women; you have none whatsoever.

"Long prejudice, an inferior education, and a perennial legal inequality and injustice have created that apparent intellectual inferiority which has been converted into an argument of continued oppression.

"But does not the history of every oppression teach us how the oppressor ever seeks his justification and his support by appealing to a fact of his own creation?

"The feudal castes that withheld education from the sons of the people, excluded them on the grounds of that very want of education from the rights of the citizen, from the sanctuary wherein laws are framed, and from that right to vote which is the initiation of their social mission. The slave holders in America declared the black race radically inferior and incapable of education, and yet persecuted those who sought to educate them."

"Now," continues Mazzini, "we men have ever been, and still are, guilty of a similar crime towards women. Avoid even the shadow or semblance of this crime; there is none heavier in the sight of God, for it divides the human family into two classes, and imposes or accepts the subjugation of one class to the other.

"In the sight of God there is neither *man* nor *woman*. There is only the *human* being, that being in whom, whether the form be male or female, those characteristics which distinguish humanity from the brute creation are united, namely, the social tendency, and the capacity of education and progress. Like two distinct branches springing from the same trunk, man and woman are varieties springing from the common basis—humanity. There is no inequality between them, but even, as is often the case among men, diversity of tendency and of special vocation. Are two notes of the same musical chord unequal or of different nature?

"Man and woman are the two notes without which the human chord is impossible.

"Consider woman, therefore, as your partner and companion, not merely of your joys and sorrows, but of your thoughts, your aspirations, your studies, and your endeavours after social amelioration. Consider her your equal in your civil and political life. Be ye the two human wings that lift the soul towards the ideal we are destined to attain."

So much for MAZZINI's views on the question of woman as man's equal, his companion and friend, socially and politically.

Now let us turn to :—

II.

OUR DUTIES TOWARDS OUR FAMILY,

with especial reference to the duties of the mother to her children, which are described in many different ways by various thinking men and women.

To begin with, and we are all in accord upon this point, we must love them ; but not with a blind, unreasoning, ruining love. In the name of all that is most sacred, let us never forget that through them we have in charge the future generations ; that towards them, as souls confided to our care, and towards humanity, we are under the heaviest responsibility known to mankind. We are bound to initiate our children, not merely to the joys and desires of life, but to life itself, to its duties, and its moral law of government. Few of us, alas ! thoroughly understand the true gravity of our educational mission. Few mothers, few fathers, realise that the numerous victims, the incessant struggles, and the life-long martyrdoms of our day are in a great measure the fruit of the *egotism* instilled years ago by the weak mothers and heedless fathers who allowed their children to accustom themselves to look upon life, not as a mission and a duty, but as a search after selfish happiness, and a study of their own well-being.

First of all let us love our children ; then let us teach them ; and how ?

By example and by word.

They will resemble us, and become corrupt or virtuous in proportion as we ourselves are corrupt or virtuous.

How can they become honest, charitable, humane, if we are without charity for our brothers and sisters ? How shall they restrain their grosser appetites if they see us give way to intemperance ?

How shall they preserve their native innocence if we shrink not from offending their modesty ?

Parents are the living models by which their children's pliant nature is fashioned. It depends, then, upon us whether they be honest, upright, useful men and women.

We must educate our children by our words. Speak to them of our country, of what she is, and was, and ought to be. Repeat to them the names and deeds of those noble men and women who have loved their country and their people, and who have striven amid sorrows, calumny, and persecution to elevate and help them. Instil into their young hearts the strength to resist injustice and oppres-

sion. Teach them how noble it is to become apostles of the truth, and to sacrifice themselves, if need be, for their fellows. Infuse into their tender minds not merely the energy of resistance to every false or unjust authority, but due reverence for all that is good for themselves and others. See that they grow up enemies alike to tyranny and anarchy, and in the religion of a conscience, *inspired*, but not *enchained*, by tradition.

This is our duty towards our family—to be companions to our husbands in sorrow, in joy, in the home, and in the state, even as we expect them to be to us in return. To educate our children by our own lives and by our words, to live and act as men and women intent not on living to themselves, not on getting the most pleasure, the greatest possible amusement from life, but on helping others and on being true citizens, devoted to humanity and their country.

We cannot teach what we do not ourselves know; then first of all let us learn from the past and from our own time what is needed for men and women; then teach our children to love and reverence, to fight and win, what we love, reverence, and are fighting for.

If only for the one reason of being better able to educate and influence the young lives dependent on us, we women should be actively interested in those questions and movements which through us can help to mould their characters aright.

III.

OUR DUTY TOWARDS OURSELVES.

"You have life, therefore you have a law of life,
To develop yourselves, to act and live according
to your law of life is a duty."

—MAZZINI.

I have tried to show you what I believe to be our duty towards humanity and our country and our duty towards the family, more especially as mothers of future men and women. Now let us look at our duty towards ourselves, for here again we have a task imposed upon us.

Slowly women have awakened to the knowledge of what life is and should be for them; they have struggled to their feet, rubbed their sleepy eyes, and begun to realise that their past has been one long history of oppression.

So soon as women understand this, they will lose no time in seeking for and obtaining the law of freedom.

Man and woman must rise or fall together;

"The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink
Together, dwarf'd or God-like, bond or free."

To place women upon a better, truer foothold in the world, therefore, will benefit not them alone, but the whole race of men and women.

Some have awakened, yet are content. Life with all its work, sorrow, and joy has no pleasure for them, and asleep or awake they are apathetically happy with what is.

"It seems sometimes as if we women had gone halfway across a yawning chasm on a slender bridge. The further shore as we see it now is possibly not all that our fancy pictured: but still it seems more attractive than the one we have left behind. What shall we do, we know that in life there is no going back, nor can we stand on the bridge for ever. Only the future can show how the woman question is going to turn out, and in the meantime the making of the future lies in our own hands."--From "MONA MACLEAN."

No! we are not going to waste time by standing, hesitating, on the bridge. Life is not long enough. Once our minds made up to go forward, may we never hesitate, but still go on. The way will often seem dark and dreary, and sometimes for a little we may lose heart, and even possibly wonder if we are wise in going on. Never fear! Remember our country, humanity, our children, ourselves, and bear in mind that the noblest, best men and women are not those who have lived a life to themselves, a life of ease and pleasure, but those who have fought for others and strengthened their own character through participating in the joys and sorrows of men and women.

CARLYLE has said:—"The latest gospel in the world is, know thy work and do it." This is what we women have to learn; we must be strong and self-reliant, and how difficult it is, surrounded as we are by men and women opposed to the work which we believe is for us to do, scoffed at because the idea of our being of active use outside our homes is new, treated as fanatics, and told we are tired of home-life, husband, and children, when it is for the sake of these that we wage war, and have declared ourselves on the side of perfect equality—political, civil, social, and moral—between men and women.

We have realised that the law of life is *progress*—progress for the individual, progress for humanity.

Progress for women, progress for men.

Truth does not manifest itself suddenly and entirely, but the truth of this will be ere long fully understood, not only through a finer, nobler race of women, but through their influence in the home. Their sons will grow up better men, with higher aspirations, purer in thought and deed, taught by their mothers to shun evil doing, and to look to women for companionship not only in joy and sorrow, but in thought, study, and social endeavours to raise up the fallen and help the weak and down-trodden.

Know all and fear nothing! Let this be our motto.

We must be free to live our lives for ourselves and others as we think best. Without liberty we cannot fulfil any of our duties; without liberty there is no true morality, for if there be not free choice between good and evil, between devotion to the common progress and the spirit of egotism, there can be no responsibility.

It is this liberty we are striving for, for ourselves and all women; liberty which has been denied us in the past; liberty without which we can do nothing in the future.

KINGSLEY says, "Be wise and then you will be free, for then you will be fit to be free."

Yes! We must be very far seeing, very *womanly*, very determined, full of hope, and then we shall win the battle, scattering hostility, apathy, prejudice, and selfishness to the four winds of heaven.

"We toil not for time but for eternity." We toil not for this generation only, but for all men, for all women, and for all time.

Mazzini, at the close of an address to his fellow-countrymen, spoke these words, full of truth and wisdom, with which I cannot do better than end my paper :—

"Your complete emancipation can only be founded and secured upon the triumph of a principle—the principle of the unity of the human family. At the present day one half of the human family—that half from which we seek both inspiration and consolation, that half to which the first education of childhood is entrusted—is, by a singular contradiction, declared civilly, politically, and socially unequal, and excluded from the great unity.

"To you who are seeking your own enfranchisement and emancipation in the name of a religious truth, to you it belongs to protest on every occasion, and by every means, against this negation of unity.

"*The Emancipation of Women*, then, must be regarded by you as necessarily linked with the emancipation of the working man.

"This will give to your endeavours the consecration of an universal truth."

After the reading of this paper the following Resolution, proposed by Mrs. Fordham, seconded by Mrs. Rowland Hill, and supported by Mrs. Ransom, was unanimously adopted :—

> "That this Conference, believing that only by the full recognition of the equal human rights of woman with man, can woman be enabled worthily to fulfil her duty towards herself, her family, her country, and humanity, pledges itself to use every legitimate means to secure this recognition ; and as the surest and speediest means to this end, claims for women the protection and power of the parliamentary vote. That copies of this resolution be signed by the Chairman and sent to the member for the borough, the members for the county, and to the leaders of political parties."

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Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, *Congleton.*

T. GORDON, PRINTER, CONGLETON.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. B. R. TILLMAN

IN THE

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

OF

SOUTH CAROLINA,

ON

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31st, 1895.

SUFFRAGE.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
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SUFFRAGE.

The Convention having under consideration the Article on Right of Suffrage, Mr. Tillman spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I regret that my physical condition is and has been such since Tuesday morning, coupled with enforced attendance upon this Convention, as to render me unable to arrange the data and prepare such a speech as I think the occasion requires. I also feel my inability in a physical way to accomplish what I shall undertake, but I will simply do the best I can.

It has been well said that this is a momentous issue, that this Convention of the people of the State to deal with the question of suffrage will mark an epoch in our history. I may further say that the question of suffrage and its wise regulation is the sole cause of our being here. The prosperity, happiness and progress of this people depend upon its wise solution. The very life of the State is involved in the wisdom or the unwis-

dom of our action. Why do I say this? When the Southern Cross went down in battle and the hopes of the Southern Confederacy were laid in the grave of the "Lost Cause," when we had struggled for four years with a bravery and patriotism and self-sacrifice unparalleled in history for the right of self-government, and for our rights under the Constitution as we conceived and understood them, what came to pass? President Johnson appointed a Provisional Governor, and ordered a Constitutional Convention to be convened to prepare the way for the State of South Carolina to re-enter the Union. That Convention assembled and adopted a Constitution. Under it legislation was enacted; the "Black Code," of which we have heard so much, was part of that legislation. Whatever may be said as to that "Black Code," it gave the Black Republicans, Thad. Stevens and his gang, excuse for their reconstruction deviltry. It was the only pretense they wanted, because these hell hounds, actuated by hate for the Southern people, were determined upon degrading us to the lowest level possible, and they had right at hand an instrument which the most fertile imagination, if it had been given a thousand years to concoct a scheme of revenge, could not have surpassed it. It was the presence among us of our ex-slaves set free by the results of the war.

Actuated solely by the purpose to perpetuate the rule of the Republican party, and with the hellish purpose of venting their rage and hatred upon a conquered people, they passed the Reconstruction Acts, and came very near impeaching Johnson because he had been moving forward contrary to their will. And then they put in motion the forces of the army, which were already here to depose the civil government which we had established, to overthrow the fabric which we were trying to re-erect, and to put in its place the rule of the negro over the Anglo-Saxon. Canby, the Major General in charge of this department, issued his orders calling for the election of delegates to a Constitutional Convention. And in effect he said to the Southern white men: "Attend to your material interests, the army will take care of your government; your help is not wanted, nor will your interference be tolerated"—and the radical ring-streaked and striped carpet-bagger Convention of 1868 assembled. The Constitution which they gave us was submitted to the vote of the people—to the negroes, in fact. All our then leaders, without exception, took the position that this action on the part of Congress and the United States army was outside of the Constitution and must fall. They advised our Southern white men to remain at home and pay no attention to it; that it would drop of its own illegality; and the consequence was no white man participated in the election to ratify the Constitution, It was pushed through at the polls, guarded all over the State by bayonets, and we were placed under the rule of our ex-slaves. A Legislature was elected under that Constitution, and an ex-army officer, Robert K. Scott, was elected Governor. The State House was filled with the minions of Black Republicanism, officered and led by white thieves, who came here for the express purpose of getting rich at the expense of our impoverished and fallen people.

The first Legislature under the Radical and carpet-bag regime met in November, 1868. It was composed in both branches exclusively, except from two or three white Counties, of carpet-baggers and negroes. I have attempted to get the figures as to the number of negroes in the four

Legislatures which met during those eight years of misrule. I have not been able to do so; but my recollection of the statements made in the public press at the time is that there was a small majority of white men in the first, and in the second and third a large majority of negroes. I have the figures as to the fourth—1874-75—when there were fifteen Senators who were colored and sixty-one colored Representatives.

Now, sir, to give a clear idea of the results of the rule of those people during those eight years of misgovernment and robbery, I must beg your pardon while I read some figures gathered by the Investigating Committee, appointed by the General Assembly, which, in 1877, took up this question and gathered such testimony as would place on record for the benefit of future historians the facts as to the hellish work accomplished through Canby and his carpet-baggers who had been foisted upon this people by the bayonet.

THE PUBLIC CREDIT.

The amount of the public debt July, 1868, when the Radicals went into power, was $7,162,231, including bills of the Bank of the State. This was the honest debt of the State contracted prior to the war, and I do not hesitate to say here that before 1868, and up to that time, there was no State in this Union whose credit was superior to that which this State enjoyed in the money markets of London and New York.

Now, sir, prior to 1868, under the system of government which had obtained and been in effect here from 1790, during the latter years, in the forties and fifties, the average expenditure of our State government for all purposes per annum was $400,000. Let us make some allowance, if you please, for the inflation of currency just after the war, and the increased value of articles which had to be purchased, and, if you wish, let us add 50 per cent. to that as an average and reasonable estimate as to what it ought to have taken to carry on the government honestly; that would make during the eight years, if you estimate $600,000 as necessary to carry on the State government, $4,800,000. What did these carpet-bag thieves and negroes collect in cash? I will only give the aggregate items here. I hope the reporters will get them and print them for the benefit of the people of this State, as well as the people of the other States. The total amount for the eight years collected in cash by these men was $10,165,114. If you subtract $600,000 annually, it will make $4,800,000. If you please, put it five million, and you will see they collected an excess of $5,000,000 over and above the necessary expenses of the government. Did they stop there? Let me read you a brief letter which our State Treasurer, who is more familiar with this matter than I am, wrote me in answer to the inquiry I made yesterday:

"*Hon. B. R. Tillman.*

"DEAR SIR: Under the Conversion Act of 1869, the Republicans issued $5,965,000 of Conversion Bonds in *excess* of old bonds surrendered, and there were no *vouchers* whatever for this excess. These fraudulent bonds are listed on the New York Stock Exchange to the shame, injury and disgrace of the State to this day."

They are quoted in every price list you see now as non-fundable South Carolina Bonds at one cent on the dollar. When the State Treasurer and myself went to New York three years ago and endeavored to refund your

debt, we were met by Henry Clews and his agents—Clews had been Kimpton's partner in his scheme of robbery—and they dogged us all over New York city with the cry: "Here, pay this debt which bears the seal of South Carolina, or you cannot get any recognition in this money market."

"They also fraudulently issued $1,000,000 bonds in 1868, ostensibly to pay interest on the public debt. The Act authorized the issue of one million, but they issued two millions, one of which was fraudulent. Another fradulent issue was one million for the relief of the Treasury in 1869. The assets of the Bank of the State and the railroad shares held by the State in 1867, amounting to $7,069,674, *disappeared* after the first negro Legislature met in 1868, and the State had to issue $1,259,100 bonds to redeem bills of the Bank of the State in addition to the large amount of these bills received for taxes. For a statement of these frauds see pages 316-317, United States Census, 1880.

"The plunder and destruction of the public funds and property by the negro Legislature and reconstructionists that came into power under the auspices of the Federal Government is, perhaps, without parallel in the history of civilized countries. Money was raised by any and every means found available, with reckless disregard to cost and in violation of every principle of honesty and justice, not to be expended for legitimate public uses, but squandered and embezzled in a manner that defies description, and is almost incredible. This iniquity was accomplished by increased taxation upon onerous assessments of property, the issue of bonds, stocks and certificates in the name of the State by the Legislature, Governors, Treasurer and Speakers House of Representatives and financial agents, and by their sale and hypothecation at frightful reductions in value; by the payment of accounts for unnecessary public printing, for the enrichment of publishing companies; for bills for legislative service; for wines, groceries and dry goods (these last alone amounting to $543,232); by the reproduction and repayment of warrants and coupons that had already been paid, but had never been cancelled, and even by the 'raising' of checks on public account by interpolation and alteration of figures, etc.

"Respectfully,

"W. T. C. BATES, State Treasurer."

Now, this is a long story, Mr. President, and I shall not attempt to rehearse it in all of its details. I shall only attempt to jump from one mammoth and gigantic steal to another. I will not attempt to take them up chronologically. I have not had the time to arrange the data. I will read here, for the benefit of this Convention, an extract from the report of the Investigating Committee, of which my distinguished colleague, Governor Sheppard, was a member, so you may see and learn some of the infamies practiced by these legislators and those in control of our affairs.

The Committee says:

"The legislative pay certificate was the fountain head and nursery of many of the frauds, forgeries and perjuries exposed in this report. Through this source the most flagrant violations of law were committed, whereby the State was annually robbed of amounts ranging from two hundred thousand to one million of dollars, including fraudulent printing certificates, which were collected and divided between the officials, Senators, members of the House, and political hangers-on of the administration. To perpetuate the power and influence of the Republican party it was necessary to have a ready and unfailing reservoir of funds. No simpler or easier way suggested itself than the issuing of pay certificates by the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate. Thus it became not only possible but practicable to perpetuate the numerous frauds in the public printing and supplies, to which we

have already referred. Indeed, this, like the famous hydra, threw out its hundred heads, encircling and poisoning every department of the government, and giving comfort and support to local leaders. In its trail followed the low, despicable forgeries and perjuries necessary to effect the end proposed. It is not surprising that the poor and ignorant members of the General Assembly fell into these practices, when they were conceived and brought forth by such adroit swindlers as those who led. This immense fund produced and nurtured a bond ring, a printing ring, and this legislative ring—the most popular and at the same time most unscrupulous. It is evident, from the testimony, that such a source of revenue as this was indispensable to silence any complaint, and to pacify the fears of the timid and the greed of the avaricious, whilst the other great rings were in successful progress.

"Among the many remarkable and famous leaders in this enterprise, without at all intending to disparage the claims of others, your Committee must mention the names of F. J. Moses, who issued and sold, and John J. Patterson, who became the purchaser. These two stand out in bold relief, as twin stars, shedding a baleful light upon all who approach them. The evidence which we append will fully justify the conclusion which your Committee has reached. The table submitted with this report shows, among other things, that in one session there was issued $1,168,255 in pay certificates (not including printing certificates), every dollar of which was a robbery, except about two hundred thousand dollars due the members of the Senate and House and regularly elected and appointed attaches of the General Assembly. The evidence of more than one witness shows that it was a race between the bond ring, composed of a limited number, and the General Assembly, as to who should receive the most of the money raised by taxation and the sale of bonds. It was decided that the greatest good could be accomplished by distributing the money to the greatest number, and members of the General Assembly, therefore, became the beneficiaries. An unlimited number of certificates were issued on the written or verbal order of the presiding officers, and the Chairmen of Standing or Special Committees."

LEGISLATIVE SUPPLIES.

Now, sir, I will take up the question of supplies furnished the Legislature. I beg again to read:

"The Committee respectfully invite attention to the evidence and vouchers submitted with this report, under the head of 'Supplies.' The abuses have been so great and of such a palpable nature that the most credulous person would hardly believe that such frauds could be perpetrated under the forms of legislation. History fails to cite an instance which can be compared with such a carnival of fraud and extravagance as has been held in South Carolina by and through the purchase of supplies for the members of the General Assembly.

"'Under the head of Supplies,' says Josephus Woodruff, Clerk of the Senate, 'was embraced anything that a Senator chose to order. These orders were generally given through the Clerk, and the accounts were rendered against the Clerk of the Senate. At first the orders were moderate, and included only stationery and postage stamps, but they gradually increased until they assumed gigantic proportions. In the commencement of this business of furnishing members, they gave orders on the Clerks to deduct the amounts from their pay, but very soon the orders largely exceeded their pay, and the accounts were then included in the report of the Committee on Contingent Accounts, and pay certificates thus issued for almost every description of merchandise.

"In addition to this, pay certificates were drawn and turned over to the Chairman of the Committee on Contingent Accounts for collection and distribution. As the matters became common, the Senators claimed that all their expenses should be paid by the State, or, in the language of Senator C. P. Leslie, 'the State had no right to be a State unless she could pay and take care of her statesmen.'"

C. P. Leslie, I believe, was a negro.

A DELEGATE: No, he was a white man.

SENATOR TILLMAN: He was so much the bigger rascal then.

Mr. WIGG (a colored delegate): All those you are reading about are white men.

SENATOR TILLMAN: I will find you plenty of "nigs" after a while, Wigg. [Laughter.]

The Committee further say, in their report:

"A room in the State House was fitted up wherein to serve 'wines, liquors, eatables and cigars' to State officials, Senators, members of the House and their friends, at all hours of the day and night. Woodruff's evidence is that the largest bills were rendered for refreshments, including the best liquors and cigars, which were served up in a room adjoining that of the Clerk of the Senate, and kept open at all hours, and was visited daily by State officials, Judges, Senators, members of the House, lawyers, editors, newspaper reporters and citizens generally, irrespective of party, and that they discussed matters, State and National, in the most agreeable manner over their sparkling glasses. Not satisfied with the establishment of a bar room in the Capitol, they employed a porter, who had charge of the 'refreshment' room. The porter states that for six years the State House bar room was generally opened at eight o'clock in the morning and kept open until from two to four the next morning; that during that time some one was constantly there eating, smoking or drinking, and that Sunday formed no exception to the rule."

Now, sir, to show you the rapid development of taste and the extravagance of our statesmen of both colors, here is a table of contrasts as to what they thought they ought to have in 1869-70, and what they considered necessary to their comfort in 1871-72.

1869–70.	1871–72.
In 1869-70, $5 clocks satisfied them,	but in 1872 clocks went up to $600.
Forty-cent spittoons in 1869,	as against $8 cuspadores in 1872.
Four-dollar benches	as against $200 crimson plush sofas.
Straw beds	as against sponge mattresses and oriental pillows. [Laughter].
One-dollar chairs	as against $60 crimson plush Gothic chairs.
Four-dollar pine tables	as against $80 library tables.
Twenty-five-cent hat pegs	as against $30 hat racks.
Eight-dollar desks	as against $50 desks.
Ten-dollar office desks	as against $80 to $175 office desks.
Fifty-cent coat hooks	as against $100 wardrobes.
Cheap matting	as against body brussels carpeting.
Clay pipes	as against the finest Havana cigars.
Cheap whiskey	as against champagne.
Four-dollar looking glasses	as against $600 mirrors.
Two-dollar window curtains	as against $600 brocatel curtains, lambrequins.
Five-dollar cornices	as against $80 walnut and gilt cornices.

Then follows itemized bills of legislative "Supplies," showing everything and anything that merchants anywhere ever bought and sold. Well, I reckon that is enough of that, I must move on. I am in so much filth that it is nearly up to my neck, and I do not want to get buried in it, or tire your patience.

The next subject I take up is the public printing. I will give you some statistics collected by this Committee from the official records, showing the amount of printing, the money expended for printing during those eight years of negro domination: Sessions 1868-69, $21,124; 1869-70, $45,000; 1870-71, $152,465; 1871-72, $173,000; 1872-73, $450,000. That's the highest point reached. We come down the next session, which cost $385,000, and then having got broke, having destroyed the credit of the State, having exhausted all means of bamboozling and fooling anybody to trust them, they got back to $50,000 a year for the last two years they were in power, during which period, as the gentleman from Beaufort said, Mr. Cardozo brought in his reform financial measures. The aggregate in the eight years is $1,326,589. This Committee tabulated from the archives of the State the amount expended by the State of South Carolina from 1790 to 1868 for public printing, and it aggregated only $609,000 for the seventy-eight years, showing an excess of cost of printing during the eight years of Republican administration over the seventy-eight previous years of $717,589.

I told you a moment ago that in 1872-73 the amount expended for public printing was $450,000. The Committee also prepared another table of statistics gathered from official sources by correspondence, showing the cost of printing for one year in the States of Louisiana, North Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Texas, Missouri, Maryland, Virginia, Arkansas, Kentucky. They aggregated $278,241 for their public printing, as follows:

PUBLIC PRINTING—YEAR 1877.

Louisiana	$40,528 71
North Carolina	18,281 31
Mississippi	18,439 85
Florida	19,669 35
Alabama	17,000 00
Tennessee	11,402 60
Georgia	12,904 00
Texas	31,163 47
Missouri	27,000 00
Maryland	25,000 00
Virginia	29,812 00
Arkansas	13,040 00
Kentucky	13,999 71

Leaving a balance against our negro and carpet-bag rulers of $171,759 necessary to defray the expenses of public printing.

Now, sirs, how was this brought about? Here is the testimony of Josephus Woodruff, Clerk of the Senate, who, with A. O. Jones, Clerk of the House, and with Neagle, Comptroller General, were copartners in the firm of the Republican Printing Company. Woodruff says:

"When it became necessary to get appropriations through, I became aware of the absolute necessity of paying for the passage, and we added the estimate for these ex-

penses to the amounts of our accounts in order to save ourselves from loss. One-half or more of the total amount of appropriations for the Republican Printing Company was paid to State officials and members of the General Assembly.

"There were no specific appropriations then, and printing claims were paid out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated. Even then it was almost impossible to obtain payment of our claims direct from the treasury. On presentation of a claim, Mr. Parker would refer us to Mr. Neagle, who was the only party he knew had money. In this way we discounted our claims, frequently selling them at twenty-five and thirty cents on the dollar in order to carry on our work, which was very heavy. As an alternative we had to take Neagle into partnership. I submit here copy of partnership agreement, dated July 1st, 1872, between Woodruff, Jones and Neagle, witnessed by LeGrand Benedict. When Cardozo took possession of the office of Treasurer I endeavored to perfect the same arrangement as to percentage that I had with Parker. He said that he had decided not to pay out any money for an object unless there was a specific appropriation. That necessitated the introduction of a Bill for the payment of our claims before the Legislature. An itemized bill was accordingly made, presented, passed upon by the Committee in both houses and an appropriation of $250,000 made for the payment of the claims of the Republican Printing Company. Governor Moses was paid $20,000 to sign the Bill.

In this connection it pains me to have to read, Mr. President, a document to be found in the Senate Journal, 1873, which is as follows:

"SENATE COMMITTEE ROOMS, COLUMBIA, S. C., October 30, 1873.

"The Committee on Printing, of the Senate, to whom was referred a Bill to make appropriations for the payment of the expenses of printing, have had the same under careful consideration, and beg leave to report:

"That the work ordered by Concurrent Resolution of the General Assembly at its last session is of highest importance to the State, not only because of the information that it affords the immigrant, but as furnishing a valuable record in history. The Committee examined specimens of a portion of the work now in progress, and, after a patient hearing of the Clerks of the two Houses as to the time, labor and expense involved, believe the appropriation asked for this purpose to be just and reasonable.

"In regard to the appropriation for the payment of the printing of the Supreme Court decisions, the Committee, on reference to Chapter 104, page 495, Revised Statutes, find that while the Comptroller General is authorized to draw his warrants for the publication of these decisions, no appropriations have been made for the payment of the warrants, thereby rendering further legislative action necessary to authorize the Treasurer to pay for the work.

"With reference to the last item of appropriation asked for by the Bill, the Committee find that in the reassessment of property for the fiscal year 1873–74 the Comptroller General ordered the reprinting of the blank tax assessments, tax returns and other necessary papers for carrying out the Act passed at the last session of the General Assembly providing for a reassessment of the taxable property of the State, and the Committee are perfectly satisfied of the justness of this claim.

"The Committee, in justice to the State Printers, also beg leave to state that they have carried on their work, as shown your Committee, at heavy sacrifices on account of the State Treasurer's inability to meet the former appropriations made by the General Assembly. Their contract has been faithfully observed and their work well and promptly executed. The Committee, therefore, recommend that the Bill do pass.

"(Signed) ROBERT SMALLS, Chairman.
THAD. C. ANDREWS,
H. J. MAXWELL,
C. D. HAYNE,
B. F. WHITTEMORE."

The same Woodruff testified, and he brought his bank checks, and the Committee, in searching, went to the bank and found certificates of deposit to prove, that he had issued checks to bearer for the following amounts paid to Senators, beginning with Moses, the Governor, who was a native South Carolinian, $20,000, then to Neagle, who was their partner, $40,000, Melton & Chamberlain, $10,000, F. L. Cardozo, $12,500, and coming on down through a lot of Senators, $5,000 each, we find the name of Robert Smalls, and so on, aggregating $112,550 that they paid to that wing or branch of the General Assembly. A. O. Jones testified that he paid the House $55,000; so it seems that the House sold itself disreputably cheap as compared with those that presided at the other end of the Capitol.

But listen again. They found that the $250,000, after paying out one hundred and eighty odd thousand of it, would not work, wouldn't go around, so they made up a bill of deficiencies, amounting to $231,000. And Woodruff goes on and says:

"For the payment of this amount certificates of indebtedness, which I have already alluded to, were ordered to be issued to the company. In order to effect this, as against the bitter opposition of the other ring, I again interested the Senators and paid them the following sums."

And here follows another list of $5,000, $2,000 and $1,000 down to $500 to this same blessed set of statesmen, aggregating $57,200, in addition to the $112,000 they had already received. No wonder that the printing account was $450,000 that year. I can produce the proof, for it is here, the testimony of the cashier of the bank as to the deposit of a certain check on a certain day by Robert Smalls. I have here on my desk his pardon by the Governor in 1879, but it is unnecessary to exhibit it. He disputes and denies his guilt. It is natural that he should. These people have forced me, by endeavoring to claim that it was white men and not negroes who did these wrongs, to unearth these records from our archives and bring them here and let the world know that these men who stand here and clamor for justice for their race perpetrated these damnable robberies as well as infamies when they were in power.

PRINTING STEALS AND SMALLS' CONNECTION WITH THEM.

There are two transactions between Josephus Woodruff and Robert Smalls in the matter of public printing.

One in the fall or the winter of 1870. In connection with this we quote from Woodruff's testimony, page 215, Report on Frauds:

"He swears: 'In the fall or winter of 1870 the Carolina Printing Company was organized by Messrs. J. W. Denny, R. K. Scott, N. G. Parker, D. H. Chamberlain, J. W. Morris and L. Cass Carpenter. This company owned the *Daily Union* of Columbia and the Charleston *Republican*. Senator Leslie told Woodruff that 'the friends' in the Senate thought that, as this was a matter of Senate patronage, they should have a percentage of the profits from the printing. In order to carry out the wishes of 'the friends,' Mr. Leslie proposed that pay certificates for various amounts, ranging from three to five thousand dollars, for current printing be drawn, and one-third or one-fourth of the amount realized be given to the Chairman of the

Committee on Printing for division among 'the friends,' including some fifteen or sixteen Senators. This system was carried out as long as moneys could be paid out of any sums in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, and was only checked and stopped when the law for specific appropriations and payments was enacted.'

"The certificates were usually discounted at the South Carolina Bank and Trust Company, of which bank Governor R. K. Scott, Treasurer Niles G. Parker and Attorney General Chamberlain were stockholders. The checks in the hands of the Committee are but a portion of the amounts paid during the time of the above arrangements. The money was deposited to the credit of the Printing Company, and sometimes, according to the witness, division or gratification checks were drawn against deposits in the Carolina National Bank and Central National Bank, which checks, he supposes, are still held by these banks. The testimony of Woodruff, corroborated by the checks in the hands of your Committee, shows that the following named persons received the amounts severally annexed to their names under said arrangements."

Here are mentioned the names of twenty-eight Senators and Representatives who received amounts ranging from $50 to $5,000. Among them Senator Smalls received two checks, amounting to $250.

L. N. Zealy, who was connected with the South Carolina Bank and Trust Company, (page 354, Report on Public Frauds), swears:

"I have also examined the following checks, payable to Robt. Smalls or order and R. Smalls or order, signed by J. Woodruff for Republican Printing Company, and find that they have been paid by the South Carolina Bank and Trust Company, and charged to the account of J. Woodruff for the Republican Printing Company, endorsed by Robt. Smalls, one bearing this additional endorsement: 'Pay to the order of J. C. Roath, Esq., cashier. Nathan Ritter, cashier.' Which endorsement indicates that it has passed through the bank in Charleston for collection.

"No. 19.] COLUMBIA, S. C., April 3d, 1871.

"South Carolina Bank and Trust Company of Columbia: Pay to Robt. Smalls or order $200.

J. WOODRUFF,
"For Republican Printing Company.

"[Endorsed: Pay to the order of J. C. Roath, Esq., cashier. Nathan Ritter, cashier. Robert Smalls. Also the figures 138.]

"No. 41.] COLUMBIA, S. C., July 5th, 1871.

"South Carolina Bank and Trust Company of Columbia: "Pay to R. Smalls or order fifty dollars ($50).

J. WOODRUFF,
"For Republican Printing Company.

"[Endorsed Robt. Smalls.]"

THE $5,000 FRAUD.

The second transaction between Josephus Woodruff and Robert Smalls was pertaining to the appropriation of $250,000 to the Republican Printing Company.

The Senate Committee on Printing, of which Robert Smalls was Chairman, and Thad. C. Andrews, H. J. Maxwell, C. D. Hayne and B. F. Whittemore were members, recommended that "the Bill do pass." (Page 263, Report on Frauds as quoted above).

Josephus Woodruff testified (page 265, Report on Frauds): "I can enumerate but a portion of the amounts paid on the passage of the appropriation of $250,000." He here mentioned a list of thirty Senators and others receiving sums ranging from $50 to $40,000, among whom is Senator R. Smalls, $5,000.

Josephus Woodruff continued: "The above, which foots up a total of $112,550, does not include payments made by Mr. Jones to members and officers of the House of Representatives, which I feel assured would make at least $30,000 more. Add to this amount the then existing liabilities of the company, $80,000, and it will be seen the whole amount paid out of that appropriation was $217,550, leaving a balance of $32,450 for the support of the printing establishment and work of the session of 1872–73. The work of this session was enormous. It is true that additional appropriations of $50,000 for the current printing and $50,000 for the permanent printing of that session were made, but the amounts were not paid, nor provision made for payment, until the session of 1873–74, when certificates of indebtedness, receivable for taxes, were ordered to be issued to the Printing Company in payment of their claim."

Now, here is the evidence which fastens the bribery on Smalls:

ZEALY'S TESTIMONY.

"Lawrence N. Zealy, being recalled, says (Pages 360-361, Report on Frauds): 'I have examined the following check, No. 17, payable to cash, signed by J. Woodruff, amounting to five thousand dollars:

"No. 17. COLUMBIA, S. C., January 19, 1873.

"South Carolina Bank and Trust Company of Columbia: Pay to cash or bearer five thousand dollars.

"$5,000. "J. WOODRUFF.

"[Endorsed 'A,' and the figures 584].

"And find on reference to Journal 'A,' page 437, of books South Carolina Bank and Trust Company, on Saturday, January, 1873, check for five thousand dollars, charged to J. Woodruff. The check bears date 19th January, 1873, and, the necessary amount of funds being to the credit of J. Woodruff, was charged to his account on Saturday, the 18th January, 1873, Sunday being the 19th January, 1873. I also find, in individual ledger, page 584, as designated on margin of Journal 'A,' page 437, the same amount charged to J. Woodruff, and that said check appears by following deposit slip, viz.:

"SOUTH CAROLINA BANK AND TRUST COMPANY,
"COLUMBIA, S. C., January, 18, 1873.

"Deposited by Hon. Robert Smalls.

Gold		
Currency		
Checks W	$ 5,000	
Total		

"The above having been placed to the credit of the Hon. Robert Smalls, for, upon examination of Journal B, page 437, Saturday, January 18, 1873, I find the following entry: 'Hon. Robert Smalls, credited five thousand dollars.' And by reference to the following number (875) on said page 437 of Journal B, which number (875) refers to the number of the page on which the account headed 'Hon. Robert Smalls' appears, the following entry is found: '1873. January 18. By deposit, (No. 437), $5,000. (Individual Ledger.)' Said deposit check, referred to above, bears the letter 'W' after the word 'check,' on same line, which indicates that the deposit made was a check; and it was the habit of the officers of the bank, when a check was deposited by any person, to place the first letter of the maker of the check's name upon the deposit slip. From the appearance of the letter 'W' and the entry in the books, I have no hesitation in saying that it refers to the check of J. Woodruff, charged on the same day to J. Woodruff's account and placed to the credit of the Hon. Robert Smalls."

It has been claimed that, as January 19th, 1873, was Sunday, there is a mistake. It is evident, however, that this was simply a clerical error, likely to be made in any transaction, for the books of the bank show that the money was deposited on January 18th. However, it is conclusive, from the testimony of Zealy, that Smalls did receive the check, and that the check was fraudulent.

LEGISLATIVE EXPENSES.

The next thing, after passing from this matter of printing, to which I will direct your attention, is the table prepared by the same Committee from the records covering legislative expenses. I will not attempt to tire the patience of this body by going over the figures; I will pick out items here and there, and print the whole for the information of those who shall read this *expose*. The number of clerks employed in 1870–71 was 349. We have been wrangling here to-day about keeping seven poor little fellows who came here to do clerical work. 1872, 176; 1873–74, 126, and so on through the list. They had 124 pages one session. [Laughter.] One for every member of the House. [Laughter.] They had 144 messengers one year and 212 another. The total amount expended under the head of legislative expenses during the first two years was $822,000; during the next year, $1,533,574; the next year, $908,855, and the next year, $922,536. [The table referred to is folded in here.]

GIGANTIC SWINDLES.

Now, not satisfied that the taxes were five million more than were necessary, you will recall that the State Treasurer spoke of the disappearance of seven millions of assets belonging to the State, being the assets of the Bank of the State and the stock of the State in different railroads which she had lent her credit to. Here is what the Committee says about it:

"Since the day of the coming of this man to South Carolina there has been perpetrated upon the people of the State a series of frauds, great and small, many of which have been already made the subject of comment, and all of which mark out together an era challenging comparison for its infamy with any history within the period of modern times. In each case the familiar footprints of this man are to be seen and measured, and most to be found in the forefront of the mottled army of plunderers, as 'the years of good stealing in South Carolina' have come and gone."

That was one of his *bon mots* which he got off, I suppose, in the State House bar-room, when he remarked that there were "five more years of good stealing in South Carolina." This is the only record he has left here in the memory of these people. In a general way, if you ever hear his name mentioned, some one speaks and says: "Oh, yes, he is the one who said that there were five more years of good stealing in South Carolina."

The Committee says further:

"At that time the State owned large amounts of stock in various railroad companies in the State, which had been acquired in consideration of public bounties conferred upon these corporations, and also other property of various descriptions, which for the moment was not productive of income. The most direct method of securing the controlling interest was to procure legislation to authorize the sale of the stock held by the State in the Greenville and Columbia Railroad Company, and to this end the Act was passed creating the Sinking Fund Commission, composed of Governor Scott, Attorney General Chamberlain, Comptroller Neagle, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the House, and the Chairman of the Committee on Finance in the Senate, and authorizing them to sell all unproductive property belonging to the State. Ostensibly the purpose of this Act was to dispose of the

EXHIBIT J. O. H.

Showing the Expenditures on Account of Legislative Expenses for the Several Sessions of 1870-71, 1871-72, 1872-73, 1873-74, and the number of Officers and Attachees employed under Republican Administrations as contrasted with like Expenditures, Sessions 1876-77, under Democratic Rule.

[Columns with an asterisk represent amounts settled by Comptroller General Warrants through "Big Bonanza Warrants."]

ADMINISTRATIONS.	Sessions of.	No. of Clerks.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Laborers.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Doorkeepers.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Firemen.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Cloakmen.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Janitors.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Messengers.	Amount of Pay.	Night Watchmen.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Porters.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Pages.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Sergeants-at-Arms.	Amount of Pay.	No. of Solicitors.	Amount of Pay.	Number of Stenographers.	Amount of Pay.	Legislative Account, Clerk Force.	Stationery.	Fuel.	Newspapers.	Postage Stamps.	Telegrams.	Furniture.	Rent of Committee Rooms.	Improvement Trees.	House Joint Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.	Amount Paid Reports.	Printing.	Total Number of Employees.	Total Amount Paid Employees.	Total Legislative Expenses.
Republican administration.	1870-71	349	$78,001 00	14	$ 1,075 00	31	$2,007 98	3	$ 397 00	3	$ 1,182 00	2	$336 00	144	$ 21,165 50	2	$450 00	170	$18,205 00	134	$6,004 00	17	$2,830 00	22	$ 9,515 00	17	$ 4,636 00	$13,392 00	$ 157,747 30	$20,190 00	$ 22 00	$ 3,535 00	$ 650 87	$ 332 45	$ 37,000 00	$ 1,448 00	$ 1,140 00	$41,000 00	$ 105,000 00	$ 172,595 00	888	$ 149,327 00	
*Republican administration.	1870-71	.....	1,764 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	135 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,175 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	96 00	52 88	.....	.....	642 00	.....	.....	.....	41 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	$ 822,998 88
Republican administration.	1871-72	475	18,480 00	16	520 00	16	2,835 50	14	1,036 00	3	870 00	5	703 00	212	147,349 50	2	372 00	93	94,670 73	74	4,200 00	7	1,736 00	27	8,179 00	5	1,037 00	68,616 00	383,388 50	68,445 39	10,023 00	4,433 00	1,598 54	465 10	116,578 00	3,676 00	.....	.....	102,900 00	173,000 00	879	359,392 00	
*Republican administration.	1871-72	.....	30,859 00	.....	413 00	.....	938 00	.....	530 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,488 00	.....	338 50	.....	3,960 00	.....	3,967 00	.....	306 00	.....	2,350 00	.....	340 00	4,511 00	19,136 00	4,370 00	1,085 00	815 00	.....	.....	.....	100 00	3,000 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	$ 1,593,374 78
Republican administration.	1872-73	176	59,851 00	17	13,340 00	15	2,870 00	10	1,954 00	3	465 00	2	104 00	32	2,008 00	3	486 00	4	530 00	30	1,497 00	8	3,935 00	13	3,816 00	2	893 00	68,306 00	23,450 00	22,594 00	1,842 00	1,842 00	1,132 00	397 00	17,380 00	3,400 00	30 00	.....	105,000 00	460,000 00	315	91,888 00	
*Republican administration.	1872-73	.....	5,851 00	.....	2,440 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,172 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,497 00	27,962 00	8,372 00	.....	1,807 00	.....	.....	822 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	$ 906,855 00
Republican administration.	1873-74	126	58,160 00	159	35,332 00	13	4,343 00	8	886 00	3	660 00	2	824 00	38	4,335 00	4	497 00	9	1,054 00	41	3,052 00	12	2,325 00	16	6,379 00	.....	.....	34,613 00	34,367 00	3,166 00	.....	5,767 00	.....	.....	5,780 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	385,000 00	423	109,435 00	
*Republican administration.	1873-74	.....	7,168 00	.....	6,937 00	.....	200 00	.....	199 00	.....	1,422 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,359 00	.....	22,648 00	19,141 00	2,872 00	.....	1,200 00	.....	378 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	$ 922,536 00
Democratic administration.	1877	22	6,415 00	6	262 00	4	470 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42	198 00	1	47 00	3	94 00	8	376 00	3	685 00	2	420 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,380 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	58,140 00	6,022 00	50	8,077 00	84,096 00

damaged granite and marble and other material lying around the State House grounds. The real purpose was consummated by the sale of 21,698 shares of stock in the Greenville and Columbia Railroad Company—which cost the State $20 per share, aggregating $433,960—at $2.75 per share, aggregating $59,969.50. This was followed, of course, by a sacrifice of the interest of the State in all other railroad corporations and the accumulation of a fund, all of which (in gross violation of the letter of the Act) was transferred to the Financial Agent and lost. The evidence hereto appended is conclusive that this Act was passed by bribery, the means for which were furnished by H. H. Kimpton. The stock was sold without advertisement on the day after the Bill was passed and approved, and without any action of the Commissioners either authorizing its sale or limiting the price at which it should be sold, and was paid for by Kimpton's receipt as Financial Agent in New York for the amount of the bid. No money passed, and the fund transferred to Kimpton's books was 'sunk' beyond recovery in the devious processes of hypothecation and general bond swindling.

"After a majority of the stock in the Company was obtained by this arrangement and by purchases from private parties and the ring thus placed in control of its affairs, the scheme which was the objective point of the operation was brought into play in the shape of a 'Bill relating to the Greenville and Columbia Railroad Company' (prepared by Attorney General Chamberlain, and on the 17th day of February, 1871, introduced by Timothy Hurley, one of the ring) for the purpose of a further issue of bonds and giving them a value in the market. * * * In the fifth Section of this Act will be found the gist of the matter. The State then held a lien for indemnity against her endorsement upon one million and a half of guaranteed bonds of this company, so that subsequent bonds would be of little or no value and could not be sold by the ring. By this Section the lien was postponed to bonds to be issued under a second mortgage, thus enabling the ring to divide and put their bonds on the market, whilst the only security held by the State was swept away and a contingent debt of fifteen hundred thousand dollars fixed upon the State without indemnity."

Who were the partners in this swindle? "The Financial Board was composed of Governor Scott, Treasurer Parker, and Attorney General Chamberlain. Kimpton paid out of the proceeds of the sale of State bonds the money for a share and a half for Neagle, Comptroller General, who had the general supervision of the bonded debt; one share for Crews, who was Chairman of the Committee on Railroads in the House; one-quarter share for Cardozo, Secretary of State, who had the sealing of all the bonds; two and a half shares for Waterman, for Governor Scott; one-half share for Attorney General Chamberlain, and two shares for Kimpton himself, and one share for Leslie, Land Commissioner." These are the men who stole all the State's interest in the Greenville and Columbia Railroad, then had the Legislature, after they had gotten control of the railroad, to steal the balance from the widows and orphans and other stockholders of the State. They got their power to do these infamies through the members from Beaufort and other negroes who misrepresented our people in those days under bayonet rule and carpet-bag government. One of these swindlers was Chamberlain (bear it in your memories), who on his return to this State five or six years ago, as Receiver of the South Carolina Railroad, was received with open doors by society in Charleston.

MAJOR BARKER, of Charleston: "Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him for a moment? Do I understand the gentleman to assert from his

own knowledge the statement that Chamberlain was received with open arms by the society of Charleston?"

MR. TILLMAN: "No, sir; I only judge by what I saw in the newspaper."

MAJOR BARKER: "I beg leave to state on my authority that this is not true."

MR. TILLMAN: "Thank God! Then the *News and Courier* lied on you (laughter), because I received the impression from reading in that paper during the residence of that infamous scoundrel in your city that he was received on terms of social equality everywhere he went."

MAJOR BARKER: "I hope the gentleman will accept my statement."

MR. TILLMAN: "I thank God that you have been wronged and the good people of Charleston have been wronged in the minds of the balance of the State."

DELEGATE MILLER, of Beaufort, raising his right hand: "I hold up my right hand and swear that I saw the flower of Charleston society and the lawyers hobnobbing with Chamberlain in his car. If you want to swear me, do so," still holding high his right hand.

MAJOR BARKER (addressing himself to Senator Tillman): "I would not have risen to notice your remark but for the fact that my silence would have been accepted as an admission by me of its truth, and I have no right by such silence to aid in casting any such reflection upon the society of Charleston."

SENATOR TILLMAN: "If I have done the people of Charleston a wrong I am sorry for it, but I am not responsible for the impression created, and I leave it to this Convention if it has not been the general belief throughout this State by those who read those papers that such was the fact."

THE IMPEACHMENT SWINDLE.

The next steal to which I will direct your attention briefly is what is called the "impeachment swindle;" and again John J. Patterson shines out with an immoral pre-eminence as the prince of scoundrels.

Again let the Investigating Committee speak:

"The second noteworthy achievement of John J. Patterson, following that connected with the Columbia and Greenville Railroad Company, was in quite a different field of action. The investigations made into the management of the issuing, sale and hypothecation of State bonds made it plain that the Financial Board, composed of Governor Scott, Treasurer Parker and Attorney General Chamberlain, had fraudulently and illegally issued several millions of State bonds, and it was determined to bring these parties to trial by impeachment. C. C. Bowen, then a member from Charleston, on the 18th of December, 1871, introduced a resolution to impeach R. K. Scott of high crimes and misdemeanors. This was Patterson's opportunity. With the assistance of Worthington, he gave encouragement by day to the friends of the measure, and by night worked upon the credulity of Scott, 'running with the hare and holding with the hounds.' When the scheme was ripe, and Scott became thoroughly alarmed, he engaged the services of those worthies to buy up a majority of the members of the House, and issued to them for this purpose three 'armed force' warrants, in blank as to amounts and names of persons to whom payable, leaving these important matters to be attended to by Patterson. In 1869 the Joint Resolution was passed authorizing the Governor to employ an armed force 'for the preservation of the peace,' the expenses of which were to be 'paid out of any funds in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.' It was from this convenient fund, then ready to hand, that the warrants were drawn—one filled up with the name of John Mooney for $25,545, another in the name of John Leggett for $10,600, and the third

in the name of David H. Wilson for $13,500. All of these names are fictitious, but were nevertheless endorsed on the warrants. The two first were collected by F. S. Jacobs, who was cashier of Hardy Solomon's bank, and Patterson's confidential friend. The third order was collected by Hardy Solomon, president of the bank. The financial arrangement thus concluded, Patterson and Worthington did their work faithfully, and with the money of the State bought for Scott and Parker immunity for their crimes.

"In the progress of this double-dyed villainy, it became evident that if an adjournment over to the holidays could be effected, and the members then permitted to return to their homes, where the sentiment of the people was unanimous against the thieves, it would require more money to purchase the recusant members than the State Treasury could afford.

"Another source of annoyance to the financial ring was the report of the Joint Investigating Committee, which was already printed and ready for delivery, and which fully established their guilt. Whipper had the floor, and intended to speak until the hour of adjournment had arrived, and unless he could be seated the vote could not be had before adjournment. In this emergency the services of the Speaker, F. J. Moses, Jr., were secured by the payment of a large sum of money out of the militia fund, whereupon Samuel J. Lee, a ready tool of the ring, rose to a question of privilege, upon which Moses ruled promptly, and thus removed Whipper from the floor. Meantime, Governor Scott had issued a proclamation convening the General Assembly on the day following the day fixed for adjournment, on the dignified ground that it was 'neither decent nor proper, and is injurious to the State, for the General Assembly to adjourn from the 22d of December, 1871, to the 5th of January, 1872, whilst the Governor and Treasurer are charged with high crimes and misdemeanors'. The high and chivalric tone of these two worthies, who could steal the money of the people by the millions, and yet could not brook the indignity of remaining under a threat of impeachment for a week, even for the sake of the joyous festivity of Christmas, ought to have redeemed a multitude of sins. Under such threats and persuasions and preliminary trickery further debate was cut off, and the resolution of impeachment was defeated by an overwhelming vote—63 to 27. In this controversy R. B. Elliott bore a prominent part in behalf of the persecuted officials, and received warrants on the 'armed force fund' to the amount of $10,500, which were fully paid to him out of the Treasury in January and February, 1872."

And then they go on and show how the warrants were paid. I notice here the name of W. J. Whipper, another delegate on this floor, whose pathetic appeal and eloquent portrayal of the consequences of our act should we pass the suffrage plan has been sent broadcast. Whipper's name appears in a good light in the impeachment swindle. He was among those who were endeavoring to impeach Scott. He was on the floor, and the hour for adjournment was fixed by resolution. Speaker Moses took him off the floor after he had received $10,000 for doing it. And the negroes, who had been bribed in the meantime—Patterson got enough of them, buying them up cheap, paying the big ones $500 and $300, etc., and the small ones a less amount—voted down the impeachment resolution.

I am sorry now I have to pay my respects to the gentleman from Beaufort in another aspect. I believe, judging from his speech, which he made extemporaneously, he is the ablest man of color I have ever met; but the proof lies here, overwhelming and undeniable, that he, too, on divers occasions was a bribe-taker, and that, in addition to that, while Secretary of the Sinking Fund Commission he perpetrated a scheme to get some of the State's money. He sold State property for $7,000, then he brought a bill

for services as attorney for $8,000, pocketed all he had sold the property for, and brought the State out in debt to him. [Laughter.]

I am sorry to have to bring this fact out on a member of this body, but that member stood here as a representative of the negro race and threatened us with direful consequences if we pressed forward to secure to our posterity immunity from such danger in future. I am forced, in self-defense and as a vindication of our action, to bring out the fact that while he was a representative of the people he participated in this wrong and robbery and stealage, and he must appear in the eyes of the world as simply wanting a possible return of John J. Patterson's "five years more of good stealing."

TESTIMONY AS TO W. J. WHIPPER'S VARIOUS DEFALCATIONS.

Page 188 of "Report on Public Frauds."

EXAMINATION OF JOHN B. DENNIS, CONTINUED.

"Regarding the contract for furnishing the State House, he says he never had any contract at all to do the furnishing. Says that in the summer of 1870, when Moses was Speaker of the House, Moses asked him if he would like to make the purchase of the furniture for the Hall of Representatives and the Committee rooms in the new State House, which was fast being completed. He replied he would like to do so. Speaker Moses gave him an order to furnish the necessary articles for fitting up the Representative Hall and Committee rooms.

"On the strength of this order witness contracted with M. H. Berry, of this city, to furnish the desks, chairs and everything that came in his line. Mr. Berry then proceeded to New York with him, and took him to the manufacturers, where selections were made. Mr. Berry's bill amounted to, as near as can be remembered, about $12,000. He purchased of Messrs. Stewart, Sutphen & Co., of Brooklyn, New York, the carpets, lambrequins, cornices, etc., that came within their line, and of Messrs. Nicol, Davidson & Co. chandeliers, cuspadores, etc., that came within their line. Does not remember the exact amount of their bills, but think the three accounts of Berry, Nicol & Davidson and Stewart, Sutphen & Co. aggregated about $40,000.

"Byars, from Orangeburg, moved for a committee of nine to be appointed for the purpose of investigating the furniture account, which motion was carried, and he (Byars) became chairman of it. (Page 190).

"When the call for reports from Special Committees was made, Byars rose and reported that the Committee had carefully considered the accounts for furnishing the House of Representatives and Committee rooms, and recommended that they be paid ninety-two thousand some hundred of dollars (does not recollect the exact amount), and that the account of W. E. Rose, for $190 for board of some of the workmen engaged in putting down carpets and putting up chandeliers, etc., be not paid. After this came a question as to how these certificates for payment of the ninety-two thousand dollars should be drawn, Byars being afraid if they were drawn to the merchants who furnished the goods that they would not endorse and hand over the certificates in excess of the amount due them. It was finally decided to draw them all in favor of witness, and let him take the amounts and hand over to the parties who furnished the goods, and endorse all of the others, and they could be distributed among the friends of the ninety-two thousand dollar report. To this witness consented, thinking in that way he could prevent the payment of all the certificates except those justly due to parties who had in good faith furnished the goods. This was done, and witness went to Governor Scott and told him what he had done, and if he (the Governor) would now assist in having paid the amount actually and

honestly due to the parties who furnished the goods, the amount being only about forty thousand dollars, that he (witness) would then go before any Court and swear that the excess in the hands of the members of the Legislature was a fraud, and ought not to be paid. Governor Scott said he could do nothing about it."

The witness testified that among the forty members amongst whom the certificates were divided "W. J. Whipper received a certificate for himself for three thousand dollars." (Pages 190, 191 and 192.)

Later on (page 843) John B. Dennis further testified:

"I think I have mentioned in my previous testimony that the amount of pay certificate given to Whipper was $3,000. I remember distinctly that some time afterwards he complained that the warrant was less than he was to have received."

Page 844. "F. E. Wilder, being duly sworn, deposes and says: 'I reside in Beaufort County, in this State. I was Treasurer of that County from the early part of 1871 to the latter part of 1872, and from some time in 1876 to the early part of 1877. In the spring of 1872 (I think some time in the month of March) I cashed several legislative pay certificates for W. J. Whipper, who was a member of the General Assembly from that County. I do not remember how many of them I cashed, but I think the amount was over $3,000.'

"House certificate, dated March 1st, 1872, in favor of Paul Brown, for $1,800, for amount of account for legislative expenses; House certificate, dated February 29th, 1872, in favor of Patrick Dunner, for $1,000, for amount of account for legislative expenses; and House certificate, dated March 13th, 1872, in favor of W. J. Whipper, for $36, for per diem for attending as a member of the House of Representatives—all fastened together, and the latter endorsed '1748, F. E. Wilder, $2,836, March 29th, 1872'—being shown to witness, he says: 'I think these are the certificates, or part of the certificates, I have mentioned I cashed for W. J. Whipper. I turned in these certificates to the State Treasurer as cash on account of taxes on the 29th of March, 1872. I know that is the date I turned them in because that is the date of my receipt to the State Treasurer for the amount of them. I have this day examined my receipt at the State treasury. My receipt in the State Treasurer's book is numbered 1748, corresponding with the number on the back of the certificate in favor of W. J. Whipper. I am entirely satisfied I got all these certificates from W. J. Whipper for this reason, amongst others: that the only persons whose claims I cashed that spring were Smalls, Myers, Bascomb, Nehemiah and Whipper, and none of these certificates were amongst the claims I cashed for the first four persons. Smalls' claim was a Treasurer's due bill; Myers' claims were pay certificates, all drawn in the name of Myers; Bascomb's claims were two pay certificates, one drawn in his own name, and both amounting to only $300 to $400, and Nehemiah's claim was a pay certificate drawn in his own name—according to my impression it was drawn in his own name—and was about for $200. I received no such certificates, such as those now shown to me, from anybody but Whipper, and therefore I say I am entirely satisfied that I got all of them from him.

"(Signed) F. E. WILDER.'"

THE FURNITURE STEAL.

John Williams, being duly sworn, deposes on oath as follows: "I acted as Sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives while F. J. Moses, Jr., and S. J. Lee, Esqs., were respectively Speakers of the House. It was part of my duty, under a resolution of the House, to purchase supplies for the House of Representatives by order of the Speaker.

"While Moses was Speaker I purchased some bedroom sets and delivered them at the building of Mr. Greenfield, at the corner over Muller's store, and furnished eight rooms. Two of them were occupied by Gen. W. J. Whipper." Page 171.

"I know that large quantities of furniture were furnished by Mr. Berry each session; that as soon as the General Assembly adjourned the furniture disappeared, and that I was compelled, under the order of the Speaker or some Committee Chairman, to refurnish all the rooms as soon as the Legislature met. I was told that it was my business to furnish the rooms; that after that I had nothing more to do with them or the furniture in them; consequently it was, in my opinion, stolen by parties who had charge of it."

SINKING FUND FRAUDS.

The Joint Investigating Committee makes this report pertaining to the Sinking Fund Commission and frauds therein, (page 850, Report on Public Frauds):

"But for brazen effrontery we call attention to the transactions and testimony of W. J. Whipper, at one time a member and Secretary of this remarkable Commission. He admitted in his testimony, with shameless audacity, that he had received certain State bonds and money which he appropriated to his own use. It seems that he was employed by the Commission at one time to negotiate the sales of some public property. He not only negotiated certain sales, but he converted the proceeds unlawfully, and perhaps feloniously, to his own use, and when pressed for settlement appears with an account current, which, we venture, cannot be equalled in any business transaction. He sold property amounting to $6,517.99 and credits himself with $7,033.33 for professional services, although the evidence shows conclusively that he was never employed as attorney for the Commission."

Gen. W. J. Whipper, being sworn, says (page 851): "During the legislative terms embracing the sessions of 1870–1871 and 1871–1872 I was Chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means and *ex-officio* a member of the Sinking Fund Commission. I was Secretary of the Commission for a portion of that time, succeeding J. L. Neagle as such. I have some bonds of the Sinking Fund Commission in my possession and one paper, the latter being a receipt of D. H. Chamberlain, then Attorney General, for a note of J. B. Dennis (receipt produced and turned over to Committee). The bonds are only constructively in my possession. They are in possession of Gen. Wm. Gurney as collateral for a loan made to me. I got the bonds in payment for a tract of land situate in Charleston sold to Henry Bischoff by me as Secretary of the Commission. I do not remember what class of bonds they were except that they were State bonds of one of the issues since reconstruction. The amount of them was $4,500 or about that amount. Gen. Gurney has had them since the summer of 1872. They were put up with a number of other collaterals to obtain a running loan. I was then doing business with Gen. Gurney, who was my factor at that time. I deem it proper to state that I was at that time Secretary and also attorney for the Commission both when I received the bonds and when I pledged them as collateral. The loans were for me individually. I have not seen Gen. Gurney about the bonds nor endeavored to procure them. * * * I claim a balance in my favor of $1,638.63, for which I hold the bonds above named. I have not with me the itemized particulars of my claims against the Commission. I claim nothing as Secretary or member. My claim is for actual expenses and as attorney's fees, and amount to $8,156.62."

W. J. WHIPPER, IN ACCOUNT WITH SINKING FUND, STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

[*Furnished the Committee by him.*]

DR.

1872.		
January.	To amount received from city of Charleston, per sale of powder magazine; one third of $7,100	$2,368 00
"	To amount received from H. Bischoff for lot of land on Line and Meeting streets, Charleston, one-third of $6,875	2,291 66
"	To amount received from J. S. Riggs for lot of land on Line street, one-third of $550	183 33
March.	To amount received from A. McBee for State works and grounds, Greenville, one-third of $2,850	950 00
"	To amount received from Pleasant Barton, first installment of lease of State road, Greenville	725 00
		$ 6,517 99

CR.

1872.		
January.	By auctioneer's commission on $7,100 at 2½ per cent	$ 177 50
"	By auctioneer's commission on $6,875 at 2½ per cent	171 87
"	By auctioneer's commission on $550 at 2½ per cent	13 75
March.	By auctioneer's commission on sale of State works and State road, and papers, stamps and expenses	206 37
"	By cash paid for advertising in Charleston Courier	242 75
"	By cash paid for advertising in Daily News	247 05
"	By cash paid for advertising in Beaufort Times	32 00
"	By cash paid for advertising in Beaufort Republican	32 00
"	By amount due W. J. Whipper as attorney	7,033 33
		$ 8,106 62

RECAPITULATION.

Debtor by receipts	$6,517 99
Creditor by payments	8,156 62
	$1,638 63

Whipper, it will be seen, claims $7,033.33 as attorney's fees in a transaction involving only $6,517.99.

J. L. Neagle, the predecessor of Whipper as Secretary of the Sinking Fund Commission, swears: Page 855. "W. J. Whipper was authorized as Secretary of the Sinking Fund Commission to sell some real estate in Charleston. He was never employed as attorney for the Commission to my knowledge."

I leave it to all disinterested men to judge of Whipper's guilt or innocence.

THE BLUE RIDGE STEAL.

There is next the Blue Ridge steal. The State had a mortgage on the Blue Ridge Road, having advanced large sums of money in the effort to reach the Northwest by a railroad through the Blue Ridge Mountains, and held practically the title to the road—that is, the State and Charleston jointly. We have $4,000,000—$4,200,000, I think—of Blue Ridge scrip issued fraudulently, and there is a law suit now pending in the United States Court to force this State to pay the Blue Ridge scrip issued by that Legislature in

defiance of the law and now held as an obligation by a gentleman in New York, who claims that it was hypothecated with him as security for money, and it seems to me that we are never to be rid of the consequences of this misrule. The Penitentiary down here cost $900,000; that is the sum added together here as the amount appropriated during those years of Radical government.

I will pass on, Mr. President, merely mentioning that a large sum—about $500,000—was spent for the militia; and you all remember that during those dark days of '72, '73 and '74 that there was hardly a Saturday night of the year that a drum beat of some negro militia company was not in the earshot of each one of you, while threats were made by these negro soldiery that they intended to rise up and exterminate the white men from the face of the earth and take this country.

A PRE-EMINENT SCOUNDREL.

I have shown you by the records and the report of this Committee that of all the thieves and scoundrels and villains who fastened their fangs upon the throat of this State and sucked its life blood, John J. Patterson must be given pre-eminence.

What did they do for Patterson, these negroes? He bought enough of them to send him to the United States Senate as a representative in that august assemblage of this grand old State, to occupy the chair that has been graced by Calhoun and Hayne. Here is what the Committee says about it:

"In conclusion, the undersigned respectfully report that the election of the Hon. J. J. Patterson to the Senate of the United States on December 10, 1872, was procured by corruption and bribery.

"They would further remark that the Legislature of 1872-73 was largely composed of new members, and that they were most solemnly pledged to a correction of past abuses and to the inauguration of real reforms. Some of the members may have been unfit for the discharge of the important duties of legislation by reason of ignorance, yet came to Columbia with a desire, in an humble way, to do what was right. John J. Patterson enjoys the unenviable position of having been the first to place before them the poisoned chalice of temptation and to corrupt them with its enticing draughts. Need we wonder that they were intoxicated and fell? Then followed a wild saturnalia of public plunder, the record of which furnishes nothing which is at all pleasant to investigate or to perpetuate in history."

This report is signed by John R. Cochran, chairman, a Republican; Henry A. Meetze, of the Senate; Gerhard Muller, J. C. Sheppard, S. Dibble, of the House.

Now, I have alluded to the fact of this villainy, anarchy, misrule and robbery, and I cannot, in any words I possess, paint it. There is no man on this floor living in the country who dared during that dark period to leave his fireside without dread that when he returned he would find some harm to his family; and he dared not go forth without being armed, fearful of robbery. The sky was lit almost every night by the glare of burning dwellings and gin houses. Our Courts of justice were filled with bribe-takers, and the Judges themselves were not free from bribery. How did it come about, and who must bear the blame? We are told the negroes didn't do it. "Oh, we didn't do it," they say. [Addressing the negro delegates]. You blindly followed and obeyed the orders of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League and ignored the appeals of your former masters,

who treated you with kindness and furnished you with your daily bread. I myself can testify that appeal after appeal was made by me, and by almost every white man in this State, with the negroes with whom he came in contact on his plantation: "Stop! come back! help us free ourselves from this burden!" But every one of you, almost up to 1876, blindly followed wherever these white thieves ordered. Was it negro government? The negroes furnished the ballots, and that is what we are dealing with. The negroes put the little pieces of paper in the box that gave the commission to these white scoundrels who were their leaders and the men who debauched them; and this must be our justification, our vindication and our excuse to the world that we are met in Convention openly, boldly, without any pretense of secrecy, to announce that it is our purpose, as far as we may, without coming in conflict with the United States Constitution, to put such safeguards around this ballot in future, to so restrict the suffrage and circumscribe it, that this infamy can never come about again.

The negroes were the tools of designing white men, I acknowledge—participators and willing tools. The poor, ignorant cotton field hand, who never reaped any advantage, nor saw anything except a pistol, blindly followed like sheep wherever their black and white leaders told them to go, voted unanimously every time for the Republican ticket during that dark period, and these results were achieved solely and wholly by reason of the ballot being in the hands of such cattle. Is the danger gone? No. How did we recover our liberty? By fraud and violence. We tried to overcome the thirty thousand majority by honest methods, which was a mathematical impossibility. After we had borne these indignities for eight years life became worthless under such conditions. Under the leadership and inspiration of Mart Gary—because he planned and brought about the Straightout movement of '76—in spite of the low country fighting on this floor against those who opposed putting Chamberlain forward as a compromise candidate—under his leadership and through his magnificent courage (for Edgefield alone gave us the excuse to claim the Governorship), we won the fight. We had a legal right by her majority, but then Grant's bayonets were here to prop Chamberlain in the Governor's chair. We were held in suspense from the meeting of the General Assembly in November until Hayes's title had been settled by the Electoral Commission in March. The whole State was like a powder magazine. The people had sworn to have their liberties or to die.

How did we bring it about? Every white man sunk his personal feelings and ambitions. The white people of the State, illustrating our glorious motto, "Ready with their lives and fortunes," came together as one. By fraud and violence, if you please, we threw it off. In 1878 we had to resort to more fraud and violence, and so again in 1880. Then the Registration Law and eight-box system was evolved from the superior intelligence of the white man to check and control this surging, muddy stream of ignorance and to tell it to back, and since then we have carried our elections without resort to any illegal methods, simply because the whites were united. If we were to remain united it would still be desirable that we should guard against the possibility of this flood, which is now dammed up, breaking loose; or, like the viper that is asleep, only to be warmed into life again and sting us whenever some more white rascals, native or foreign, come here

and mobilize the ignorant blacks. Therefore, the only thing we can do as patriots and as statesmen is to take from them every ballot that we can under the laws of our national government.

I read a moment ago from the report of the Committee that good government can only rest on intelligence and good morals. I will go further and say that good government and the very life of republics rest on virtue, patriotism and intelligence. The chief amongst the three is intelligence. It has been said, and it must be apparent to any one who thinks, that even if we restrict the suffrage as we propose, that with 40,000 Conservatives and 40,000 Reformers, divided and striving for mastery, and 15,000 illiterate white men disfranchised, that the negroes are still here in sufficient numbers to control us. Are we so besotted, so forgetful and oblivious of the record which I have just read to you? Have our memories grown so callous that we as a white race—kinsmen, brothers, common inheritors of the glorious past and of the freedom transmitted to us by our forefathers—have we got to the point where we cannot unite as brothers, throwing aside the petty bickerings and animosities that have been engendered in the last five years, and, without regard to personal ambition or partisan advantage to anybody, can we not provide so that we will not have to appeal to these people as arbiters of our fate? Can we not rise to the necessities of the occasion and put into this Constitution such an Article in reference to suffrage as will guarantee, as far as the law can guarantee, to future generations that they shall have the blessings of Anglo-Saxon civilization and liberty in this State? How pitiable, how puerile, how ineffably, unutterably contemptible appear the personal ambitions and petty spites of men alongside of this grand and glorious purpose!

I am sorry that I feel constrained briefly to touch upon this matter now from a different standpoint. I shall be as brief as the subject will permit. I feel almost willing to stop now and leave unuttered any word in answer to what has been said this morning, and to leave it to the patriotism and wisdom of this body to move forward and not hesitate. We were told something about perfect equality of white men; that the poor tenant who has nothing but his wife and children, who labors for his daily bread from year's end to year's end, gathering no property, is equal to the highest man in this State. I grant it. It has been my cardinal doctrine as a public man that all white men, as far as the enjoyment of the privileges of government and the emoluments of office are concerned, should be equal in this State, and that the majority alone should govern. But that doctrine cannot be brought in here as a reason why we must stop and pause and falter in our purpose to secure to our posterity good government, unless you carry it further; and if you are going to bring in the universal brotherhood of man as an argument here, then are not the blacks as much entitled to that consideration as anybody? The logical conclusion is inevitable.

On this question of suffrage, it is said that some men's right to vote will be jeopardized. If there was any way under high Heaven by which we could do more than we have done, in God's name I would glory and honor the man, and bow down and submit to his leadership, if he would show us. What do they offer us? A continuation of the existing conditions and perpetuation of fraud, or fraudulent methods; and the sword of Damocles suspended over our heads by a single hair swings, and swings, and swings;

and all that is necessary to bring about chaos is for a sufficient number of white men, actuated by hate, or ambition, or from any unpatriotic motive, to climb up and cut it loose, mobilize and register the negroes, lead them and give them a free vote and fair count under manhood suffrage. Some men have seduced themselves into believing that the best white men, the so-called better class, of which we have heard so much within the last few years, could form an alliance with this black substratum, and that our liberties would not be endangered. What folly! The point cannot be controverted that whenever enough white men go with that class and bring them forward, the so-called best white men may get in office once, twice or thrice by means of the negro majority led by the white minority, but the struggle for the control of that vote will just as inevitably debauch, demoralize and lower, and finally corrupt and make rotten the public morals as that the sun shines in the heavens. The men who sink nearest to their level in social equality, as Moses, Chamberlain and those scoundrels did, can always command their support. And you will always be confronted with the possibility, the probability, and even the certainty, of it coming to pass at some time, until you shall have reduced their voting strength so that there will never be enough of them to do more than to put either one white faction or the other in control of the government. And even that, which we cannot help, stands here as fixed as the law of the Medes and Persians by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments—and yet you hesitate to make the evil as small as possible and minimize the danger!

Allusion has been made to the fact that several prominent gentlemen met in this city to see if there could be any terms of amity, any treaty of peace, between the warring factions in this State, and the words "ingrate" and "traitor" have been used in connection with my name as a participant.

What was the condition? The minority faction had opposed almost to a man the calling of this Constitutional Convention. Demagogues of a certain stripe had used the newspapers of the State to threaten and terrify the poor whites with the possible and probable loss of their ballots if the Constitutional Convention was called. Spartanburg, which had never suffered from negro domination, and which can never suffer in its local affairs from negro domination, voted overwhelmingly against the Constitutional Convention. When the fight seemed almost lost, and those of us who had struggled for ten years or more, in season and out of season, whenever an opportunity offered, to urge upon the people the wisdom and necessity for calling a Convention, and taking care of our posterity by limiting the suffrage, when we felt that the fight was desperate, in October a meeting was called at Ridgeway. The Governor and myself and the Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee, who has let his tongue run so loosely, were invited, and promised to go there and discuss the question. When the day came the Governor was there and spoke as true as steel. I was there and talked from the shoulder as I always talk. Where was the saviour of the Democratic party: the man who claims the credit and responsibility of calling the Convention?

MR. IRBY: Will the gentleman allow me to answer?

MR. TILLMAN: Certainly.

MR. IRBY: I don't remember—it has been some time ago. I did expect to speak there. I accepted the invitation of Mr. Johnson. It was my intention to go, and something occurred at home, either sickness or something like that, that kept me from going. I would like to ask him one question. Did not I come here for three weeks and stay and fight as hard as any man possibly could to carry the election for this Convention?

MR. TILLMAN: You did; but you afterwards charged that when the battle was on Evans ran out of the State, whereas Evans was at his post, and you at home sick, so you say. (Sarcastically.)

MR. IRBY: I did not say I was sick. It comes with ill grace from him, after all that has happened in the past, that he should charge me for one moment with shirking a responsibility, or running from anything. I did say that when the fight was fiercest Governor Evans fled the State and could not be found by telegram or letter, and I asserted it for the reason that I asked by telegram, or probably in person of the brother of the Governor, why it was that he, the Governor, did not come and help me in his own election, and in the desperate struggle in calling the Constitutional Convention, and he could not tell me where the candidate for Governor was. On the night of the election at 2 o'clock, after the fight had been won, before the smoke of battle had cleared away, our young Governor came into my room, and I reproached him and asked him why it was that he had left me in such an extremity and had not come to my assistance? He said, "Well, I have been off to see my girl," (laughter), "and I was afraid you would commit me to some pledge that I could not carry out." Now, sir, I say that when I was here facing all the dangers of defeat, and the odium of defeat, that he had little to do, and he might have spared the time to come here and help carry his own election as well as carry the Constitutional Convention.

MR. TILLMAN: With that I have nothing to do. I only mention this incidentally as I myself have been accused of certain things, and the gentleman should remember that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. And inasmuch as he has seen proper to twit, to say that it comes with ill grace from me to even insinuate such things against him, I take this occasion to say to this Convention and to the State of South Carolina that the apparent quarrel between the gentleman and myself is all of his own making, and that I am in no wise responsible for it.

When the Barnwell-Hemphill-Evans-Tillman conference was held I went into it reluctantly because it brought me in contact with a man, the editor of the *News and Courier*, who has been most implacable and infamous in his abuse of me in his newspaper; with Barnwell, the recalcitrant leader, a hot Haskellite, who said on this floor: "Ben Tillman shall never be Governor of South Carolina." But as I saw at that time the tension between the factions was such that every prospect was that we would have the Conservatives mobilizing the negroes in an effort to control this Convention, to keep us, as they claimed, from doing wrong to their property rights and liberties, I sank my personal feelings and went to that conference. We had it in the Governor's office. It began at 8 o'clock. We talked and wrangled until 2 o'clock, and I leave it to the members of that conference on this floor if, after having talked over the question as to how we could

come together and come to an agreement, I did not say: "Gentlemen, unless you rise above petty, personal, contemptible purposes you cannot do anything, and we had just as well retire."

There are men on this floor who were present, and they will bear me out. If not, let them rise now and deny it. I dictated the terms on which we agreed, and the basic principle was that no white man should be disfranchised except for crime, because that was the guiding star which actuated my entire purpose and action. I would suffer the loss of both of my arms before I would do anything knowingly to jeopardize those rights and not redeem my pledge to those men. Suppose we had not had any conference. No one knows what might have happened. The result, unforeseen by anybody, certainly not by me, was the immediate split of the Conservative faction into two warring armies, one side saying, "That's right, come and let's take it," and the other side saying, "No, trust Ben Tillman, Irby and Evans not one bit! If they get any majority in that Convention they had just as well have it all." That was the war cry of those people as against the *News and Courier*.

God works in a mysterious way His wonders to perform, and He makes instruments of men without their knowledge. The danger, if the danger existed, that the Conservatives would unite and go to the negro passed. I told those gentlemen that night (and they will bear me out in it) that I didn't believe they could get anybody to go that would amount to anything; that the white instinct was too patriotic; that they would talk and blow, but that they could not get enough white men to accomplish anything to follow these radical editors in their efforts in that direction. I further told them that while I would advocate an equal division upon the acceptance of the conditions proposed by me, that I knew or believed that the people would not give it. I concealed nothing and I deceived nobody. I said: "The mistake you have made, gentlemen, is in believing that I am all-powerful and can lead the people anywhere and make them do anything I please. You have misconceived the purpose and mainspring of the Reform movement in crediting me with having omnipotent power, when the fact is my power lies in this, that I simply lead the people the way they want to go, and I am their leader because of that." I promised them nothing except my own personal support, and I was ready to give it. Did the Conservatives accept it? No. The *News and Courier* alone of all the daily papers of that side said it was the wise and proper thing to do and urged its acceptance. The balance of the press and the majority of those not immediately concerned repudiated it. Both sides repudiated it. The Conservatives in sullen discontent, the Reformers because they saw the other side, while Goff was manipulating the registration law at the instigation of the conspirators, threatening: "Ah, yes; we have got you now; let the registration law be overthrown, turn all these negroes loose, and we will put you under our heels." That is what increased the feeling of discontent among the Reformers, together with the fact that it was undemocratic to give equal recognition to the minority.

The people sent us here, and they elected numbers of you without regard to your factional differences in the past; they sent you here as patriots; they have sent you here although you have opposed them in politics, and I

thank God for it, because it has been demonstrated on this floor that we are all actuated by high and noble purposes, except where our personal ambitions are concerned, and we vote here as free men and equals, at no man's dictation. They say I have been shorn of my strength and my influence, that I have been measured here by my logic and my capacity to argue, that I have been turned down time and time again. I thank God that if I have, it has proved to others here that I am no more than any one else. I am simply trying to do my duty, and will always try to do it as I see it. I am not infallible, and do not claim to be. While I have never claimed that wisdom will die with me, I do say that it is my honest purpose and patriotic desire to advance the welfare and interest of this Commonwealth without regard to any one who has opposed me in the past.

It has been charged, directly or indirectly, that the agreement entered into is still to be carried out, and the evidence is brought forward in the matter of the appointments of the Committees and their chairmen.

As a matter of fact, which seems to be forgotten, the members of the Charleston delegation are representatives of the recalcitrant, irreconcilable faction there. Did they not turn Hemphill and Barnwell down in their convention and send Straightouts square from the shoulder like men? Where, then, is the connection, the bond of union between those of us on the Reform side who participated in that conference and the representatives from Charleston? Barnwell could no more control his people for peace, unity and harmony than I (Tillman). Mitchell, Barker, Farrow, Bryan and the rest of them came here as the representatives of public opinion in Charleston, and they do represent it. They have excited no bitterness here. If they have any feeling of resentment they have hid it like patriots. The gentleman from that city who has been associated with me on the Committee on Suffrage has shown a high patriotic purpose, a complete willingness to co-operate in saving the right of suffrage for the poor and illiterate white man as far as he could. His consummate legal ability has been of incalculable benefit to the Committee. He came into the Committee possibly with prejudice against me. I acknowledge I went in it with prejudice against him—because he has been fighting the Dispensary. [Laughter.] We have come to know each other better, and I feel warranted in saying that we will part with the highest mutual respect, if not friendship. And so I trust it will be with all of us. We will return to our homes with a higher purpose and a broader view, and if we must differ we will differ like decent white men, and go into the forum of reason and try to convince our constituents as to which man is right, and when the voters have spoken at the Democratic primary, as white men, we will present a united front to the remnant of the black cohorts whom we have come here to reduce and paralyze.

We have been told had we dared hint to the people that it was our purpose to incorporate an educational qualification in this Constitution we would not have been sent here, that we would have been run off the stump. I spoke at Edgefield, Barnwell and elsewhere. I concealed nothing. How do you propose to get around the Chinese wall, the impassable bulwark which the Fifteenth Amendment throws around the negroes, except by an educational or property qualification?

The desire has been on the part of the gentleman from Laurens to perpetuate the understanding clause, keep up the present system, the eight-box law, the registration law and all. You cannot do it, gentlemen. The people do not want it any longer; they are tired and sick of it unto death. With existing conditions there is nothing left, no man's ingenuity can contrive or conceive of anything to do except to put an educational or property qualification, or both. The property qualification straight would disfranchise thirty thousand people, white men, who own nothing in their own names, and it is contrary to all my ideas of principle, fairness and right, because some of these very men are the most intelligent of our citizens. I said last night that the chalice was poisoned. Some have said there is fraud in this understanding clause. Some poisons in small doses are very salutary and valuable medicines. If you put it in here that a man must understand, and you vest the right to judge whether he understands in an officer, it is a constitutional act. That officer is responsible to his conscience and his God, he is responsible to nobody else. There is no particle of fraud or illegality in it. It is just simply showing partiality, perhaps, [laughter,] or discriminating. Ah, you grin, [turning to Mr. Patton,] you of all men to get up here and wrap your Pharisaical robes around you, as you did last night, and pretend that you——

Mr. Patton: I disclaim any such purpose, and you must not charge it.

Senator Tillman: I got the impression from your speech. I charge this, that you said that the purpose of the Committee was either to have the law administered fairly or unfairly, whether by fraud or not.

Mr. Patton: I did so charge, one or the other.

Senator Tillman: Why should you last Summer have telegraphed the Governor in hot haste to remove the Republican managers or you might not get elected, and now you claim to be purer and more patriotic than other men?

Mr. Patton: I have never claimed to be purer and more patriotic than other men. If there is one thing my soul abhors, it is hypocrisy, and no man has dared charge that to me before. Whatever I may be I am not a Pharisee or a hypocrite. I came into this Convention to help pull us out of that mud and filth that you have described. I have never held myself up to be better than any one else, and there is nothing in my conduct and speech, if rightly judged, which will give ground for any such presumption, and you know it.

Senator Tillman: If I knew it I would not say so. The impression made on me, and I dare say on every member on this floor, was that you have a scheme of your own which you thought was better and which you advocated, and you had a right to advocate it, but you did not have the right to set yourself up as the judge of the motives and purposes of the Committee, who are as pure as yourself, in their efforts to solve this problem. That is the quarrel I have with you; it is not personal in any sense. As a delegate on this floor, and as chairman of the Committee, I take issue with you in the manner in which you have treated this question. I have heard of death bed repentances, but it seems to me that if I had kept the wires hot to keep the Republicans from having representation on the Board of Election Managers for fear of the possibility of being defeated as a delegate here, I would not hug my Pharisaical robes around me and undertake to impute dishonest motives to other men because they disagreed with me.

Now, to return to the gentleman from Laurens. If you look down the vista or the pathway which he asks you to take you see no signs of light or rays of hope. You see nothing there but the dire alternative that some time in the near future we shall have white men struggling to get possession of the negro vote, and a continuation of the present iniquitous system. I desire to say this for the benefit of his constituents more than his. Let this Convention reject our scheme, or modify it or not, it is written as we want it passed; we are responsible for it, all except Mr. Henry, who has disclaimed any paternity of the educational and property qualification, and I am ready to rise or fall by it, and to meet the gentleman in Laurens, or Spartanburg, or any other County in this State, and show to the people that I have not betrayed them, that I have not broken any pledges, that I am not an ingrate, that I am not a traitor, that I have acted as their best friend, and have stood squarely by all the pledges I ever made, and have endeavored to rise to the height of a statesman. I will go to Spartanburg where the two thousand majority on the other side is. I am not afraid to meet him anywhere, because right is right and truth is truth, and with these two bucklers I am ready to face any man that God ever made where my public acts or my private life are brought in question.

The bugaboo of possible injunction against the understanding clause is brought in here to throw discord among us, and to terrify timid men. Well, now, any lawyer, the merest tyro in the profession, who knows anything about it, knows that no one can go into Court and get an injunction unless he alleges personal damage or wrong, and the man would go there under this law simply to get his own rights, and not to keep other people from being registered, and the Court, if the question was brought up, might ask what harm had come to him by refusal to register under the understanding clause, and the Court might say it was unconstitutional, but it would go from one Court to another, and by the time it was decided, as Mr. Bryan has said, we would be on firm ground with the educational qualification pure and simple, and our suffrage plan would be based on a rock.

MR. ELLERBE: What would become of these parties' rights under that Section?

SENATOR TILLMAN: I don't see how you can find——

SENATOR IRBY: Wouldn't that invalidate the whole list on the theory that one rotten apple in the barrel will destroy the whole?

SENATOR TILLMAN: Mr. Bryan will have to answer that.

A few words more, Mr. President, and I will conclude. I believe this is about the longest speech I ever made in my life. I shall briefly discuss the resolution of the gentleman from Marlboro as to striking out the money clause—the $300 clause. Now, he said that to allow one illiterate who had $300 to register and vote, and to prohibit another illiterate who didn't have $300, was an unjust discrimination. Mr. President, the millennium has not yet come, and I am afraid it will not come in this day and generation, if ever. Perfect equality before the law in taxation or anything else is an impossibility. That theory is in our law and in our Constitution, but it has never been put in practice in any Court in any County in this State. I would like to ask him, as he pleads so strenuously against the injustice of having one illiterate with property to register, and another not, why did he forget to mention the injustice of allowing a man who is educated to

register, and the man who is not not to register? You did not say anything about it; you took mighty good pains to leave it untouched.

MR. ROGERS: I will answer the question. I recognize as fair and right the principle that an intelligent ballot is the safeguard of any community, but I can see no reason, and you can show no reason, why two illiterate men, both standing on equality in every other respect, one should be given this privilege over the other simply because of the fact that he has a few dollars.

SENATOR TILLMAN: The very fact that he has a few dollars is a sufficient reason of itself to show that he is probably a better citizen, is more industrious, thrifty, has accumulated something on which to pay taxes; and taxes without representation is repugnant to American liberty. By means of the $300 clause you simply reach out and take in some more white men and a few more colored men. I cannot see for the life of me why we should not go forward and not pander and cringe before people who do not understand that this does not restrict one single ballot—only gives it to a few more. That's the whole subject in a nut-shell. If there is inequality in giving a man of property the ballot and prohibiting another who has none from voting, there is inequality in giving it to a man who can read and write fairly but has not got as much intelligence as his neighbor who cannot. There are men in my neighborhood who came out of the war penniless who cannot read and write because they never had the opportunity of going to school, yet they are good citizens and have accumulated property, are well to do, sending their children to school; but if they should not be able to read and write, under your restrictive purpose, if this Convention should yield to you, they and similar men will be barred in the future from voting. So far as I am concerned and so far as the Committee is concerned, we knew this thing would create a howl among a certain class; but what is the use to pander to the notions of these people? We are told it would be said: "Here's John Smith" (for instance), "a negro with $300, who can vote, and you cannot because you have not got $300, and Ben Tillman, who was on the Committee on Suffrage, did it for you." I am ready to take the consequences. The Convention can vote it down, if they please, but I will never deny anywhere my connection with it, and I am ready to go to the people on it.

MR. MCGOWAN: As the distinguished Senator knows I was a member of that celebrated conference to which he refers. As he has seen fit to state what was done there, I desire to set myself straight upon the record. The Senator says that that agreement that we entered into was repudiated by both sides.

SENATOR TILLMAN: In effect, yes.

MR. MCGOWAN: So far as I am concerned I rise to distinctly state I did not.

SENATOR TILLMAN: I do not say that the parties immediately connected with it did, but the factions throughout the State were those who repudiated it.

MR. MCGOWAN: Did not we state that night that we knew many of our people and most of our papers would be against us?

SENATOR TILLMAN: I do not remember it.

MR. MCGOWAN: My recollection is distinct on that point. It was argued that we knew we would have the people of the State down upon us, and we said we knew that most of the Conservative people would be against us, but for the sake of peace, and to try to get the white people of the State together, we were willing to stand that and try to bring it about. As I remember every Conservative member of the Committee worked faithfully to bring it about, and not a single Conservative member of the Committee repudiated it until first repudiated by the gentleman from Edgefield.

SENATOR TILLMAN: I repudiated it because I saw from the temper of the people who were backing Goff that we could not depend on them and trust the Conservatives with equal representation.

MR. MCGOWAN: I was one of the Committee that thought the Conservatives would not endorse what we did, and that most of the Conservative papers of this State would not endorse it; therefore I say when you did repudiate it you had no right to do it, because you knew that night what would happen. So far as I am concerned, I deny I ever repudiated it. I signed that agreement honestly hoping to bring about good will among the white people of this State. I worked faithfully for it until first repudiated by yourself.

SENATOR TILLMAN: I worked as faithfully as you or any other man. I put interviews in the papers and offered to go on the stump and speak.

MR. MCGOWAN: Did we not that night discuss for one hour the clause which you were so determined should go in, that no white man should be disfranchised except for crime? Did not we argue that ought not to go in for it could not be done constitutionally, that we could not do it?

SENATOR TILLMAN: Yes.

MR. MCGOWAN: Finally it was understood that while you insisted it should go in, it bound us to nothing that was unconstitutional.

SENATOR TILLMAN: I do not remember about the constitutionality being discussed. I told you I would not sign anything, would agree to nothing, unless you agreed to that, and you did agree to it.

MR. MCGOWAN: We discussed it an hour. We told you it was foolishness, for we could not do it constitutionally; that we could not bind ourselves, and the understanding was it would bind us in nothing which would be unconstitutional.

SENATOR TILLMAN: I did not understand there was to be a mental reservation in it. What is expressed is what I thought you bound yourselves to and what I bound myself to.

MR. MCGOWAN: We discussed the question of constitutionality, and we said we would bind ourselves to nothing that was unconstitutional. We told you it was foolishness to try.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE
NATIONAL SUFFRAGE BULLETIN,
1341 ARCH ST., PHILA., PA.

THE UTAH VICTORY

THE RESULT OF ORGANIZATION

BY GEO. W. CATT.

The election of November 5, 1895, in the Territory of Utah, was a final act in a series of events, which, taken all together, resulted in the political enfranchisement of the women of that Commonwealth. The contest had been fairly made and the victory honestly won. And more, it was won easily, so easily that it appears like an oasis in the desert of failures in other fields.

The history of the campaign is very brief. Some years before, in 1869, under the régime of the Mormon Church, women had been enfranchised, and in 1886—seventeen years after—disfranchised by the Congress of the United States. In 1895 an enabling act was passed by Congress to admit the Territory of Utah as a State, by the usual method of adopting a constitution by the votes of the men of the Territory entitled to the franchise.

In order to secure a proper Constitution to be voted upon, a convention was called for the purpose of drafting one. This convention submitted a Constitution which provided for the full political enfranchisement of women, not as a separate section to be voted on independently, but as an essential part of the fundamental law. The fact that this Constitution provided for the enfranchisement of women with its adoption was an entirely new feature. No State, whose women did not at the time exercise the franchise, had ever before submitted a Constitution which embodied therein such a provision. The question of women's enfranchisement has often been submitted to be voted on separately. When submitted in this manner, the decision has been, with one exception, against the amendment.

Concerning the advantage of the Utah method there cannot be two opinions. Why could such a measure find favor with the politicians of Utah, seemingly without effort, and yet can secure but scant consideration in other States? It will be said that the fact that the women had enjoyed the franchise for seventeen years, a decade before, was the reason. Undoubtedly this had a favorable influence. The real cause, however, is to be found elsewhere.

Paper read at the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, Washington, D. C., Jan. 24th, 1896.

Entered as second-class matter in Philadelphia Post-office.

In studying past conditions to find a guide for the future we have had to learn mostly from reverses. To turn now to victory and endeavor to discern a guide-board to the road we should travel in the future is not only a new experience, but one we must read, not in the language of defeat, but in the language of victory. Pardon if I prate a truism, but every event must be the result of a cause.

Can we ascertain the cause of the Utah victory? If we can, what lesson does it teach? The answer to these two questions is the task I have set myself to answer. It is a trite saying that in modern civilization public opinion rules, and that this is especially true in the United States. Public opinion ruled in Utah in engrafting liberty in its Constitution. It was not public opinion alone, but organized public opinion which carried them to victory. It may not be understood by this convention that the suffrage organization of Utah was nineteen times larger than the organization in New York, when considered in comparison with population. Behind every delegate in the Utah Constitutional Convention there was an organized constituency demanding suffrage for women and men alike.

I will not take your time in an endeavor to determine why they were there, it is sufficient for my present purpose to establish the fact of their existence.

When any other State in the whole Union can show as much suffrage sentiment, and active suffrage force, based on organization, as was shown in Utah, liberty will be as easily won in that State as it was on November 5, 1895, in Utah.

Utah had ten times greater suffrage organization than any other State. That is to say, Utah, with a white population of 206,000 had 1,050 organized suffragists, or 506 organized suffragists for every 100,000 of her white population. New York, with a white population of 6,000,000 had only sixteen hundred organized suffragists, or only twenty-seven organized suffragists to each one hundred thousand of her white population.

The only fair way to judge of suffrage sentiment and organization, is on the basis of population. Because New York pays the largest amount in dues, it does not follow that she is the best organized State. The dues paid must be taken only in comparison with the population.

Utah was twelve times as well organized as Massachusetts, fourteen times as well organized as Iowa, nineteen times as well organized as New York, and this fact alone would indicate why the New York campaign did not win. Utah had

twenty-seven times as much suffrage organization as Kansas. In the face of such a fact cannot each contending faction, in their late campaign, cease laying defeat upon the shoulders of another faction, and all exclaim together: "The lack of organization caused the defeat!"

Utah was thirty-three times better organized than the average of the United States.

Is there any one here from a State with an average organization who does not know that if the suffrage organization in their State could be increased thirty-three times that they would win as easily as did Utah?

In the tables herewith, numbered one, two and three, I have worked out the suffrage organization by States. In tables two and three the States are placed in the order of the amount of suffrage organization found therein, for the years 1894 and 1895, respectively.

Table No. 2 for the year 1894 is the one from which the figures in the statement herein made are taken.

Tables No. 1, 2 and 3 show the number of organized suffragists in each one hundred thousand of the white population, as reported in the eleventh census of the United States, in comparison with number of suffragists as indicated by amount of dues paid, as shown by the reports of the Treasurer of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

The suffragists in any State that are loyal enough to the cause to influence legislation are organized, and hence paying dues to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association. If not thus organized they are too indifferent and too ineffective to deserve to be taken into account. Unorganized suffragists cannot be counted upon to do active work in a campaign.

If you will turn to Table No. 1 you will see what a very small proportion of the people in any community are sufficiently active in the movement to be enrolled as members of any organization. Taking the average of the whole United States there are only fourteen organized suffragists for every one hundred thousand of the white population. That is to say, one hundred and forty-five organized suffragists in each million of the white population, or one and one-half organized suffragists to each ten thousand of the white population.

Table No. 2 shows the rank of the States, based on the relative amount of organized suffrage sentiment in the year 1894. The first column of figures shows the rank of the State. The second column of figures indicates the number of persons in each one hundred thousand of the white population who

are active suffragists and pay dues to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association. The black lines show the same thing graphically. Utah's line is ten times longer than that of any other State.

To emphasize, if New York was as well organized as Utah she would have thirty thousand enrolled members, an average of five hundred for each county. New York City would have seven thousand five hundred and Brooklyn five thousand. The annual dues of New York to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association would be three thousand dollars. Does anyone believe that if thirty thousand active, organized workers had besieged an Albany convention as the constituents of the members of that convention they would have been sent away empty-handed ?

If Iowa was as well organized as Utah her State Treasurer would account for ten thousand dollars in annual dues, and would pay the sum of one thousand dollars to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association. There would be one hundred members in each county in the State. The little city of Des Moines would have a club as large as the famed Four Hundred Club of Philadelphia, and Philadelphia would have five thousand five hundred to respond to her bugle-call.

Virginia has been a member of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association for three years; at present she pays dues on a membership of six, or an average gain of two per year. If Virginia had begun her organization at the first sunrise the world ever saw, when the light was divided from the darkness (according to the Hebrews, six thousand years ago), and had kept up the rate she has thus far attained, she would yet, at the end of the nineteenth century, be behind Utah in organization. Take the Utah case from whatever view we may, the fact remains that there was comparatively a very large and powerful suffrage organization. It may be claimed that it was not an ideal organization in its method and system, but it cannot be denied that there was a large comparative force, that was not only willing to stand up and be counted but it was willing to be taxed for the privilege.

It may be claimed that so large a relative organization as Utah had cannot be established in other States. In contravention of this, I cite Chautauqua County, New York, which had at one time a paid membership of six hundred, or more than the average necessary to each county in New York to make its organization as large in proportion as that of Utah. More, true to expectations, the members of the Legislature, or Constitutional

Conventions who hail from Chautauqua County, invariably act in accordance with the instructions of this organized constituency, and can be relied upon to vote for any measure favoring the advancement of women.

These tables also teach us some other things of importance.

By referring to table No. 1 and comparing the different years one can tell if a State is advancing or retrograding. It further tells us that to-day there is not a single State that is ready for the submission of a Suffrage amendment.

In California and Idaho, where amendments are now pending, the best use possible should be made of the existing conditions.

In the future the National-American Woman Suffrage Association should say to every State: "We will help you to organize, but you must not invite us to defeat. In your present condition you are practically foredoomed to failure. If Utah teaches us anything, it teaches us that no State should submit an amendment until it has at least as large a suffrage organization as she had. That is to say, not less than five hundred organized suffragists to each one hundred thousand of the white population."

It may be said this is not a hopeful view to take of the situation. On the contrary, it is the only hopeful view. Great revolutions do not grow in a moment. This is the greatest revolution the world has ever seen. Its consummation will be attained the earlier if we square our actions with experience, and keep the whole movement in harmony with existing facts.

If every State had as large a proportion of organized suffragists as Utah, the National-American Woman Suffrage Association would have an enrollment of two hundred and seventy thousand members. The several State Treasurers would receive two hundred and seventy thousand dollars in annual dues; of this sum twenty-seven thousand dollars would be paid to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

The Utah victory was won by organization. The message that Utah sends to her sister States is: "Increase and perfect your organization." The banner of victory which Utah unfurls to the breeze bears this device: "Organize and Win."

NOTE. A study of the reports of the Treasurer of the N. A. W. S. A. demonstrates to the most casual observer that many States are not strictly honest in making their reports of dues. At least one-third of them report either more or less than the actual membership. It is to be hoped that, hereafter, each State will make its report with such accuracy that it will represent exactly the paid membership of the State.

TABLE NO. 1.

The number of suffragists in each State in proportion to the white population, based on the eleventh census of the United States, and the amount of dues paid to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, according to the report of its Treasurer. The figures indicate the number of Suffragists in each 100,000 of the white population.

	For the Years:							
	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
Alabama	2	2	1	5				
Arkansas	6	5	6	3				
Arizona	..	..	..	36				
California	2	..	4	33				
Colorado	7	158	6	2				
Connecticut	17	20	22	23				
Delaware	..	..	..	77				
*Dist. of Columbia.	20	43	37	19				
Florida	4	4	45	9				
Georgia	1	2	6	8				
†Idaho	..	..	..	..				
Illinois	16	16	12	13				
Indiana	1	..	2	2				
Iowa	27	23	35	32				
Kansas	15	15	18	15				
Kentucky	6	6	13	13				
Louisiana	12	3	9	5				
Maine	15	11	12	12				
Maryland	5	12	6	6				
Massachusetts	42	36	40	51				
Michigan	10	10	9	6				
Minnesota	5	2	4	6				
Mississippi	..	..	..	..				
Missouri	6	2	..	2				
Montana	..	..	..	96				
Nebraska	10	10	10	10				
Nevada	..	..	..	182				
New Hampshire	4	4	5	5				
New Jersey	2	5	5	8				
New Mexico	..	..	..	14				
New York	24	26	27	29				
North Carolina	..	..	2	4				
North Dakota	..	..	..	16				
Ohio	17	14	12	11				
*Oklahoma	..	..	..	58				
Oregon	6	..	8	16				
Pennsylvania	6	11	13	14				
Rhode Island	33	62	49	50				
South Carolina	3	4	16	36				
South Dakota	15	16	19	33				
Tennessee	2	1	4	4				
Texas	..	..	1	3				
Utah	**489**	**506**	**506**	**155**				
Vermont	52	40	27	16				
Virginia	1	1	4-10	1				
Washington	..	15	..	3				
West Virginia	..	..	..	14				
Wisconsin	..	..	..	11				
United States	13	14	14	14				
With Utah omitted for all years the United States stands thus	11	12	12	14				

*District of Columbia and Oklahoma are based on the total population.
†Idaho has an organization, but her officers have failed to report dues for 1895.

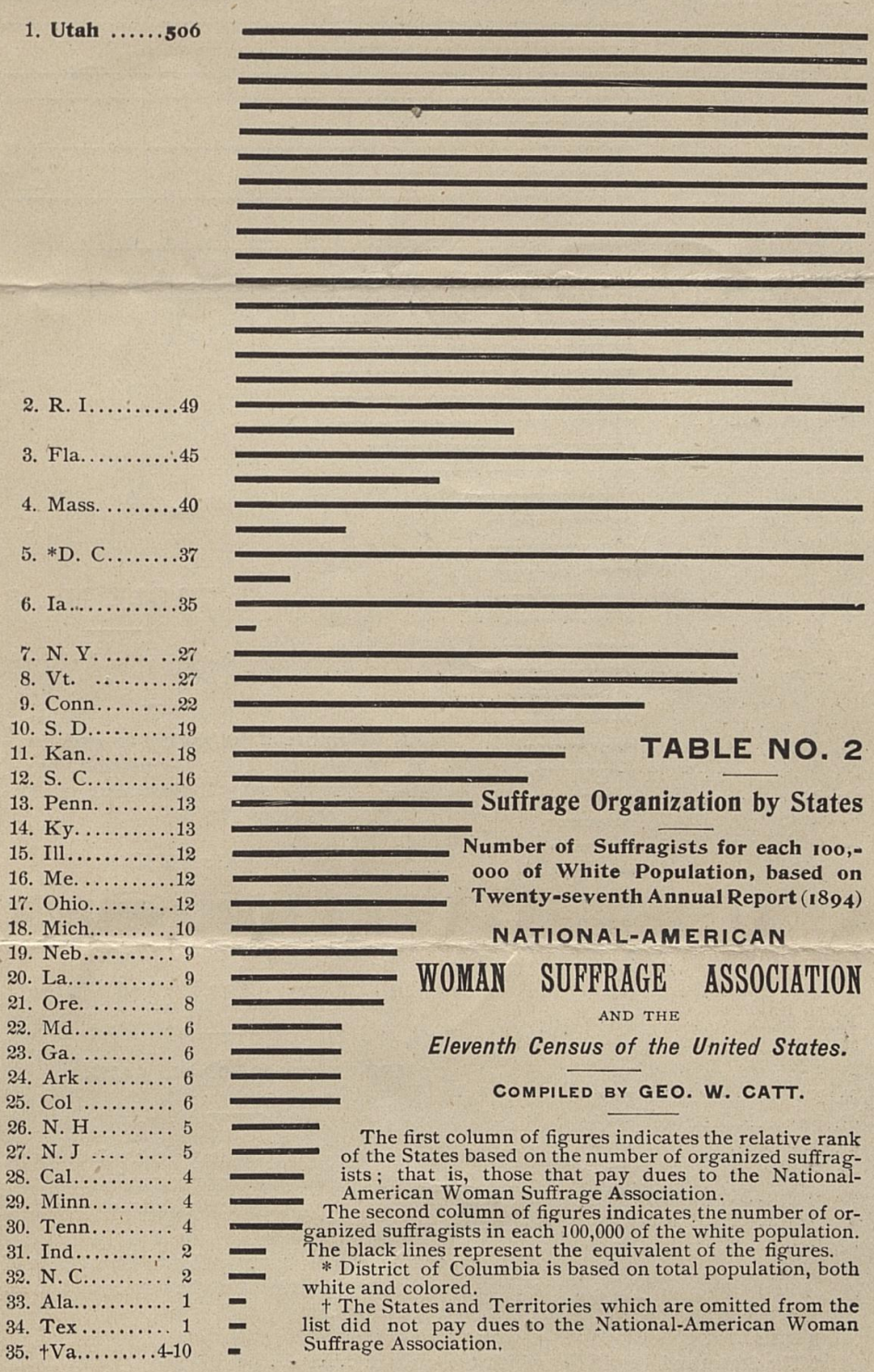

TABLE NO. 2

Suffrage Organization by States

Number of Suffragists for each 100,000 of White Population, based on Twenty-seventh Annual Report (1894)

NATIONAL-AMERICAN

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

AND THE

Eleventh Census of the United States.

COMPILED BY **GEO. W. CATT.**

The first column of figures indicates the relative rank of the States based on the number of organized suffragists; that is, those that pay dues to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

The second column of figures indicates the number of organized suffragists in each 100,000 of the white population. The black lines represent the equivalent of the figures.

* District of Columbia is based on total population, both white and colored.

† The States and Territories which are omitted from the list did not pay dues to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

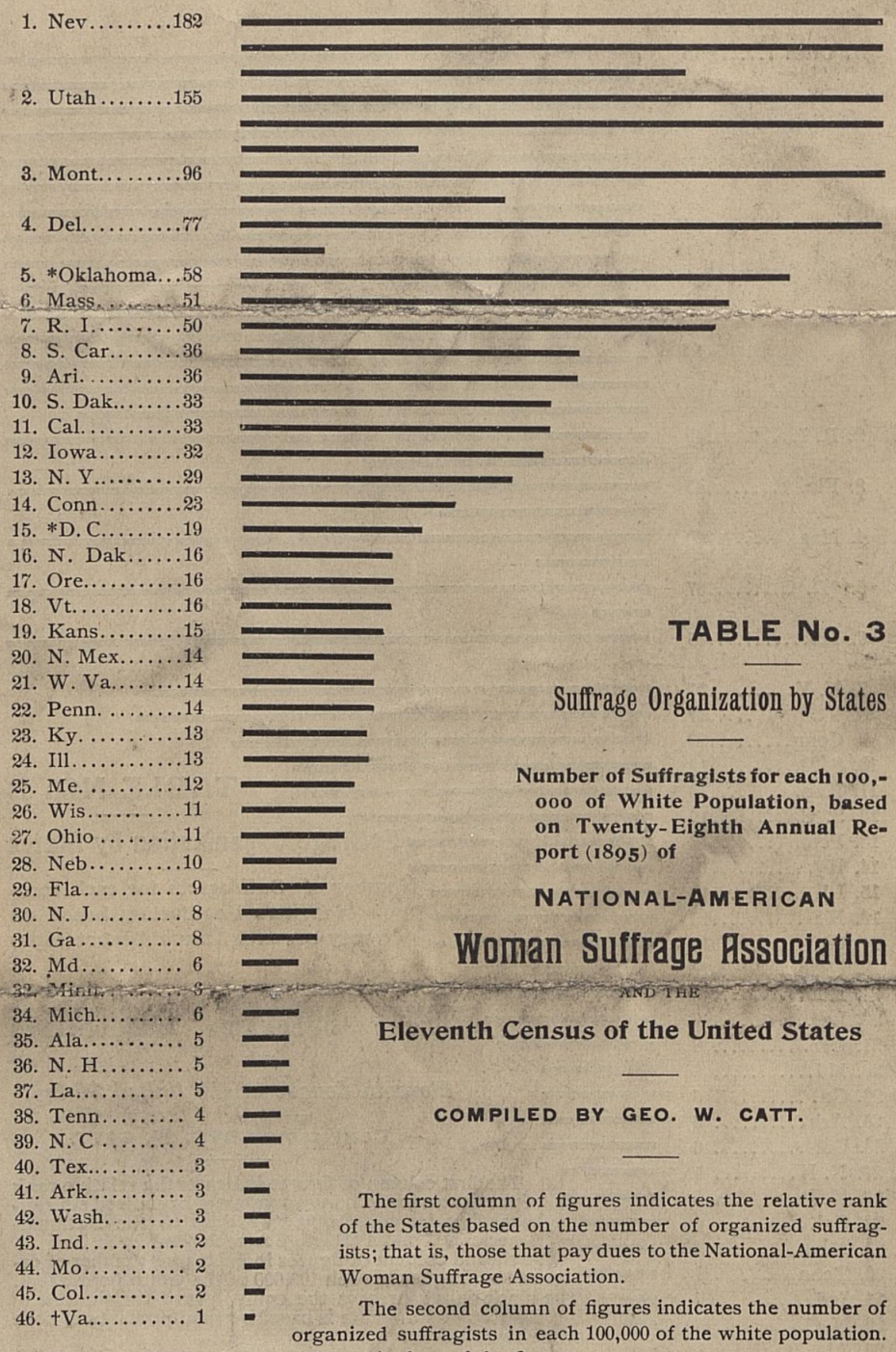

TABLE No. 3

Suffrage Organization by States

Number of Suffragists for each 100,000 of White Population, based on Twenty-Eighth Annual Report (1895) of

NATIONAL-AMERICAN

Woman Suffrage Association

AND THE

Eleventh Census of the United States

COMPILED BY GEO. W. CATT.

The first column of figures indicates the relative rank of the States based on the number of organized suffragists; that is, those that pay dues to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

The second column of figures indicates the number of organized suffragists in each 100,000 of the white population.

The black lines represent the equivalent of the figures.

* District of Columbia and Oklahoma are based on total population

† The States and Territories which are omitted from the list did not pay dues to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

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WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION UNION.

Women and Factory Legislation.

By Mrs. C. W. Pearce.

Paper read at the London Conference, S. Martin's Town Hall, 14th Oct., 1896.

Has it ever occured to you to ask why it is that the progress of advanced movements of all kinds is, comparatively speaking, so slow? why it is that a movement which admittedly embodies a right principle, and which has many followers more or less enthusiastic in their adherence to it, does not make more rapid advance? Those who have the truth on their side ought to have the power to make a way for the truth,and yet, year after year passes on and generation after generation passes away, and we are still in the midst of the same old struggle.

We move, it is true, but we move slowly and hesitatingly. When we look at what has been we may find cause for congratulation, but when we consider what might be, then surely we have reason only to be ashamed.

Now, what is the obstacle that stands most in the way of our advance? Is it not to be found in the fact that in most of us, men and women alike, there is a lamentable lack of the capacity for grasping hold of a *principle*, and of sticking to it when we have got it? Most people avoid principles; they shun them, evade them, decline to argue them; won't look them in the face, but will turn with relief to find an escape from them through some convenient side issue where the petty details of a question will provide ample scope for wrangling and dispute. We are far more concerned to find out wherein we are disagreed with each other, than to lay hold of the broad principles which would form the foundation of harmony and union, and we set so little value upon principles that we keep a loose hold on them, and very often they get out of sight altogether, and we don't even miss them!

Why has Christianity been socially a failure? Simply because those who nominally profess to follow its principles, have done so in little more than name, they have not attempted to carry them out into their lives, have not had the faith to believe and to understand that thus faithfully and honestly carried out they would revolutionise society and remove its evils.

Why has Socialism, which in its most perfect form is simply the application of these same Christian principles in our social life, continued to exist only in theory instead of becoming the practical experience of all civilised peoples? Simply because we shirk the truths which are its foundation, and will not bring ourselves to face the one great principle of our duty to our neighbours.

And why is the full emancipation of woman not yet as it ought to be an accomplished fact? It is not, I am sure, that we have not yet a sufficient number of intelligent men and women intellectually convinced of the right of woman to be freed from all outward artificially imposed sex-limitations, but simply that these men and women fail in realising the all-importance of the one great principle underlying every one of the so-called woman movements.

Have you formulated that principle? Is it not that woman must evolve her own life for herself, must work out her own salvation on her own lines, free from any arbitrary conditions or restrictions such as have been imposed upon her in the past by man, without her will or consent? To do this she must be as free as man is, and to be thus free every outward sex-limitation of every kind must be removed. She must stand outwardly on the same broad platform of equality with man, before she can truly develop an individuality of her own. She has little or none at present. What she has is partly of man's creation, and but partly the result of the struggle for outlet of her half-stunted womanhood. Of womanhood itself in its fulness and grandeur we have seen little, and can see little until it has the freedom which is necessary for its development.

Now it is just this one truth or principle that our opponents won't face.

They know they cannot overturn it, so they shirk it altogether and sneak round about it to find some other and more easy method of attack upon us, and we ourselves make this the more possible because we fail to hold on to our principle, and so we lose the vantage ground of an invulnerable position.

This to me is the strongest and most unanswerable objection to the present form of Factory Legislation which imposes special sex-restrictions upon women's labour, that it is totally opposed and antagonistic to the principle for which we are working, and that it can but tend towards the continuation and extension of a system which we are endeavouring with all our power to uproot and abolish.

I do not at all doubt that its supporters are actuated by the very best of motives. We are none of us blind to the serious evils and to the sufferings which it is hoped to cure or at least to alleviate by these means, but I feel most strongly that it is of far too great importance to humanity that the one great work in which we are engaged should be unimpeded and in no way hindered, for us to venture to risk its delay for the sake of a problematical relief to a few. And the relief is problematical. When we place against the few women whose hours are shortened and whose labour lessened, the many who will thereby eventually be thrown out of work altogether, where shall we find the measure of gain to the whole?

That women have ever been allowed paying work at all (in trades that were sought by men) is due simply to the greed of employers who found that they could use such labour to their own advantage. Make it so that the employment of women necessitates a disadvantage to the employer, and where in this (Christian !) country of ours is to be found the incentive to employ them?

Not surely in man's boasted "chivalry" or in his supposititious care and "protection" of women. That these are a delusion and a snare, and yielding no practical result in society we have only to point to these same Factory Acts to prove, for they are based on the assumption that where a question of personal gain is involved men will show no consideration whatever for women, and must be treated as their natural oppressors, held in check only by the penalties of the law.

In arguing that the imposition of sex-restrictions by law upon the labour of women will eventually force them out of employment, I am not forgetful of the fact that this is strenuously disputed, and that we have it upon the authority of Mrs. Sidney Webb, who is qualified to deal with such statistics, that "in over nine-tenths of the industrial field there is no such thing as competition between men and women; the men do one thing and the women do another," but I am also mindful of the fact that although this may be the condition of things at the present moment, we have no guarantee that it will continue to be so in the future. Until we have dealt with and solved the great problem of the Unemployed there must be an ever increasing army of competitors for work, and the fight will grow keener and keener every year; what chance then can the women have who, in addition to their physical disabilities, are burdened with the weight of legal restrictions?

If it be admitted that men of the employer class will show no mercy to a woman's sex when it is a question of the amount of gain to be got out of her labour, will it not also be admitted that she will stand a poor chance of any consideration being shown her by the men of her own class when the time comes that it shall be to their own advantage to supplant her wherever possible? To think otherwise demands a greater faith in human nature than we find exemplified in the passing of the Factory Acts.

But it seems to me that Mrs. Sidney Webb's statement that there is, practically speaking, no sex competition in that part of the industrial field which is covered by the Factory Acts, does, if it be generally accepted as accurate, really take away the whole standing ground of the supporters of sex-restrictions.

For if there be no sex competition why should the restrictions be made a sex matter at all? Why should not the same end be attained by placing these special restrictions for the present upon the workers, irrespective of sex, in such work or branches of work only as is done by women, thus giving the women all the advantages of protection without the disadvantage of labouring under a legal sex disability.

Those who scoff at the idea of sex competition could surely find no cause to object to such a system, and those who tell us they are merely biding their time until it shall be possible to bring the male work as fully under legal protection

as the female, would find the gradual extension of such a method of factory legislation to be the most natural and rational as well as the most orderly one which they could advise.

Of course it will be understood that although I am uncompromisingly opposed to the idea of sex restrictions in any form, I am wholly at one with the principle of Factory Legislation itself when freed from the objectionable feature ; so much so, indeed, that I want to see the same principle carried out to its fullest extent, until it embraces the sphere of labour of every worker in the country. Have you ever thought what Factory Legislation really means ? Is it not the concrete expression of the will of the people as a whole declaring that the time has now come when the individual can no longer be permitted to abuse the power which, by the acquisition of wealth, he may have gained over his fellow creatures ?

It is the practical recognition by Society of the truth that, individually, men are unfit to be trusted with unlimited power over their fellows, and that therefore the opportunities for abusing such power shall be taken away from them.

True, such legislation as we have at present goes but a little way towards remedying the evils which have grown out of this abuse of power, but the principle is there all the same, and its operation will be extended as our sight grows clear enough to distinguish between truth and prejudice. It is only in the line of its extension that we shall be able to find the solution to the problems of our social life, that we shall be able wholly to remove the evils and put an end to the sufferings, which as yet we can only attempt to lessen, and that in the very smallest degree.

Call it Socialism, or call it what you will, but the time must come, and that at no distant period, if this country is to be saved from commercial and social ruin, when the people shall arise to a full realisation of their responsibilities ; when they shall recognise the fact that with them, as a people, lies the power, and therefore the duty, to prevent the possibility of the wretchedness and misery that result from injustice unrestricted and unconfined ; and when therefore they shall devise a new system which shall place it out of the power of the individual at all times and under all conditions to thus burden and oppress his fellows.

Till then we welcome every advance in that direction, partly for the sake of the immediate, if but very partial, relief brought, but chiefly because the knowledge and experience gained by each step widens the general outlook and prepares the way for greater changes yet to come.

The position of women in the labour market marks a transition stage between an old state of things and a new, and like all transition stages it has been and is still a painful one. In the old times when woman's work was confined to the home she was necessarily dependent for her maintenance upon male support, and home work not being *paid* work has never been regarded as a full equivalent to the outside work of the man. Work is honoured not according to its results, but according to what it brings in in the shape of cash, and so in the past woman's work, not having money returns to show for it, has been considered menial, inferior, unworthy to be classed with man's, and therefore man in offering to her a share of the products of *his* labour has considered himself entitled to demand from her something more than labour in return. And all she has had to give has been herself,—and that she has given until she has almost lost all sense of possession in herself. Indeed, we can hardly be said to have any possession in anything which we are bound to give under a feeling of compulsion, for possession implies perfect freedom to give or to withhold.

Under the old condition of things, therefore, (which is only now beginning to pass away) marriage was a wholly unequal partnership. Man, in exchange for the bestowal of his wordly goods, or at least such portion of them as he graciously saw fit to bestow upon her, demanded from woman in return the complete surrender of her bodily person to his pleasure, and she, knowing no better, and having no other means of gaining a subsistence open to her, has passively accepted and ratified the unjust bargain, gravitating submissively into the position of subjection and inferiority which she has occupied for so long. Slavery demoralizes its victims, and so women now, instead of prizing their birthright of womanhood, are willing any day to sell it for "a mess of pottage," and marriage has been degraded into little more than a "respectable" method of indulging the animal passions of man,—the price which many a woman pays for her board and lodging.

To awaken women out of the state of stagnation into which they had slid needed a revolution, and such a revolution came when by the force of outward circumstances they began to be pressed into the ranks of the labour army, there to compete with men and to fight for their own hands.

Here at last they stood face to face with men on another and a healthier footing than that of mere sexual relationship. They met as human beings, and began to learn the lesson of independence, which is the first essential to true unity. They laid the foundation also of a future respect of woman's labour, which shall finally remove the shame and ignominy which have been attached to it, and shall raise it to an equal level with man's.

Of course the process has been a painful one. We seldom reach a higher level without much effort, and on the way we usually think more of the toil and the hardships which we encounter than of the results to be gained through them.

I am not forgetful of the suffering, of the starvation and the worse than starvation, which is the lot of so many of the women thus struggling for a living, thrown often helplessly upon their own resources, and left to sink or swim as best they may; but I look to the future evolution and outcome of it all, and I see that only in some such painful way could women have been aroused from the sleep and the dreams of the past. The forces necessary to arouse them from their apathy have had to be proportionately strong and powerful. Only in the struggle to stand alone, only in the fight for existence could they have learned that they have an existence independently of man's, only by the use of their own faculties could they have a chance to develope them and to develope the true womanhood that is in them. Thanks to this fight women are awake, or at least beginning to awake. Is the price too dear to pay for such a gain?

It is curious how often we can see that things are made to work together for a given end notwithstanding all obstacles, and those who oppose that end may themselves be used for the purpose of bringing it about.

Men *as a class* would have opposed such a change in the position of women as has taken place, but men *individually* have done their share in making it possible, for, being governed by their cupidity, they have seized upon every opportunity of making gain out of the labour of women, and so have drawn them further and further into the field of labour, and consequently into competition therein with themselves.

And now that they would drive them back, it is too late. The old place no longer exists for them, and fortunately it is so, for if the race is to progress we must not and cannot go back, we must go forward to a new and better life.

And the future lies with woman, with woman free, free to *be* woman, with all that that implies. The world has never yet known a race of free women, has never known what it is to have its womanhood fully manifested in its life, to have the great gracious motherhood of humanity let loose to rescue and comfort and restore its people, and the world is waiting for this, is groaning and travailling in the pain of its impeded birth.

Shall we, while seeking to tear off the old sex-chains which have hung around us for so long, dare to attempt to weave new links of our own device, under the delusion that these will not cling like the others?

Shall we mark with our approval the practice of making sex-distinctions in our law when we have already condemned such a practice as unjust, thus stultifying our own position? Shall we risk the "doing evil that good may come,"---risk the delay and the hindrance which can only result from every deviation from the straight road before us?

Our work is to remove every existing sex-disability that has been unjustly imposed upon women in the past, *not* to add to these even in the hope of conferring a benefit, for every new link forged merely helps to strengthen the old, and to delay the time when these can be wholly thrown off.

With freedom comes responsibility, and responsibility evolves fitness. Only through freedom can woman ever hope to stand upright by the side of man fit and worthy to be a helpmeet to him.

So, at whatever the cost to individuals, freedom must be won for the womanhood of the race, and whether we can do much or little to help on the fight let us at least see to it that we do nothing to hinder.

Copies of this Leaflet, price 1/3 *per* 100, *post free, may be had from Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Buxton House, Congleton, Cheshire.*

The original parchment copy of this "Appeal," forwarded to the Queen, was officially acknowledged as received by the Secretary of State for India, September 30, 1897.

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Appeal to the Queen.

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From

The American Purity Alliance.

✠

United Charities Building,

New York,

1897.

Appeal to Queen Victoria.

To Her Majesty Queen Victoria:

The undersigned citizens of the United States of America, members and friends of the American Purity Alliance, have learned with much regret and apprehension of the action of your Majesty's Government, represented by the Secretary of State for India, and publicly endorsed by distinguished members of the House of Lords, providing for State Regulation of Vice in India, in connection with the British Army, and foreshadowing its possible reintroduction in England.

We respectfully and most earnestly represent to your Majesty that State supervised vice is, in effect, an incitement to vicious indulgence; is morally wrong; is unjust to women and degrading to men. We furthermore respectfully submit that that which is morally wrong cannot, by any possible method of State and medical supervision, be rendered hygienically safe and physiologically right; that the alleged sanitary benefit of regulation is altogether illusory and misleading; that the soldier or civilian may be saved from sin, but not in sin; that the true and only antidote for vice and its inevitably attendant diseases is the chaste, pure life.

We appeal to you not only on behalf of your own subjects, especially dependent women and exposed young girls, the special victims of the regulation system, but also in behalf of our own and other countries. The great nationality of which you are the justly honored Queen and Empress, by its example exerts a powerful influence for good or ill in many lands; especially is this true in the United States of America, closely linked with the "Mother Country" by ties of blood and language.

We therefore pray that you will direct your Majesty's officials, whose proper function it is to obey your supreme will, who seek in any part of your Dominion to establish State Regulation and supervision of vice, to refrain therefrom, and, instead, to endeavor faithfully to diminish vice itself and the temptations thereto, thus effectively to lessen the loathsome diseases which it begets.

We pray that your long and beneficent reign, made exceptionally conspicuous by your own great personal worth and exemplary virtue, may at this juncture be preserved from the threatened tarnish of a perilous compromise with iniquity, a system of unspeakable demoralization for manhood and of practical slavery for womanhood and girlhood, in the name of the law.

We greet you with salutations of great respect and honor.

Merrill Edwards Gates, Ph.D., LL. D., L.H.D.,
President Amherst College,
Amherst, Mass., U. S. A.

Rev. Edward G. Andrews, D. D., LL. D.,
Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church,
New York, U. S. A.

Elbridge T. Gerry,
President New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children,
New York, U. S. A.

Julia Ward Howe,
President Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs,
Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

Oliver Edward Janney, M. D.,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Baltimore, Md., U. S. A.

O. W. Whitaker,
Bishop of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

Rev. John H. Vincent, D. D.,
Bishop M. E. Church,
Chautauqua, N. Y., U. S. A.

Rev. William T. Sabine, D. D.,
Pastor Ref. Episcopal Church of New York City,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S. A.

Mary A. Livermore,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Melrose, Mass., U. S. A.

Francis J. Garrison,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Boston. Mass., U. S. A.

Rev. John Hall, D. D., LL. D.,
Minister Fifth Ave. Presbyterian Church,
New York, U. S. A.

Josiah Strong, D. D.,
New York, U. S. A.

Rev. D. P. Livermore,
Melrose, Mass., U. S. A.

Susan B. Anthony,
Rochester, N. Y., U. S. A.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton,
New York, U. S. A.

Elizabeth B. Chace,
President R. I. Woman Suffrage Association,
Valley Falls, R. I., U. S. A.

Naomi Lawton Davis,
Recording Secretary American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S. A.

Florence Howe Hall,
Pres. New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association,
Pres. Plainfield Branch Alliance Unitarian and other Liberal Christian Women,
Vice President New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs,
Plainfield, N. J., U. S. A.

Rev. S. S. Seward,
Pastor New Jerusalem Church,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S A.

Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, A. M.,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A.

Ethel Blackwell, S. B., M. D.,
New York, U. S. A.

Mary S. Anthony,
Rochester, N. Y., U. S. A.

Elizabeth Smith Miller,
Geneva, N. Y., U. S. A.

Arnold B. Chace,
Trustee and Treas. Brown University,
Valley Falls, R. I., U. S. A.

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Hon. Life Pres. World's W. C. T. U. and First Round the World W. C. T. U. Missionary,
Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

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President Women's Prison Association,
Ex. Com. American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S. A.

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President Social Purity Alliance, Philadelphia,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A.

Lyman Abbott,
Brooklyn, N. Y., U. S. A.

William Lloyd Garrison,
Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

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Ex. Com. American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S. A.

Rev. Samuel H. Virgin, D. D., LL. D.,
Pastor Pilgrim Church,
New York, U. S. A.

M. C. Zakrzewska, M. D.,
Jamaica Plain, Mass., U. S. A.

Samuel C. Blackwell,
Ex. Com. American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S. A.

Emily Blackwell, M. D.,
Ex. Com. American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S. A.

R. Heber Newton,
Rector All Souls' Church,
New York, U. S. A.

Edith B. Blackwell, A. B., M. D.,
New York, U. S. A.

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Treasurer American Purity Alliance,
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y., U. S. A.

Martha Mott Lord,
Ex. Com. American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S. A.

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Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
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Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Plainfield, N. J., U. S. A.

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Staten Island, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Brookline, Mass., U. S. A.

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Founder, Treasurer and General Manager for thirty-two years of the Schofield Normal and Industrial School for Colored Youth,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Aiken, South Carolina, U. S. A.

C. M. McClung,
Knoxville, Tenn., U. S. A.

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Brooklyn, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Central Falls, R. I., U. S. A.

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President Kentucky Equal Rights Association,
Lexington, Ky., U. S. A.

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Evanston, Ill., U. S. A.

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Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Rochester, N. Y., U. S. A.

Hannah A. Plummer,
Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Glencoe, Ill., U. S. A.

Emily Howland,
Patron Nat'l Council of Women,
Sherwood, N. Y., U. S. A.

Amelia Wright, M. D.,
Member Ho. Medical Society, County of New York,
Examiner in Lunacy, State of New York,
Pres. Society for Promoting the Welfare of the Insane, State of New York,
New York, U. S. A.

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President Board of Jewish Ministers of New York,
New York, U. S. A.

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Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
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Chicago. Ill., U. S. A.

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Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

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Vice President Maryland State Temperance League,
President Central Anti-Saloon League of Baltimore City, Md.,
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New York, U. S. A.

Arria S. Huntington,
Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Syracuse, N. Y., U. S. A.

Henry B. Blackwell,
Editor of the *Woman's Journal*,
Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

Isaac H. Clothier,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

Mary Wood Allen, M. D.,
Nat'l Supt. Purity Dept. W. C. T. U.,
Ann Arbor. Mich., U. S. A.

Katharine W. Sewell,
Treasurer Free Kindergarten for Colored Children,
New York, U. S. A.

Annie M. McClung,
Chairman Reform and Protective Committee Woman's Educational and Industrial Union,
Knoxville, Tenn., U. S. A.

Mary W. Wright,
Brooklyn, N. Y., U. S. A.

Lillie B. Chace Wyman,
Central Falls, R. I., U. S. A.

Sarah H. Peirce,
Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Member Philadelphia Social Purity Alliance,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

Kate C. Bushnell, M. D.,
Evanston, Ill., U. S. A.

Armenia S. White,
Trustee N. H. Old People's Home, Orphans' Home and Mercy Home,
Concord, N. H., U. S. A.

Mary W. Plummer,
Glencoe, Ill., U. S. A.

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President State W. C. T. U.,
Albuquerque, N. M., U. S. A.

Frank M. Goodchild,
Pastor Central Baptist Church,
New York, U. S. A.

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Sec'y New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association,
East Orange, N. J., U. S. A.

Mrs. Sarah J. Nowell,
Winchester, Mass., U. S. A.

Wm. Nast Brodbeck, D. D.,
Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

Caroline Ross Graham,
Orange, N. J., U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A.

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General Secretary Young Woman's Branch of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of America,
New York, U. S. A.

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Haverford, Pa., U. S. A.

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Pittsburgh, Pa., U. S. A.

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President W. C. T. U. of North Dakota,
Tower City, N. D., U. S. A.

Mrs. May Stocking Knaggs,
President Michigan Equal Suffrage Association,
Bay City, Mich., U. S. A.

Sarah C. Fox,
Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Short Creek, O., U. S. A.

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Assistant Clerk Com. for Philanthropic Labor of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Religious Society of Friends,
Richmond, Ind., U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A

Anna Shaw Curtis,
West New Brighton, N. Y., U. S. A.

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President of the Medical Missionary College, Battle Creek, Mich.; Member of the British Gynecological Society; International Periodical Congress of Gynecology and Obstetrics; British and American Associations for the Advancement of Science; the Société d' Hygiène of France, etc.,
Battle Creek, Mich, U. S. A.

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Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association,
Bible House, New York, U. S. A.

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Staten Island, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Brookline, Mass., U. S. A.

Frank Mason North.
Cor. Secty. N. Y. City Church Extension and Missionary Society,
New York, U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A.

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Clerk New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends,
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Pres. N. Y. State Woman Suffrage Association,
Brooklyn, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Valley Falls, R. I., U. S. A.

Edward H. Magill, LL. D.,
Ex-President Swarthmore College,
Swarthmore, Pa., U. S. A.

Rev. W. C. Gannett,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Rochester, N. Y., U. S. A.

Jonathan W. Plummer,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Chicago, U. S. A.

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Fellow Am. Asso. Advancement of Science,
Portchester, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Oak Park, Ill., U. S. A.

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Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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Rabbi Temple Emanu-El,
New York, U. S. A.

Robt. M. Janney,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

John Wm. Hutchinson,
President Friends' Union for Philanthropic Labor,
New York, U. S. A.

Hattie Dickson,
Associate State Superintendent of Purity,
Marshalltown, Ia., U. S. A.

Esther Carpenter Pierce,
Pleasantville, N. Y., U. S. A.

Horatio W. Dresser,
Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

Hannah E. Longshore, M. D.,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

Julia A. Sprague,
Jamaica Plain, Mass., U. S. A.

Catharine A. F. Stebbins,
Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Pioneer Associate Member National American Woman Suffrage Association,
Michigan Woman Suffrage Association,
Detroit, Mich., U. S. A.

Charles C. Bonney, LL. D.,
Chicago, U. S. A.

Caroline McCullough Everhard,
President Ohio Woman Suffrage Association,
Massillon, O., U. S. A.

Howard M. Jenkins,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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Vice President Rochester Athenæum and Mechanics' Institute,
Rochester, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Secretary American Peace Society,
Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

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Clerk Baltimore Yearly Meeting Religious Society of Friends,
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Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A.

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Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

James B. Dunn, D. D.,
Gen. Sec. Nat. Temp. Soc. and Publication House,
New York, U. S. A.

M. L. Holbrook, M. D.,
Editor *Journal of Hygiene*,
New York, U. S. A.

Harry A. Hawkins,
Chairman Westbury Quarterly Meetings Philanthropic Com. Society of Friends,
Ex-Com. American Purity Alliance,
New York, U. S. A.

Rev. D. Asa Blackburn,
Pastor Church of the Strangers,
New York, U. S. A.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones,
Pastor All Souls Church,
General Secretary Liberal Congress of Religion,
Editor in Chief of *The New Unity*,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

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Pres. Women's Christian Temperance Union of Michigan,
National Superintendent School of Methods and Parliamentary Usage,
Portland, Mich., U. S. A.

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President East Washington W. C. T. U.,
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West New Brighton, S. I., N. Y., U. S. A.

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Ghent, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Newark, Del., U. S. A.

Hellen M. Stoddard,
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Editor in Chief Standard Dictionary,
New York, U. S. A.

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Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, U. S. A.

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Physician in Charge Maternity Hospital,
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Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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Asheville, N. C., U. S. A.

Lauretta H. Nichols,
Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Huntington, Ind., U. S. A.

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Chester Valley, Pa., U. S. A.

Sara Phillips Thomas,
Chester Valley, Pa., U. S. A.

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Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Richmond, Ind., U. S. A.

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W. H. Clemmons,
Cor. Sec. Nebraska W. C. T. U.,
Lincoln, Neb., U. S. A.

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Pres. N. Y. State W. C. T. U.,
New York, U. S. A.

Sarah Gibson Humphreys,
State Vice President American Purity Alliance,
Chairman Committee on Ages of Protection in K. E. R. A.,
Superintendent Press Work in K. E. R. A.,
Versailles, Ky., U. S. A.

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President Young Friend Aid Association,
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Columbus, Ga., U. S. A.

A. E. Howard,
Columbus, Ga., U. S. A.

Jas. A. Curry,
President Y. M. C. A.,
Lexington, Ky., U. S. A.

G. Price Bethel,
The Woman's Review,
Columbus, Ohio, U. S. A.

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Central Village, Conn., U. S. A.

S. Smith,
Roxbury, Mass., U. S. A.

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Brooklyn, N. Y., U. S. A.

Geo. W. Leach,
Brooklyn, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

Eliza H. Schofield,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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Church of the Messiah,
New York, U. S. A.

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President Wisconsin W. C. T. U.,
Evansville, Wis., U. S. A.

Floride Cunningham,
Asheville, N. C., U. S. A.

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President Arkansas Equal Suffrage Association,
Little Rock, Ark., U. S. A.

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Ex-President State Woman Suffrage Association,
Ga., U. S. A.

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Corresponding Secretary W. S. A., Oklahoma,
Guthrie, O. T., U. S. A.

Mrs. Cornelia B. Forbes,
President Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Connecticut,
Hartford, Conn., U. S. A.

Cora Smith Eaton, B. E., B. Sc., M. D.,
Minneapolis, Minn., U. S. A.

Isaac Roberts,
Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Conshohocken, Pa., U. S. A.

Harriette R. Shattuck,
Author of *The Woman's Manual of Parliamentary Law*,
Malden, Mass., U. S. A.

Helen M. Gougar,
President Indiana Woman Suffrage Association,
La Fayette, Ind., U. S. A.

Elizabeth G. Underhill,
Minister of the Gospel Society of Friends,
New York, U. S. A.

Mary Bentley Thomas,
President Maryland Woman Suffrage Association,
Ednor, Md., U. S. A.

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President Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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Holton, Kans., U, S. A.

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Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

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H. B. Wyeth,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

Thos. W. Woodnutt,
Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Henry Berkowitz, D. D.,
Rabbi Congregation Rodeph Shalom,
Chancellor Jewish Chautauqua Society,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

Benjamin F. Nichols,
Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Huntington, Ind., U. S. A.

Dr. C. N. Peirce,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

Wm. R. Richards,
Pastor Crescent Ave. Presbyterian Church,
Plainfield, N. J., U. S. A.

Rev. J. W. Richardson,
Pastor Park Baptist Church,
Plainfield, N. J., U. S. A.

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Newton, Mass., U. S. A

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High Point, N. C., U. S. A.

Benj. D. Hicks,
Vice President Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children,
New York, U. S. A.

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Denver, Col., U. S. A.

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President W. C. T. U. and Evangelist for the State of Idaho,
Idaho Falls, Idaho, U. S. A.

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Mary P. Thomas,
Chester Valley, Pa., U. S. A.

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Vice President Nebraska W. C. T. U.,
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Treasurer Nebraska W. C. T. U.,
Lincoln, Neb., U. S. A.

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Florence Crittenton Mission,
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Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

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H. Augusta Howard,
Columbus, Ga., U. S. A.

Mrs. Luella A. Romsey,
State Pres. South Dakota W. C. T. U.,
Woonsocket, South Dakota, U. S. A.

Eva Warren Collier,
Member Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Townsend, Mont., U. S. A.

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Pres. Kansas Equal Suffrage Association,
Eureka, Kansas, U. S. A.

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Central Village, Conn., U. S. A.

L. Wiley,
St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.

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West New Brighton, N. Y., U. S A.

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Kansas City, Mo., U. S. A.

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Sheridan, Nev., U. S. A.

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Pastor Universalist Church,
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Racine, Wis., U. S. A.

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Vice President Universal Peace Union,
Superintendent Peace and Arbitration Society of Friends,
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Central Falls, R. I., U S. A.

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Milwaukee, Wis.

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Principal DeGarmo Institute,
Fishkill-on-Hudson, N. Y., U. S. A.

Hobart H. Wright, A. M.,
Professor Mathematics Fisk University,
President White Cross League,
Nashville, Tenn., U. S. A.

Sylvanus Stall, D. D.,
Associate Editor *Lutheran Observer*,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A.

D. J. Yerkes, D. D.,
Pastor First Baptist Church,
Plainfield, N. J., U. S. A.

J. Howard Wright,
New York, U. S. A.

Charles Lyman Goodrich,
Pastor Congregational Church,
Plainfield, N. J., U. S. A.

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Editor *Woman's Tribune*,
Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

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Baltimore, Md., U. S. A.

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President Virginia Florence Crittenton Mission,
Norfolk, Va.,
President Norfolk Female Orphan Asylum,
Norfolk, Va., U. S. A.

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Gen. Council American Purity Alliance,
Holder, Ill., U. S. A.

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Chairman Depot Work Young Woman's Christian Association to Protect Women and Girls,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

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Matilda L. Fyfe,
Irvington, N. Y., U. S. A.

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President Local W. C. T. U.,
Director White Shield Society of Hoopeston,
Superintendent Social Purity Department of Twelfth Dist. W. C. T. U. of Illinois,
Hoopeston, Ill., U. S. A.

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National Superintendent of Legislation for W.C.T.U.
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Clear Brook, Va., U. S. A.

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Superintendent World's W. C. T. U., Department Peace and Arbitration,
Winthrop Centre, Me., U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A.

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Dorchester, Mass., U. S. A.

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Pacific Branch, San Diego Co.,
California, U. S. A.

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Lincoln, Neb., U. S. A.

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Pastor Bell Street Chapel,
Providence, R. I., U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A.

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Vice President Purity Alliance for New Hampshire,
Supt. Purity for W. C. T. U. for New Hampshire,
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Columbus, Ga., U. S. A.

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Pres. Oregon State Equal Suffrage Assn.,
Pres. Oregon Parliamentary Law Club,
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Portland, Ore., U. S. A.

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Richmond, Ind., U. S. A.

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Bowling Green, Ohio, U. S. A.

Ellen L. Corwin,
Chelsea, Vt., U. S. A.

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Editor *Manassas Journal*,
Manassas, Va., U. S. A.

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Brooklyn, N. Y., U. S. A.

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Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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Bertha H. Blackburn,
New Vienna, Ohio, U. S. A.

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Woman's Relief Corps,
Matron U. S. General Hospital in Civil War,
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Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church,
New York, U. S. A.

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New York, U. S. A.

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Winchester, Va., U. S. A.

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Gen. Sec. International Woman's Health Protective League,
Rec. Sec. Pennsylvania W. C. T. U.,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

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New York, U. S A.

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New York, U. S. A.

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Baltimore, Md., U. S. A.

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Wiemer, Cal., U. S. A.

Kate C. Watrous,
State Supt. Purity Department W. C. T. U.,
Arizona, U. S. A.

Chas. Roads, D. D.,
Ex-Pres. Pa. State Christian Endeavor Union,
Editor *Keystone Endeavorer*,
Chester, Pa., U. S. A.

Chas. Gordon Ames, D. D.,
Boston, U. S. A.

Isabella Beecher Hooker,
Hartford, Conn., U. S A

Eliza M. Mosher, M. D.,
Prof. of Hygiene, University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, Mich., U. S. A.

Annie D. Gray,
A King's Daughter,
Lexington, Ky., U. S. A.

Mrs Shelby T. Harbison,
Pres. Woman's Guild of Christ Church Cathedral,
Lexington, Ky., U. S. A.

E. A. Bazett-Jones,
Rector St. John's Church,
Lexington, Ky., U. S. A.

E. L Goodwin,
Rector St. Stephen's Church,
Culpeper, Va., U. S. A.

Susan R. Haynes,
Harding, Mass., U. S. A.

J. W. Walton,
Vice Pres. Am. Purity Alliance,
Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A.

Chas. G. Blackburn,
New Vienna, Ohio, U. S. A.

Sarah Roberts Morris,
County President Richmond W. C. T. U.,
West New Brighton, N. Y., U. S. A.

Bessie Isaacs Savage,
Pres. Washington State Equal Suffrage Association,
Olympia, Washington, U. S. A.

Mrs. Martha L. Spencer,
Pres. Alabama W. C. T. U.,
Birmingham, Ala., U. S. A.

Mrs. Almira L. Prindle,
Mother of Erring Girls,
Florence Crittenton Home, New York, U. S. A.

Eliza R. Shier,
Wolf Creek, Tenn., U. S. A.

Mary E. Farnesworth,
Wolf Creek, Tenn., U. S. A.

Emeline S. Hicks,
Lansingburgh, N. Y., U. S. A.

Margaret Dill,
Secretary Baltimore W. C. T. U.,
Baltimore, Md., U. S. A.

Alice E. Mitchell,
Wiemer, Cal., U. S. A.

Mrs. Fannie J. Wheat,
State Pres. Women's Suffrage Assn. West Virginia,
Wheeling, West Va., U. S. A.

Lillie Devereux Blake,
Pres. New York City Woman Suffrage Association,
New York, U. S. A.

Charles DeGarmo,
President Swarthmore College,
Swarthmore, Pa., U. S. A.

John B. DeMotte, A. M., M. D.,
Bryn Mawr, Pa., U. S. A.

Lona A. Kern,
President Winchester W. C. T. U.,
Winchester, Va., U. S. A.

Miss Sue B. Scott,
President House of Mercy,
Lexington, Ky., U. S. A.

John N. Lewis, Jr.,
Dean Christ Church Cathedral,
Lexington, Ky., U. S. A.

Mrs. Eliza Ridd,
~~Secretary Newport W. C. T. U.,~~
Newport, Ky., U. S. A.

Anna B. Morgan,
President Newport W. C. T. U.,
Newport, Ky., U. S. A.

This will certify that the foregoing signatures represent names forwnrded to the American Purity Alliance.

Aaron M. Powell,
PRESIDENT.

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—ON—

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WOMAN.

I.

One of the greatest philosophers, the greatest perhaps that America has produced, I mean Emerson, says:

"Polarity or action and reaction is met at every part of nature; in darkness and light; in heat and cold; in the ebb and flow of waters; in male and female."

This "polarity" which the philosopher says "bissects" nature, is the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of all the bodies composing the universe. When we say nature, we use a synthetic expression which comprises the birth, growth and decay of the individual being, plus the evolution of its type into higher and higher forms. Motion by which the world and all therein whirl through space, consists of active and reactive, attractive and repulsive, centripetal and centrifugal forces. By attraction the earth is forcibly drawn towards the sun; by repulsion it is checked and held at a definite distance. Energy by which motion is generated is the positive element in nature and matter is the negative. The former acts on the latter, and the latter reacts on the former. This power of re-acting is what constitutes negativeness.

Modern scientists recognize in the universe, the existence of an infinitely rare and elastic medium diffused throughout space, pervading all bodies, even the most solid and compact. This principle they call *ether*. Ten thousand years ago (some authorities compute *thirty* thousand years), Hindu Yogis knew of a principle they called *Akasha*, of which the ether of our scientists is but a gross evolution. That element constitutes cosmic matter, the substance out of

which all forms are produced, as pots are produced of clay. "Out of Akasha all things come; in Akasha all things live; to Akasha all things return;"—it is the cradle and the grave of the universe—from Akasha to Akasha—the circle—the serpent with its tail in its mouth—the cyclic law of motion. Electricity starts from the dynamo; to the dynamo it returns.

Akasha, therefore, is the infinite ocean of matter in which all forms are held in a state of latency, are coiled up. It is the womb, the Universal Mother. Sir Isaac Newton calls it the "Divine sensorium," the *anima mundi*, "the soul of the universe." In animal organisms, the *sensorium* is the seat of instinct and automatic motion, the centre where sensation ends and motion begins, where all the powers of the being converge and function both in their evolutionary and involutionary aspects. I have no hesitation in stating that the sensorium is the main seat of the mind. Akasha, the "Divine sensorium," is then the cosmic mind, the negative and the shadow of the cosmic soul.

In the infinite ocean of matter float innumerable forms in a state of latency awaiting the action of the positive element, the energy, in order to come forth and start on their cyclic journey. Energy, called in Hindu philosophy *Prana*, sends out its rays. These fall on Akasha, the formless matter, and forms come forth. On that plane of activity it seems as if matter and energy—the positive and the negative, the acting and the reacting—were two different and separate elements. But the separateness is merely illusive; they constitute as it were, one pole, the two ends of which are differently polarized. The positive of the one end implies the negative of the other; one comprises the other. The different polarization has for object the doing of action, the producing of forms, the eternal and perperpetual creation of things and beings.

Matter is not a thing, it is a *state of vibration.* Nothing exists but motion. Motion, however is said to be either in activity or in passivity; *i. e.*, active or passive in relation to something else. A train rushing at express speed perceived through a flash of lightning, appears to be still. The difference between one state of motion and another, is simply

one of speed in vibration. The science of electricity demonstrates plainly that the positive and the negative current differ only by a "plus" (+) or a "minus" (—) quantity, that is by degree of vibration.

Energy being necessary for the calling out of forms from within the bosom of Akasha, is said to be the creator. In orthodox parlance, God created the world. He took clay to create man. But the statement is somewhat hyperbolical. God or energy, or the masculine principle, did not create the world; *it merely caused it to evolve out of the universal mother's bosom.* The world never was created—Akasha, the eternal infinite mother *is the* world and *all* worlds. Creation is of every moment, continual, eternal. *The creative force is thought.* Say the Scriptures:

"Brahman thought: May I grow, may I become many. It sent forth fire.

"The fire thought: May I grow, may I become many. It sent forth water."

"Plutarch explains this beautifully when he says:

"An 'idea' is a being or thing incorporate which has no subsistence by itself, but gives figure and form unto shapeless matter, and becomes the cause of its manifestation."

Energy or thought is as it were, a suggestion which quickens the form, and this being quickened, comes forth. For instance: Here is a cannon; it is loaded with a powerful charge; destruction lies in its mouth. Tremendous is the power that it contains! Yet, so long as no friction is applied to it, the power latent within is non-existent. But let a lighted match touch the fuse and instantly all the gigantic dormant force becomes a stupendous reality; the vast amount of missiles rush forth through the air on their errand of devastation. In this instance the match is the positive factor acting on the negative, the dormant matter in the cannon. At the moment of contact, the negative reacts and a result is produced.

Matter and energy, therefore, are the universal parents, and in their offspring, reproduce themselves. Out of the dual the dual comes. Says the Kabalah:

"All that is created by the ancient of ancients can live and exist only by a male and a female principle; thought and feeling, idea and sensation combine to make a thing a concrete reality."

The laws which prevail in the inorganic chemistry also prevail in the organic. The positive and negative of the former become the masculine and feminine of the latter; in the human family, the man and woman.

The scientists, philosophers and theologians of the past have all agreed to ascribe to woman a place of absolute passivity and instrumentality. She was compared to the soil which receives the seed and nurtures it until it becomes a plant. The seed, they declared, was external to the soil; it was the plant itself, and man was compared to that seed. In the estimation of these wise ones, woman was an adjunct to man, an object bestowed on him for his use and personal gratification, a servant to cater to his needs and wishes. For a long time the early fathers of the church mooted the question *whether or not woman had a soul.* The utterances of these early fathers regarding woman are better left untranslated, for they reflect little credit on their knowledge of physical and spiritual laws. The symbolic description of the creation and fall of man given in the book of Genesis was to them a true narrative of facts; they sifted the spirit out of it, and built on the letter which "kills," as St. Paul says. All symbolism is absurd on the face of it; the truth it is meant to teach, must be dug out of its innermost recesses. In the first chapter of Genesis we read:

"God created man at his own image, in the image of God created he them; male and female created he them."

Reliable authorities declare that the word *Elohim* ought to have been used instead of God, and the word Elohim means the *generative powers;* it is a plural and not a singular expression. Jehovah-Javeh, Jahouh, also means the two-folded entity, Existence, the generative principle in its dual aspect of male and female combined, the undivided, the androgynous.

The Hindu Scriptures, the Veda, give the same description:

"Existence alone existed, O beloved! nothing else existed in the beginning."

This undivided existence we find later on dividing itself and manifesting as energy called *Prana* the positive element, and matter called *Akasha* the negative element.

The same is explained in the second chapter of Genesis when a *second* creation of man and the bringing forth of woman is related:

"And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and as he slept, he took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh thereof, and with the rib he made a woman and brought her unto the man, and Adam said: This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman because she was taken out of man."

By that process of division, the androgynous, the positive—negative, the male—female, the father—mother became positive *and* negative, male *and* female, father *and* mother; in other words, to pass out of the allegorical and into the philosophical, spirit projected out of itself its own negative element which was matter, to act as its objective by means of which it might realize its own activity, and by doing action, reap experience and knowledge. Bear in mind that previous to the abstraction of the feminine from him, the man Adam had been placed in the garden of Eden where the tree of knowledge was planted. Man being alone could not eat of the fruit of knowledge, an objective world was necessary. And God said:

"It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him."

Woman, then, represents a portion of the powers of man escaped out of himself and transformed into his own objective; a mirror as it were, into which he may see and cognize himself. This is why St. Paul says:

"Woman is the glory of man, as man is the glory of God."

Let me illustrate: The sun rises in all its glowing radiancy, but ere long clouds form, gather around, roll over it and obscure it to my view. What is the nature of these clouds which have the power to obscure even the dazzling brilliancy of the sun? They are sun rays, sun energy thrown out from the central mass and transformed into vapor that forms into clouds. The sun is thus obscured by

its own substance, which through a process of emanation has become its own objective; its own mirror into which it reflects and tests its own powers. The German philosopher, Fichte, well explains this when he says:

"The ego or the 'I' posits both itself and the non-ego, the not 'I'. To realize its own activity, the ego requires an external world of objects."

Clearly then, the feminine principle is but the masculine differently polarized. Man and woman constitute the two ends of the same pole. The division we see is illusory; exists in the form only not in the substance, which is the soul. The sex indicates the woman, *but not the being*, for this is androgynous, equally balanced. All manifestation proceeds from unity to variety, and back again to unity. Variety is unreal, separateness is unreal; unity alone is real and permanent. The form is simply the shadow of the substance, and the error lies in viewing the shadow as being the substance. That celebrated divine, Bishop Butler, says in his analogy:

"Our organized bodies are no more ourselves or a part of ourselves, than any other matter around us; and it is as easy to conceive how matter which is no part of ourselves, may be appropriated to us in the manner which our present bodies are, as how we can receive impressions from, and have power over any matter. It is as easy to conceive how we may exist out of bodies as in them; that we might have animated bodies of any other organs and senses wholly different from these now given us, and that we may hereafter animate these same or new bodies variously organized, as to conceive how we can animate such bodies as our present."

Bodies are expressions by which the *real being* may for a time, live in the world of experience. That *being* may assume a masculine or a feminine form in accordance with the kind of experiences it is seeking at time of embodiment, but I repeat again and again, the being itself is neither male nor female; it is both; it is androgynous. "At the image of God created he them." From the state of unity, we start on our terrestrial pilgrimage and dwell in a world of variety; from this variety we have to return to unity again.

Unity is the perfect state we are striving to attain in terrestrial life. Unity is the goal; is liberation. Jesus the Christ stands before us as a type of the perfected man; "I and the Father are one;" "I came from the Father, I return to the Father." In him, the positive and negative were harmoniously blended; he was the androgyne. He gravitated and gravitated until he died on the cross, the great symbol of unification which, though it has been degraded into materiality and Phalic worship, still reigns supreme as the expression of the one undivided, indivisible Father—Mother, God in its highest conception. This is the highest reading of the symbol of the cross, and explains why it is the oldest and most universally adopted by seekers of spiritual truths.

Students of symbolism know that the masculine power is represented by a vertical line (|) and the feminine by an horizontal (—). When brought together they form a cross (+) which means unification, or the abjuration of separateness. The lines separated are emblematic of the world of senses, of forms; joined together they mean *renunciation* of the world of senses, or as St. Paul puts it, "the dying in the law." To die on the cross is to sacrifice the senses, the life of separateness on the altar of unification, which is the consummation of all things. "*All is accomplished*," said Jesus as he expired. "I will have nothing but Christ and Christ crucified!" exclaims St. Paul.

The individual we call woman receives her appellation from her physical, and not from her spiritual conformity. The word *woman* expresses a quality but not the generalization of the being. Sex is a mask concealing the reality, but it partakes of some of the qualities or attributes of the body it conceals. The luxuriant foliage of a tree diverts our attention from the trunk and branches, yet the foliage is temporary and illusive, the trunk and branches alone endure. Similarly the human individual may be viewed synthetically or resolved into one of its parts. When I laugh, I manifest one of the attributes of my being; when I weep I manifest another. But neither laughing nor weeping constitute the whole of my person; these acts simply demonstrate two of the innumerable powers of my individuality.

The male element in nature images the *soul;* the female images the *soul's objective* in which that soul reflects and cognizes itself. The whole of the phenomenal procession is but the various readings of the soul appearing now in one form, now in another in accordance with the form of the object on which its light falls. Emerson says of the light:

"The light is always identical in its composition, but it falls on a great variety of objects, and by so falling is first revealed, not in its own form, for it is formless, but in the form of the objects."

Looking for sex is the resolving of the individual into one of its parts. If woman identifies herself with her physical form, if she regards her sex as the index to her being, then she must abide by the laws of formal matter, the law of evolution which proceeds by destroying the negative in order to perfect the positive, the law which destroys bodies to give to life a higher and fuller expression. If woman adheres to the form, she must submit to conditions inherent in the form. In such case the sex indicates the being and not the quality, the shadow takes the place of the substance. By recognizing sex as the reality, woman gives to the act of separation definite sanction; she identifies herself with that act of separation by which "death entered into the world" and sways its grim scepter until man dies on the cross of unification. Then it is that the words of St. Paul are full of terrible significance: "Man was not created for woman, but woman was created for man." . . . "For this cause ought woman to have a sign of authority on her head." . . "Woman must be silent." . . . "Must be veiled, etc."

To the woman who discriminates between the physical and the spiritual, between the form and the being, the Sankhya philosophy explains the riddle and solves the problem:

"Soul was not created for nature, but nature was created for soul."

When the mind identifies itself with the physical body and the sex, it generates ideas in keeping with the identification, and promotes actions sacred to those ideas. "What a man thinks, that he is." The result of this mental hallucination in regard to sex has been the recognition of two separate and different lines of ethics, of social habits and of

morality. To each of these lines we have affixed a sex. Purity is sexed, gentleness is sexed, study is sexed, labor is sexed, manners are sexed, words are sexed. We have plunged into the domain of the most occult and have branded *thoughts* with sex. There are toys which a girl must not have; tools for instance, because they are boys' toys, just as if mechanical labor were polarized masculine. A boy must not play with dolls, because when he does so, he looks like a *simpleton*—just as if the care of babes were designated for silly, foolish beings and were polarized feminine. There are manners and attitudes a girl must not assume because they are boys'. We hear: "That boy is gentle like a girl," and we are too blinded by superstition to know that "he is gentle like a boy," whose nature has not been distorted. Why should not a boy be as gentle as a girl? Gentleness is a human and not a sexual characteristic. A girl must be dainty, graceful, reserved, and know how to wield affectation. A boy may be uncouth, rough, brazen and unpolished. Long is the catalogue of actions that are regarded as horrible in woman and permissible to man; another long catalogue gives us things which women must do to be "proper," and which men would scoff at doing. When a woman sits for her portrait, she studies in which way she may incline her head to be graceful and look "sweet." She will tip it this way or that, or perhaps look over her shoulder in a twisted but "cunning" position. Her skirt must spread out, out, out in graceful folds. All the jewelry on her person must be in evidence; the curls on her head must hang loosely, gracefully, effectively, and, O paroxysm of beauty adorned, *she must smile!*—just as if smile and woman were interchangeable terms.

To study feminine nature and behold it in all the absurdities generated by sex superstition, you cannot get a better book than a photographer's gallery. To fully realize the ludicrousness of all that display, picture to yourselves a man being asked to undergo all those preparations when sitting for his portrait.

I meet a woman and saluting I proffer my hand. With the tips of her fingers she touches the tip of mine, for it is proper for woman to be genteel in the act of shaking hands;

this act must look as perfunctory as possible. Her tightly gloved fingers can do little more than place themselves motionless in my grasping hand. I feel no expression, no life, no response to the sympathetic pressure of mine.

I meet a man and proffer my hand to him. He responds to the invitation, and heartily shakes my hand. In his grasp there is warmth, there is sympathy, there is life. I understand him, I read him; he is an open book. By the genial, friendly pressure of his hand, he stands revealed. But when a woman places her lifeless finger tips in my palm, what can I read? What can I understand? What can I know of her feelings? She is a sealed book, and I instantly lay the book on the table.

All these traits and idiosyncracies in woman are index not to the being but to its sexual quality, and are directly responsible for the suffering and injustice to which she has been and is subjected in society. With her own hands, she has dug the chasm that divides the human family into two sections, distinct and unlike; and with persistent obstinacy, she has resisted all efforts tending toward bridging the chasm.

Nevertheless, she is awakening to the fact that her place in society is not what it ought to be, and is beginning to utter vehement protests. This is well, for dissatisfaction is the incentive to progress. But with it all, woman has failed to discover the true cause of her subjection and pain, which is no other than her bondage to sex superstition. When I was a child, no woman would have dared to be seen in the act of driving in a screw—the motion was ungraceful and belonged to man. The modern woman, however, has learned how to use a screw driver and several other tools which forty years ago had ostracized her in the eyes of her sex. During that period of time many sporadic efforts were made to modify the cumbersome attire of women. Short skirts appeared now and then to the utter disgust of Mrs. Grundy. Failures succeeded trials, and trials succeeded failures, until the case had become hopeless. Sex superstition knocked on the head every renewed attempt. But all on a sudden, men took to the bicycle and pronounced it delightful. Instantly women declared that what is delightful to

men must also be delightful to them, and jumped on the bicycle. But the long graceful (?) skirt stood in the way between themselves and the delight of the wheel. The ostracized, buffeted short skirt then approached, placed itself at the helm of the wheel and said: "I and the wheel or no wheel." Like a flash, femininity arose to self-assertion, and up went the long, graceful (?) skirt of traditional necessity. What centuries of repeated efforts had failed to accomplish, the bicycle did in the twinkling of an eye. Mrs. Grundy stood aghast. Never before had she witnessed so magical a feat of feminine transformation and will. "What are women coming to?" ejaculated the terrified old dame.

Aye! what are women coming to? They are coming to the knowledge that the idea of sex is merely a thing of the surface. Unconsciously perhaps, but none the less truly, they feel that the abyss dividing the two sexes with a straight and rigid line is but a creation of their own minds, and by their own minds it may be bridged over. In the present day we are surrounded by numerous clubs and associations whose purport is to secure woman's rights, political as well as social. On all sides ring the words: "My rights," "our rights," "your rights, "their rights;" words that only the ignorant and the enslaved utters, because they are ever pregnant with contestation, battling and suffering! A question of rights calls out force for its settlement, and by virtue of the force it necessitates, it remains ever unsettled.

If man has a right to vote, clearly woman has the same right if she desires it. Every claim of woman which tends to level the barrier raised between the two sexes is in the direction of progress. The rights of man are the rights of woman, and the same of duties. I deny the claim of woman to the suffrage, but I hold the claim of the *human being* to that political function. The idea of woman suffrage is a self-contradiction, mere empty words; the same is true of man suffrage. Suffrage is a principle and can have no sex.

But as we have landed on this question, let me ask: "What does woman expect to accomplish with the ballot?" Just what man has accomplished and nothing more. And

what has man accomplished since a century of so-called political freedom? Fifty years ago, not a tramp cast his grim shadow on the beautiful land of America. To-day, hundreds of thousands of tramps make the soil resound with their slow and weary steps. Mournful and prophetic cadence! During the fifty years of the growth of this foreboding social fungus, men have kept the ballot box in a brisk state of activity. Year in and year out they have voted to purify politics, taking mud to wash mud off, replacing a bad master by a worse one until elections lost all of their significance and dwindled into mere sports and game. Will woman suffrage remedy the evil? "But," says the woman suffragist, "that bad state of affairs is due to man's ignorance." Will the adding of woman's ignorance to man's improve the condition? Nay, it will but intensify the evil.

Great credit is due, no doubt, to the courageous women who first raised their voices and protested against what they believed to be injustice to their sex. For their indefatigable labors we cannot have too much admiration. Their conclusions are right but their premise is false. It is true indeed that woman has been subjected to social injustice and political despotism. But she is herself responsible for that painful condition. By recognizing sex and the differentiation attached to it, she has raised a barrier around her which shuts out all idea of equality; for on the plane of formal expression, the stronger body and the shrewder mind shall ever have the mastery. *Equality and inequality can be predicated of attributes only, and not of substance; it* may be predicated of sex, but not of the being to whom sex is but an attribute.

Woman has held up the traditional and erroneous idea that man owns a soul (making the soul the objective), instead of holding that the soul owns a body and making of this the objective. She has read the Scriptures or has sat under the teachings of ignorant theologians. She has grasped the letter and squeezed out the spirit. Had she intelligently studied the sacred books, she had at once perceived that *woman* in biblical parlance, means an attribute of man and not a being. "Abraham had two wives, Sarah and Hagar." This is the letter which "kills," and must not be enter-

tained. The spirit lies back of the allegory: Abraham passed through two periods of spiritual growth; one the state of law (Hagar means Mount Sinai in Arabia), the other the state of grace. The former represents *bondage*, the latter represents *liberation*. (Read Galatians iv., 22, 3, 4, 5, 6, as explained by St. Paul.) All the feminine personages found in the Bible represent characters, attributes, qualities, states and conditions in the human being; *in man as well as in woman.*

Through sheer ignorance, we have enshrined in our minds the human attribute called sex, and have worshiped the fetish. Our marriage institution, its laws and ceremonies have been builded on that fetish worship. What we unite in matrimony are two bodies differently polarized; of the soul we take no cognizance. The feminine party surrenders to the masculine everything that nature has bestowed upon her in her quality, *not of woman*, but of human being. By the act of marriage, she becomes nameless, homeless, propertyless, childless. The name she bears is the husband's, not hers; the home in which she lives is the husband's, not hers; the product of her labor is the husband's, not hers; the children she brings into the world are the husband's, not hers; the children bear the name of him who owns them. Throughout married life she remains but a woman; the adjunct of man even though she become a mother. That greatest and most august of titles has no recognition at the hand of our marriage laws. A wife remains a woman, the servant of man; motherhood does not relieve her of the state of subjection. In the Bible we read that woman is redeemed by the children she bears, the meaning being that the woman disappears in the mother. *The mother*, the MOTHER! She, the Empress of the three worlds, the power and glory that fills the universe!—but not so in Christendom; there the woman remains the woman forever; an illusive attribute, always; a substantial reality, never!

I have no condemnation for our marriage laws and customs; they are the inevitable outcome of the belief that the body is the man, and of the act of relegating the soul to a secondary place.

This abnormality is due to the idea instilled into our minds by the prevalence of materialistic philosophies, that marriage is a social contract and not a sacrament. The State magistrate can join nothing but the physical and tangible expression of man and woman. So long as we look upon marriage as a *contract*, so long shall we have endless numbers of divorces and no amount of legislative enactments can avail, for in matter there can be no unity except a forced one, which by the laws of things must break of its own tension. Unity belongs to soul, to spirit, and not to matter which, by itself, is divisible and ever tends to dispersion.

Marriage is a sacrament, a holy union of souls which "no man can break asunder." It has no relation to things terrestrial. The magistrate tries to unite bodies; being the representative of an act of contract, he cannot reach the soul. Only the spiritual teacher can consecrate the union of souls, and marriage, I repeat again and again, is the union of souls and not of bodies, it is the symbol of the realization of the merging into the oneness (Adwaita).

"Through thee," says the bridegroom, "I became conscious of thyself in me; through me thou became conscious of myself in thee!"

The Hindu marriage ceremony is highly suggestive of the holiness of this sacrament. A screen is dropped between the bride and the bridegroom by which they can see nothing but each other's eyes, for in the eyes shines the light of the soul. Their bodies being thus concealed, the young people are reminded that marriage is of the soul and not of the senses. As they gaze into each other's eyes their souls blend, and in that divine fusion nothing material or sensual mars the purity of their beings. In that sublime and holy picture, look not for the *blushing* bride! She, the pure one, does not blush, has nothing to blush for. Child-like, she knows of no impurity!

But when marriage takes place on the plane of the senses, then the woman, Eve-like, blushes. In newspaper reports we read: "Mr. James Jones led to the altar his *blushing* bride." What made her blush? We never read of the blushing bridegroom; why? Is he above it, or beneath?

The woman blushes because she believes that the man is wedding her body, her physical conformity. The man does not blush because he believes that the woman is not wedding his body, though she be not wedding his soul.

Were I to unite a couple into matrimony, and know that they seek union in the ordinary plane of senses, I would say to the bride: "Woman, be submissive to and obey the man you have chosen for your husband. The woman on earth represents matter, the sphere of diversity, and matter is servant to the spirit; nature is for the use of the soul. Woman was produced for man and not man for woman."

But were I to unite two beings who understood that they are souls and not bodies, I would say: "You stand here as two souls equally great, equally pure and sublime. Let the two souls be blended into one, and shine with increased brilliancy; let the two flames become one and radiate on all things; let the Spirit be glorified. 'What God has joined let no man set asunder.'"

In India, on the day of the wedding, a fire is lighted by the young couple which never must be extinguished so long as both remain in this earthly life. Fire is symbolic of the spirit, or unity, explaining that, by marriage the two re-become one, the dual aspects of man and woman are re-united; matter disappears, soul only remains. From this sacred fire all the other fires for sacrifices are to be lighted.

"There was a time," said a Hindu woman, "when he was a man and I a woman. Then as love grew, I no longer knew that he was a man and I a woman. And as love grew still more, all I remembered was that once there were two souls, and love came and made them one."

Where were then the perpendicular line (|) and the horizontal (—) of the separate sex symbol? Vanished! Nothing remained but the cross (–|–), nothing but that beautiful emblem of union, of life and love; that threshold of the Sanctuary of the Divine Presence; that transcendental symbol of Fullness and Glorification!

The reducing of marriage to a material contract and the superstition of sex are the worms that gnaw at the heart of western nations. In India, in that land of chastity wor-

ship, woman is recognized the owner of her own body, a right for which our most advanced women are now vehemently struggling. There, no law gives the husband control over his wife's person. The man, likewise, owns his own body; he knows what is right for him to do. If he do not know, he shall learn. Experience, wisdom, intuition and the atmosphere of purity that surrounds his wife will soon teach him that chastity in thought, in word, and in deed, is the corner stone of all knowledge and happiness.

Unlike the Hindus, we believe that a rope is necessary to keep together the two bodies that have been united in matrimony. No sooner is the presence of the rope felt than efforts are made to loosen its stringency. Have no rope; let go all idea of compulsion. Force is deadly to love. Take a man for the value of his qualities, the beauty of his mind, the effulgent purity of his soul. Say not: "Your body belongs to me"—insult him not with so low an estimation of his being. The very insinuation that he might be unfaithful is an affront flung at his soul; it degrades him, and degrades you still more. Close your eyes to his defects; think how much you have contributed to evolve out of him feelings of pride and arrogance. You have stood before him as a being of pure matter, inferior to him in accordance with the laws of material forms; or have assumed an attitude of rivalry and defiance instead of overlooking sex differentiation, and shining on him with the light of your sexless soul. The teachings he received from his mother were such that he grew in the idea of the superiority of the male sex, and nature gave him strength and power to back up his belief. His mother never taught him that he was not a man but a soul, and that in souls no differentiation can exist. With all these incentives to pride and despotism he still retains a heart full of kindness, sympathy and devotion. Where can a better proof be found that divinity dwells within him, that he is incorruptible. He is not a body, he is a soul; you are not a body, you are a soul. Let your two souls be united by love as thought and the object of thought are united by perception.

FINIS.

"Ekam sat viprah Bahndha Vadanti."

—Rigreda, I:64.

(That which exists is One; men call it variously.)

Jesus Christ the Emancipator of Women.

(Abridged Edition.)

By REV. C. C. HARRAH.

Some of the most touching facts in the life of Christ relate to women. His mission to them has not been understood, because the church that men see and know has been busy with other matters. If Christians will lead the world to see Jesus on this side of His teaching and work, there is enough to bind the heart of mankind to him forever.

Woman Formerly a Slave.

Woman was a slave in all the past except in favored localities and at rare intervals. A slave was no more in bondage. Might made right; and history is one long record of cruelty to the subordinate by the ruling classes. Woman was classed with the subordinates, and was relegated to the realm of ignorance and servitude. Such a thing was not known as the rights of a woman's individual conscience. The general belief was that she had no soul.

Authority for the subjection of woman is sought in what transpired after sin entered the world; while Christ says: "From the beginning it was not so," and places the authority for the relation of the sexes in the original state of things in Eden. God's thought of woman appears where He appointed Huldah to be a prophet, and Deborah to be a warrior, judge and prophet—just as He appointed men at other times. This equality was to be a permanent feature of the Messiah's reign of truth and justice: "I will pour out of my spirit upon my servants and upon my handmaids."

Jesus the Emancipator.

Jesus the Emancipator began his reform at Nazareth by saying: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor; He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised." When a reformer speaks at his own home, in the beginning of a campaign to bear witness to the truth, first words are key words. They express the truth that has taken grip on every fibre of his soul, and commit him to a line of action. What welcome words were these to the hard-working poor, and to the women who had shared in the thraldom of the centuries! They "wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of His mouth." From busy men Jesus called twelve to follow Him. Theirs was not an office, in the modern meaning of that word, but a service, to lift up and save the world. Women followed without a call. They needed none, to accept the Leader or the work. As in the characters of all great men, there was much of womanliness in Christ; and the woman side of human nature instinctively recognized and welcomed Him. The work He began was their own. No movement of any great importance has ever taken place in the world in which women have not played a prominent part as workers. Christ assumed that women would be His friends, and there is no intimation that a woman ever spoke a word against Him.

Nothing in Jesus' reform work has a pre-eminence over the recognition of women and their rights. In no instance does He appear in controversy with them. He defended their rights in marriage, and condemned the practice of husbands divorcing their wives for any cause but one. (Matt. xix:9.) Man and woman were to meet on equal terms in life-long union; each honoring the other, and both training their children amidst the sanctities of a pure family life. Through all time, men had taken for themselves the license of lust, and applied the law of purity to women. Jesus made chastity equally binding on both. He addressed men especially and required of them even purity in thought. (Matt. v:28.) In cases of sin, the better circumstances and the superior power of man were recognized, and he was held to be the greater sinner. This is the lesson taught where that band of men, with the arrogance which belongs to those who have the power of law in their own hands, brought a woman, legally and physically helpless, to Jesus. Her sin was known, but the hollow-hearted men were able to conceal theirs. They quickly and sneakingly fled, when Jesus applied the principle of justice to the case, by saying: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."

All this was new to the world. Never before had men been addressed in such burning words and with such authority. Bad men quickly learned to hate the Reformer, because He hated their lusts and evil deeds. The women rejoiced that they had found one who gave them justice, apologized for them in their hard circumstances, and respected their worth. One after another came to him with her sufferings, and no one went away heavy-hearted or unblest. Mothers' hearts were touched by such an unheard-of example of goodness and righteousness, and they brought their little children and begged His blessing upon them.

Before this time, Mary of Magdala had found a friend in the great Teacher. As Jesus went through the cities and villages preaching, this woman, and Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and "many others," ministered unto Him of their substance. History has no record of any philosopher or rabbi

who had such a following of women as Jesus had. It is a fitting tribute to the devotion of the women, that the names of some of those who followed the Savior are handed down to us; while the names of the men are lost, with the exception of the twelve.

In passing through Samaria at one time, Jesus gave a mighty impulse to the advancement of woman to a place of equality with man. At Jacob's well he met a humble woman, of poor antecedents, but in whom He recognized her better self. It was forbidden to a rabbi to speak with a woman in public, or to take any notice of her, and His disciples marveled that He talked with this one. But, as at other times, Jesus treated with contempt all the practices which had for their end the exaltation of one sex by humbling the other. Never did apostle or prophet receive a richer message to bear to the world than that which was given to this woman. Through her, Christ gave to mankind their charter of spiritual liberty. Our astonishment is still greater when we consider that to this woman Jesus made the first disclosure of Himself as the Messiah, "I that speak unto thee am He." Such an incident makes plain, as no mere words can, the respect that Jesus had for woman.

Even the wife of Pilate, who by her wealth and position knew not the hardships which come to the poor, appreciated Christ's work for her sex. It was left for this heathen woman to be the only human being who had the courage to plead the cause of our Lord at that dreadful time when the disciples forsook Him; and when the fanatical multitude cried out for His crucifixion, she sent word to her husband: "Have thou nothing to do with that just man."

It was the grandest tribute ever paid to a public teacher, and a testimony that His life work had been for them, that, when the rulers of the Jews, attended by the Roman soldiers and the cruel mob, were hurrying Jesus to the place of crucifixion, "a great company of women" followed, and with tears bewailed and lamented Him. Poor women! Like the millions of their sisters whose hearts have been broken by the existence of wrongs, all that they could do was to weep. How can any one who has Christ's spirit of reform keep silent, and let this crying of broken-hearted women unceasingly go on, because ours is not a government of the homes, and by the homes, and for the homes? As if thinking of all the injustice and sorrow yet to come upon women, and forgetting Himself, Jesus said: "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children."

Paul's Views.

At the birth of Christ, God gave to Simeon a prophetic power; and it is a fact of Divine meaning that at the same time Anna was endowed with power from on high. She was the first evangelist, and "spake of Him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem." Women first declared Christ's resurrection. On the day of Pentecost, God fulfilled His promise: "On my servants and on my hand-maidens will I pour forth of my spirit, and they shall prophesy." The four daughters of Philip prophesied. Paul's definition of prophesying shows that all these women preached the Gospel: "He that prophesieth, speaketh unto men for edification, and exhortation, and comfort." No preacher does more than that. Priscilla and Aquila (her name is correctly mentioned first in the Revised Version) had a church in their house. Phoebe was a deaconess of the church in Cenchrea, and the honored messenger that carried Paul's letter to Rome. In this letter, the Apostle speaks of Tryphena and Tryphosa, "who labor in the Lord"; and other women are mentioned who were prominent in the church. He said to the Philippians: "Help those women who labored with me in the Gospel."

The advocates of the subjection of women have studiously avoided Christ and made much of Paul. Why should they put him against his Master, when he speaks of women, as well as men, as fellow-workers in Christ, and gives as much praise to them? Like a sensible man, the apostle accepted social institutions as he found them, and gave the directions that the circumstances required to men, women, slaves, and children. There were good reasons for saying: "Let the women keep silence in the congregations" at Corinth; where the people reveled in the excesses of wealth and luxury; where they abandoned themselves to vice and profligacy; where hundreds of bold courtezans appeared on the streets and in public places, and the name "Corinthian," as applied to a woman, meant a bad character; where virtuous women, for their own protection, had to go veiled. To apply this "keep silence" to women now, and thus bury their talents by apostolic law, is an insult to them and to Paul, and a sin against God. By the same authority they should go veiled. Instead of inciting a useless rebellion against customs and circumstances, Paul waited for the harvest of righteousness and Christian civilization by-and-by.

If, in order to correct abuses, the apostles mentioned Eve and her transgression, and Sarah and her obedience, and if that is a reason why the world must forever be cursed by the subjection of women, then slavery should exist also, because, in order to correct abuses, the apostles commanded servants to obey their masters, and gave other directions to slaves. Then the banner of our Christian civilization would bear the twin mottoes: "He shall rule over her," and "Cursed be Canaan." What an insult to

the Emancipator, who, when He began His work at Nazareth, said He was sent "to set at liberty them that are bruised!" There is no intimation of a sex-sovereignty before sin came into the world, and from Christ and Eden we learn the mind of God.

Paul is not against Christ. The thought was far in advance of the ideas and prejudices of his time, when he said: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." That was a Declaration of Independence, the like of which our fathers came near expressing, when they said: "All men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Paul's idea of human equality and human rights was as broad as his idea of equal accountability to God and Divine benevolence in redemption. Is it not time now to stop throwing the Bible in the way of every reform and of the onward march of civilization?

The Reform Went Onward.

The principles taught by Christ uprooted the errors upon which the social system of paganism rested. It is owing to what Christ has done that society now recognizes the right of a wife to her own religious convictions, and to be religious whether her husband is or not. Christianity was a woman's movement, not very different from that which we now see in churches, and mission boards, and Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, and Equal Rights Associations. Lecky is sustained by the highest authorities when he says: "In no other important movement of thought was female influence so powerful or so acknowledged."

While Jesus was making his efforts to better woman's condition, he made this charge against the Pharisees and Scribes: "Ye devour widow's houses." This marked out a line of reform, and to remember the widow and fatherless became a test of pure religion. The reform was gradual, but the church never lost sight of it; and many of the disabilities and disadvantages which burdened wives and widows were removed. Christ inaugurated the reform, and its progress is marked by the long-continued efforts in Europe and America to rid the statute books of laws made in the sole interest of men, and denying to wives and mothers and widows their just rights. The hardships put upon women in making a living, the injustice of paying them less wages than men for doing the same amount of work, and the laws which give husbands advantages over wives—all these things, because covered by the same principle, are a devouring of widows' houses, and the reform must still go onward.

Golden Rule Religion.

Christ gave the Golden Rule—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This will vitalize every humane movement while the world stands. It is eternally opposed to a civilization or a government where man is the integer and woman the cipher, having value only as appended to him. Its principle of fair dealing put the ballot into the hands of men, as the equals of each other. In the beginning of the nation, some of the wisest men doubted the capacity of the masses for self-government. But how groundless are fears, when the change is in the line of justice!

Those who fear to give woman the ballot ought to learn from the past, and see their folly. It must come, for Christ began a reform that leads to it, and there is no sex in His Golden Rule. In his "History of Human Progress" Mr. Brace says: "The progress of the religious sentiment and of right reason will be continually in this direction, towards asserting the absolute legal independence of women. It will be asked: Does not this lead to the share of women in government? Undoubtedly it does ultimately. Christianity by itself no more teaches female suffrage than it does man suffrage, or republicanism; but it throws into human society that sentiment of equality before God, that principle of equal rights and equal responsibility, and of universal brotherhood, which all lead logically to these results."

The country needs a Golden Rule in religion and patriotism, when one class of the community heaps miseries upon the other class, because of unwillingness and stupid incapacity of the one to put itself in the other's place. The condition of the *millions of women in the United States who earn their own living should be considered in the light of the Golden Rule. Those who are in bonds should be remembered, as if we were bound with them. I beg satisfied ladies of fortune, and gentlemen who boast of the perfection of "woman's sphere" and our Christian civilization, to imitate Christ by going among the people of want, and there learn the lessons of needed change.

Go to the stores and shops where the products of women's labor are sold, and prove the truth of what the Bureau of Labor statistics of Illinois has said: that there should be a "change in the policy of merchants who are passing the lives of women over their counters in every package of this ill-paid work they sell." Go to their homes, and see that these women with needles and thread are making, not their living only, but their shrouds. Go and learn how helpless women are driven to lives of shame,

*5,319,912 in 1900, according to the U. S. census.

and then despised by the class of persons who have lived off their labor and their tears. Pity and be just, when you know that no woman tramp comes to your kitchen door begging for a breakfast.

Among the hundreds of thousands of women in New York City who earn their own living was a widow who did sewing on boys' caps at thirty-six cents per dozen. I found her at a time when she was in great distress because of unpaid rent. She had nothing but the sewing machine and stove that could be called furniture; and at times worked most of the night, and went without necessary food for herself and children.

I know it to be a fact that at this time of distress, favors were offered her by a man connected with the house for which she worked, if she would turn to an immoral life. Put yourself in that woman's place, and then consider that, if we do not directly lead others into evil, we may aid in making the hard circumstances that result in evil. Hypocrites pretend to abhor wickedness, while by injustice and hard dealings they drive others into it.

Where the Golden Rule is true, the subordination of woman is a lie. But if women have equal political rights with men, will that improve their condition? It looks like it, when the laboring men of the country regard their own ballots as most effective means of defense against injustice. Women need this same means of protecting themselves in the maintenance of life, liberty and happiness. It looks like it when every father knows that his daughter would have a better chance for a living and for justice with the ballot than without it, if at some future time she should be left a mother and a widow, poor and alone—left to struggle through the hardships endured by hundreds of thousands of working women, and required to protect herself against the injustice and cruelty of the wicked and strong.

More Applied Christianity.

The method by which Jesus sought to liberate woman was not alone by giving her rights, but by making her personally responsible, equally with man, for the use of the talents God had intrusted to her. All noble characters are the product of the conviction of personal responsibility. I envy not the account to God of those who busy themselves in burying woman's talents.

It will be a blessing to women and a happy day for the nation when responsibility for its laws and life rests equally upon its citizens. The virtue of the people never can be expressed in the laws until the unit of the nation is the family. One sex has equal significance with the other. Christianity is a family religion; and when the cottages govern, we shall have a Christian civilization. To disfranchise the women is to disfranchise the family, and largely the virtue of the nation. While we have in this country the best men on the face of the earth, still it is true that the overwhelming majority in the prisons, and almost all those in the dram-shops, are of their sex; while women are in the majority in the churches and all good work. God will never let the conflict between good and evil now going on in the nation end until all the virtue of the Republic is expressed at the polls.

Applied Christianity means liberty to all. The want of liberty has cursed the world, and filled it with groans, and kept the hedged-in victims weak. The principles of Christ guarantee to men and women democratic liberty. It is not consistent for men to oppose woman's ballot by an apostolic command for wives to be "subject to their own husbands," when the same authority enjoins them, when a Nero is on the throne, to be "subject unto the higher powers," and to "honor the king." With as much reason, Tories once tried to barricade with Bibles and muskets our fathers' way to independence. The gospel principles of personal responsibility and accountability forced our fathers into independence; and by them all the "bruised" ones of earth shall yet be set at liberty, and the reform that Jesus began at Nazareth shall be accomplished.

Many understand our national constitution to contain already all that is necessary for the equal political rights of both sexes. Clear to all there is written in it, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free." The same principles that have driven the darkness out of the world enough to make the changes already effected possible, will continue to work—shooting down through human convictions like rays of burning light from the throne of God—until, in the Constitution, is also clearly written: "There is neither male nor female." God now puts the responsibility upon all patriots and Christians to see to it that their representatives in Congress and in the Legislatures are the friends of this great reform. Every voter should go to the polls to vote as he prays, and with the patriot's prayer in his heart:

"God, give us men! A time like this demands
Great hearts, strong minds, true faith, and willing hands;
Men whom the lust for office does not kill;
Men brave for truth, men whom the weak can trust;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will be just."

EQUAL SUFFRAGE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT, OFFICIAL BALLOT NUMBER 302.

PUT AN [X] OPPOSITE 302 ON YOUR BALLOT NEXT JUNE.

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FEDERAL SUFFRAGE.

A Brief prepared by Mrs. James Bennett of Kentucky, upon receipt of a note from Senator Hoar of Massachusetts saying that a printed brief of her views would be considered by the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate.

Gentlemen of the Judiciary Committee
of the United States Senate:

In 1896 the members of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association had a memorial presented to the Congressmen of that year, asking them to protect white and black women equally with black men against State denial of the right to vote for members of the Congress and Electors of the President and Vice President of the United States, by a law made in pursuance of the first section of the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution, in accordance with the combined Minor *v.* Happersett and Yarbrough decisions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

And I now ask you, gentlemen, to recommend our Congressmen of the present year to do white and black women this justice.

I do not ask our Congressmen to protect women in that new "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," which the Judges of the Yarbrough decision of 1884 have affirmed in that decision that the 15th Amendment of our National Constitution conferred upon women as well as upon men when it was adopted by our several States in 1870.

I ask our Congressmen to protect white and black women equally with black men against State denial of that old "right to vote" for members of the Congress and Electors of the President and Vice President of the United States which the original Constitution of the United States conferred upon women as well as upon men when it was adopted by the several original States in 1789.

That old right to vote for members of the Congress and Electors of the President and Vice President of the United States, which women and black men both exercised in New Jersey upon equal terms with white men until 1807, when that State deprived them of their right to vote for these Federal officers by making and enforcing a law which confined the right to vote for the most numerous branch of its State Legislature to white men.

And I do not claim that women have acquired a guarantee of an equal protection of Congress with black men against State denial of the old right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the States from the fact that the Judges of the Yarbrough

decision affirmed in that decision that the 15th Amendment of our National Constitution was a *conferment* of the new right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," upon women as well as upon men.

Because I realize that the 15th Amendment of our National Constitution can not be a *conferment* of a new right of exemption upon men and women in 1870, and a *guarantee* to them of the old right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors at one and the same time; just as the judges of the Yarbrough decision realized this fact when they rendered that decision.

I claim that women have acquired a guarantee of an equal protection of Congress with black men against State denial of the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the States from the fact that the judges of the Yarbrough decision of 1884 have indirectly affirmed that the right of suffrage is one of the "necessary" privileges of a citizen of the United States, by declaring in that decision that the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the States was "conferred by the Constitution of the United States" upon the "citizen," and guaranteed against the statutes of the States by the first section of its 14th Amendment, after the members of this Court who rendered the Minor *v.* Happersett decision of 1878, in considering the right of Mrs. Minor to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the State of Missouri under the first section of the 14th Amendment

had said in that decision: "If the right of suffrage is one of the necessary privileges of a citizen of the United States, then the Constitution and laws of Missouri confining it to men are in violation of the Constitution of the United States as amended, and consequently void."

The Judges who rendered the Minor *v.* Happersett decision of 1875 did not affirm in the case of Mrs. Minor that the 14th Amendment had made void the Constitution and laws of Missouri, confining the right of suffrage to men, if the Constitution of the United States conferred the right to vote for members of Congress upon *women*, as some of you gentlemen may have been led to suppose from reading the Yarbrough decision of the members of their court.

The Judges who rendered the Minor *v.* Happersett decision of 1875 affirmed in the case of Mrs. Minor that those rights which were derived from our National Constitution were the "necessary" privileges of citizens of the United States, and those which were derived from the Constitutions of our States were not; and that they were unanimously of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States did not confer the right of suffrage upon any one, and that the Constitutions and laws of the several States which committed that important trust to men alone, had not been made void by that clause of the 14th Amendment which said, "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

But that Mrs. Minor had always been a citizen from her birth, was "entitled to all the privileges and immu-

nities of citizenship," and guaranteed against State denial of any right which was derived from our National Constitution by the first section of its 14th Amendment. And if the right to vote at any elections in the States was derived from our National Constitution, and the right of suffrage was therefore one of the necessary privileges of citizens of the United States, then the Constitutions and laws of the several States confining the right to men were in violation of the Constitution of the United States as amended, and consequently void.

Under our government of written law, no persons have a right to vote at any public elections in any State, except those upon whom the Constitution of that State or the Constitution of the United States has conferred a right.

And the fact that the Constitution of New Jersey, with which it was admitted into the Union, was adopted about thirteen years before our National Constitution creating the office of member of Congress was written, makes it manifest that the right to vote for members of Congress, which women and black men exercised in New Jersey upon equal terms with white men until 1807, was derived from our National Constitution.

For it is impossible that the Constitution of New Jersey, which was adopted years before our National Constitution creating the office of member of Congress was written, could have conferred upon men and women a right to vote for the occupants of an office that did not exist at the time it was adopted.

And the Judges who rendered the Yarbrough decision of 1884 have indirectly affirmed that the right to vote for members of Congress which women exercised in New Jersey, as well as the right to vote for these Federal officers which men exercised in that State, was derived from our National Constitution, by declaring in that decision that the right to vote for members of Congress in the States was conferred by the Constitution of the United States upon the "citizen." For women have always been citizens the same as men, as the Judges of the Minor *v.* Happersett decision have proved by an elaborate argument in that decision.

But the Judges of the Yarbrough decision, in attempting to apologize for the members of their Court having held in the case of Mrs. Minor that the right to vote for members of Congress, which men and women exercised in New Jersey upon equal terms until 1807, was derived from the Constitution of that State, have indirectly declared that the members of their Court who rendered the Minor *v.* Happersett decision had been guilty of intending to affirm in the case of Mrs. Minor that the right to vote for members of Congress which men exercised in New Jersey was derived from our National Constitution, but the right to vote for these Federal officers which women exercised in that State was not derived from that instrument.

For they declare in their Yarbrough decision that when the members of their Court said in the case of Minor *v.* Happersett that they were unanimously of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States did

not confer the right of suffrage upon "anyone," they were combatting the argument that the Constitution conferred the right to vote for members of Congress upon "all citizens, and therefore upon women as well as upon men."

And that when the members of their Court said, in the case of Minor *v.* Happersett, that they were unanimously of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States did not confer the right of suffrage upon anyone, they intended to say that the right to vote for members of Congress was not definitely conferred upon any persons by the Constitution of the United States alone; because the Constitution adopted as the qualification for voters of members of Congress that which prevailed in the State where the voting was to be done, and you therefore had to look to the law of the State for a description of the persons upon whom the Constitution of the United States conferred the right to vote for members of Congress.

But fortunately for the reputation of the Judges who rendered the Minor *v.* Happersett decision of 1875, as intelligent and truthful men, they have themselves declared in their Cruikshank decision of 1876 that in the case of Minor *v.* Happersett they had decided that the Constitution of the United States had not conferred the right of suffrage upon anyone, and that the United States had no voters of their own creation in the States.

And, since the Judges in the Minor *v.* Happersett decision of 1875, were combatting the argument that the right to vote for members of Congress, which men

and women exercised in New Jersey, upon equal terms until 1807, when they said in that decision that they were unanimously of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States did not confer the right of suffrage upon anyone, it is manifest that they indirectly affirmed that the right of all citizens to vote for members of Congress was derived from the Constitution of the States, and that the right of suffrage, therefore, was not one of the necessary privileges of citizens of the United States or necessary attributes of national citizenship, when they refused to protect some black men in the exercise of the right to vote at "any" election to be held in the State of Louisiana, under the Enforcement Act of 1870, by using the following words in their Cruikshank decision of 1876:

"In Minor *v.* Happersett, 21 Wall., 178 (88 U. S., XXII, 631), we decided that the Constitution of the United States has not conferred the right of suffrage upon anyone, and that the United States have no voters of their own creation in the States. In U. S. *v.* Reese, just decided, we hold that the 15th Amendment has invested the citizens of the United States with a new constitutional right, which is exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. From this it appears that the right of suffrage is not a necessary attribute of national citizenship; but that exemption from discrimination in the exercise of that right on account of race, etc., is. The right to vote in the States comes from the States; but the right of exemption from

the prohibited discrimination comes from the United States. The first has not been granted or secured by the Constitution of the United States; but the last has been. Inasmuch, therefore, as it does not appear in these counts that the intent of the defendants was to prevent these parties from exercising their right to vote on account of their race, etc., it does not appear that it was their intent to interfere with any right granted or secured by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

I think it is true, as the Judges of the Supreme Court thus indirectly affirmed in their Cruikshank decision of 1876, that Congress is not warranted by our National Constitution in passing acts providing punishments for the protection of persons in the exercise of rights which have not been granted or secured by our National Constitution; and that they were correct when they said in their Reese decision of that year, that "Rights and immunities created by or dependent upon the Constitution of the United States can be protected by Congress."

Because the 6th Article of our National Constitution, by declaring that the Constitution of the United States and the United States laws made in pursuance thereof shall be the Supreme law of this land, "anything in the Constitution or law of any State to the contrary notwithstanding," necessarily implies that such acts of Congress as are made in pursuance of our National Constitution are valid, and such as are not made in pursuance of that instrument are invalid, null, and void.

The Judges of the Supreme Court in their combined Minor *v.* Happersett and Yarbrough decisions have indi-

rectly affirmed that the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution made void the Constitutions and laws of the States which confined the right of citizens of the United States to vote for members of the Congress and Electors of the President and Vice President of the United States to men, when it said: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

And since the 14th Amendment made void the Constitutions and laws of the several States which confined the right of citizens of the United States to vote for these Federal officers to men, it is easy to see that it restored to women that right to vote for members of the Congress and Electors of the President and Vice-President of the United States in New Jersey, of which they were deprived by a State law in 1807, and conferred upon women a right to vote for these Federal officers in every other State of the Union.

So I most earnestly entreat you, gentlemen of the Committee, to recommend our Congressmen to protect white and black women equally with black men against State denial of the right to vote for members of the Congress and Electors of the President and Vice President of the United States by a law made pursuance of the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution.

I say equally with black men, because, as the Judges of the Supreme Court say, in some of their decisions, the equality of citizens before the law is one of the fundamental doctrines of all republican governments.

And I am the more earnest in entreating you, gentle-

men of the committee, to recommend our Congressmen to do white and black women this justice, because the Judges of the Minor *v.* Happersett decision of 1875, by affirming in that decision that the 14th Amendment has guaranteed women protection against State denial of any rights which are derived from our National Constitution, have rendered it impossible for our Congressmen to *refuse or neglect* to protect women in the right to vote for members of the Congress and Electors of the President an Vice President of the United States without claiming, as these judges did in their Cruikshank decision of 1876, in the case of black men, that the right to vote for these Federal officers is derived from the Constitutions of the States, and that Congress, therefore, has no constitutional power to make laws providing punishments for the protection of our citizens in the exercise of the right to vote for them in the States, which is a claim so sure to lead to the destruction of our republican institutions that it decided the Judges of the Yarbrough decision of 1884 to declare in that decision that the right to vote for members of the Congress and Electors of the President and Vice President of the United States was derived from our National Constitution even if they did thus indirectly affirm that the right to vote for these Federal officers in the States was one of the "necessary" privileges of citizens of the United States, and that the Constitutions and laws of the several States, therefore, confining it to men, had been made void by the adoption of the 14th Amendment.

A majority of the white men of this nation, by extend-

ing the ballot to black, red and yellow men in preference to their own wives, have delivered the white women of this country, who constitute a part of "the church of God, which he hath purchased with his *own* blood," as St. Paul says, in the 20th chapter of Acts, and not with the blood of another, into what Benjamin Franklin calls slavery to men of every race and color without regard to their previous condition of servitude.

For, as Benjamin Franklin wrote: They who have neither voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to them who have votes and to their representatives. For to be enslaved is to have governors whom other men have set over us and to be subject to laws made by the representatives of others, without having had representatives of our own to give consent in our behalf.

And I believe that the principal thing that has induced the white men of this nation to extend the ballot to black, red, and yellow men in preference to their own wives is because they have so construed the Bible as to make God commission husbands to rule over their wives.

I believe that a majority of the white men of this nation think as I once did, and as many men now preach from our church pulpits, that God commissioned every husband to rule over his wife when he said unto Eve, "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee" (Gen., 3 : 16); and that St. Paul authorized husbands to rule over their wives when he said unto women, "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord; for the husband is the head of

the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body." (Eph., 5 : 22, 23.)

But I now realize that God never punished one person for a sin that another had committed, and that he therefore never condemned any woman of the present day to be ruled over by her husband as a punishment for a sin that Eve committed against him six thousand years ago in the Garden of Eden.

And I now realize that St. Paul's having commanded women to submit themselves unto their own husbands as doing it unto the Lord, no more justifies men in ruling over their wives than Christ's having said, "Resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" (Matt., 5 : 39), would justify women in making laws to force strong men to hold still while their enemies boxed them first on one cheek and then on the other.

God has commanded us all, men as well as women, not to resist evil with material forces, but to overcome it by submitting to it. For submission is a spiritual power by which the weak can overthrow the rule of the strong in every relation of life. Look, says Herbert Spencer, at the tribal age of man: One tribe wars against another, and at first they kill their captives; but the selfishness of man coming into play, they determine to make slaves of them. Those prisoners who submit save their lives, and they or their descendants become citizens of the country; those that resist are killed.

God commanded wives to submit to the rule of their husbands over them, just as Christ submitted himself to

the rule of man over him on the day of his crucifixion. Because by submitting to the rule of men over them and then crying aloud against its injustice, as Christ did when he said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke, 23 : 34), women can send a conviction of crime into the hearts of men and make them repent of their wickedness.

But you gentlemen may say: If women think that men are unjust in ruling over their wives, why are a majority of the women of this country now submitting in silence to the rule of men over them? Why do they not cry unto their Heavenly Father for deliverance from the injustice of men, just as a little child cries unto her earthly father for deliverance from the rule of her brother over her; as Sarah did when she cried unto God against the injustice of Abraham, by saying unto him aloud, "The Lord judge between me and thee," and let "my wrong be upon thee?" (Gen., 16 : 5.)

Or why do they not cry unto God for deliverance from the injustice of man, as David cried against the persecution of Saul; as you did, when you called upon God to plead your right to vote in this country with the Congressmen of some years ago, through a printed pamphlet you sent to every one of them?

To which I reply: I think the reason that a majority of the women of this country are now submitting in silence to the rule of men over them, is because from listening to men, instead of reading the Bible for themselves, they believe, as I once did, that God had commissioned husbands to rule over their wives, and there-

fore never think of calling upon him to deliver them from the injustice of men. And because they do not realize, as I now do, that by submitting in silence to the rule of men they are imputing the injustice of man to God, and blinding men to a clear perception of the fact that in ruling over women they are violating the commandment of God to love our neighbors as we love ourselves, and do unto them as we would have them do unto us, in " all things whatsoever." (Matt., 7 : 12.)

The Bible teaches that such of us as have been married unto Christ in baptism and become members of his church, have become members of Christ's " body, of his flesh, and of his bones." (Eph., 5 : 30.)

And that the church shall " reign " with Christ (2 Tim., 2 : 12), not that Christ will rule over his church.

So if any man desires to be Christ-like he will have to allow his wife to reign with him on earth, just as Christ intends to allow his church to reign with him in heaven.

But I fear that some of you gentlemen may think as I once did, that if Christ was so weak that he could not deliver himself out of the power of a handful of men on the day of his crucifixion, he is too weak to deliver the female members of his church from the unjust rule of men over them in this country, as JEHOVAH delivered the Jewish members of his church from bondage in Egypt by drowning the Egyptians in the depth of the Red Sea.

And that you therefore do not desire to be like Christ.

So I wish to say that from searching the Scriptures with earnest prayer to find where the Lord God of Israel

was hiding himself (Isa., 45: 15), in order to ask him to deliver the female members of his Son's church from the unjust rule of men over them in this country, I have come to believe that Christ was God himself manifested in the flesh in the form of a man to multitudes of men and women in the days of the Apostles as he was to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and to Abraham and Sarah on the plains of Mamre.

And that God manifested himself in the form of a man in order to play the part of a son unto himself. As if to say unto us, "Since you can not understand what I say do, perhaps you can do as I do, now follow me." (1 Pet., 2: 21.) Example speaks louder than precept. She stoops to conquer.

I believe that Christ is "The Everlasting Father," as he is called in the 9th chapter of Isaiah, where it is written "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given * * * and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace."

I believe that Christ was, as St. Paul says in the 10th chapter of 1st Corinthians, the "ROCK" who followed the Israelites in their wilderness journey, and that Christ was therefore the Jews' JEHOVAH of whom Moses speaks in the 32d chapter of Deuteronomy, when he says—

"Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth.

"My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall

distill as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass.

"Because I will publish the name of the Lord: ascribe ye greatness unto our God. He is the ROCK."

Gentlemen, God is a being in complete subjection to law. He never violates the laws of justice, mercy, or love. If he did, he would cease to be what you and I call God.

When this great Being manifested himself in the flesh to die upon a cross in order to lift his church up to a seat by his own side, that she might reign with him eternally in the heavens, an host of angels rent the skies with the glad acclaim: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."

What, then, must these angels think to see a majority of the white men of this nation, seated side by side with men of every other race and color, looking with complacency down upon their own wives standing as humble suppliants at their feet?

I entreat you, gentlemen, to recommend our Congressmen to make laws compelling these men to lift their wives up to seats by their own sides, and not leave them to be forced by Christ to come down and take places with the women of their own flesh and blood. 1 Cor., 10: 9, 10, 11.)

If they do this, I will pray God to forgive the sin a majority of the white men of this nation have committed against him, in delivering the white woman of this country, who constitute a part of the church he hath

purchased with "his own blcod" (Acts, 20: 28), into what they themselves call slavery to men of every other race and color.

And I will ask my heavenly "Husband" (Isaiah, 44: 5), to so strengthen these men with the might of his holy spirit that each and every one of them shall become, not only to his own wife, but to every oppressed woman a place of hiding, a refuge from the storm, a shadow of THE GREAT ROCK in this weary land.

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S. H. Sawyer

DOES THE BIBLE ALLOW WOMEN TO PREACH?

—BY—

J. W. BASHFORD, PH. D.,

PASTOR OF THE JAMAICA PLAIN M. E. CHURCH.

In 1876, the Jamaica Plain M. E. church, after a thorough examination of one of its members, Miss Anna Oliver, licensed her as a local preacher. She had completed the college course of Rutger's Female College and the theological course in Boston University, with honor, and her own convictions and the results which followed her public testimonies clearly pointed to the ministry as her work. After four years of trial, during which she met with remarkable success as an evangelist, as a pastor at Passaic, N. J., and at Brooklyn, N. Y., the Jamaica Plain Quarterly Conference unanimously recommended her to the Annual Conference as a suitable person to be ordained. The committee from the New England Conference which examines candidates for ordination reported very favorably upon her case and moved that the Conference recommend her to the Bishop for ordination. Bishop Andrews decided that he had no authority under the discipline to ordain a woman and refused to put the question. Dr. Thayer appealed from his decision to the General Conference, which meets in Cincinnati, May 1880, and the case rests here at present.

It should be stated, however, that the New England Conference, by a very large majority, instructed its delegates to the General Conference to vote and work for the removal of all sex distinctions pertaining to the ministry. Also the alumni of the Theological School of Boston University at their annual meeting during conference week passed a similar resolution with but one dissenting vote; and this action meets the hearty concurrence of the faculty of the Theological School. A question which comes before the General Conference advocated by so large and intelligent a body of ministers as the New England Conference and by the alumni and faculty of one of the leading theological schools in America is at least worthy a candid consideration by that body. As pastor of the church which recommended Miss Oliver for ordination, I present some of the reasons which led the church to this action. We are sure from the discussion of the subject thus far, that the decision at Cincinnati will largely hinge upon the question: *Does the Bible allow women to preach?* With three preliminary observations to clear the way, we will then consider the Bible doctrine in regard to woman's preaching.

(1) We are told by the timid and the thoughtless that if the barriers are once broken down, the church will soon be flooded with female preachers. Every candidate's "gifts, grace and usefulness" must be passed upon some dozen times by Quarterly Conferences, committees of examination and the Annual Conference, before he is fully ordained and admitted to the traveling connection. With recommendation after recommendation from the Quarterly Conference, with year after year of trial, with committee after committee of examination from the Annual Conference, with two votes of the Annual Conference for ordination and two more for admission—all standing between the candidate and the ministry, it is simply absurd to speak of our barriers as broken down by this movement. Our ministry is nominally open to every young man in the land. Not one in a hundred passes these barriers and enters a Methodist pulpit. Whoever fears

that emotional and voluble young women will storm this twelve-fold gate and crowd the temple of the Lord, is ignorant of the discipline and polity of the Methodist church.

(2) The Methodist church expects every woman in her fold to publicly witness for Christ. Under this rule it is not strange that some women should develop exceptional talent in our social meetings. The Quarterly Conference of any local church has the right to grant such women licenses as exhorters or local preachers, in which capacity they are authorized by the church to speak from the pulpit. Thus one of the highest functions of the ministry can be discharged without ordinations. Mrs. Van Cott, Phebe Palmer, Miss Oliver, Miss Willard and others are commended by our papers and welcomed to our pulpits as public speakers. Again, many churches employ women to assist the ministers in their pastoral work. For women to visit the sick, minister to the poor and gather children into our Sunday schools is common in all city churches. Practically then, women are now discharging the two most important functions of the minister—public speaking and pastoral work. They are only debarred from administering the sacraments and from all official recognition.

(3) If the classic passage in the 14th chapter of 1 Corinthians forbids women to preach, it forbids them to speak at all in the church. The context shows that it was a social meeting—a meeting to which one brought a psalm, another a doctrine, another a question, another an interpretation—that it was preëminently a social meeting to which Paul alludes in his command. If, then, the command is to be taken literally, it as clearly forbids women taking part in a prayer meeting as it forbids their preaching; and the universal custom of the Methodist church and the growing practice of other denominations are contrary to the plain word of God.

To avoid the contradictions which flow from a literal interpretation of the Bible, commentators have generally adopted the following canons of criticism:

I. Consider all that the writer says and does in regard to the question at issue, comparing passage with passage, and especially looking at the writer's application of his precepts as the best interpretation of what he commands us to do.

II. If there are verbal contradictions, find if possible some central principle, so deep and broad that it is capable of different applications.

III. Study the local circumstances. These often justify different applications of the central principle.

These axioms of criticism must be applied to every writer of St. Paul's breadth to save us from mental anarchy. For instance, he refused to circumcise Titus in obedience to Jewish prejudice, and then circumcised Timothy to conciliate the Jews. He declares his right to eat meat offered to idols, indignantly asks why his liberty is judged by another's conscience, and yet concludes: "If meat cause my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world stands." He commands the slave to obey his master and be content in his bondage, but denounces the slave-dealer along with whore-mongers and liars and murderers. He says we are saved by faith and not by works of righteousness which we have done, and then declares that in the judgment day every man shall be judged according as his works shall be.

Now let us apply these axioms of criticism, which the whole of Paul's writings demands, to his particular directions in regard to women. If any one prefers the literal principle of interpretation in regard to the following passages, we only ask him to apply that same principle to Paul's words about works, about wine drinking and about slavery, before he asks us to apply it in regard to women.

I. Consider all that the writer says and does upon the question at issue, especially interpreting his precepts by his practice. We recall at once Paul's words command-

ing wives to obey their husbands; declaring man to be the head of the woman; ordering man to worship with uncovered head and woman with covered head; declaring that Eve sinned first; telling Timothy that he suffered not women to teach nor to usurp authority; and ordering women to keep silent in the churches. These passages so fully confirm our traditional views that many of us have not sought further light and are hardly aware that other words and acts of Paul cannot be reconciled with the theory that these commands are universal and absolute. Notice, therefore, a little more at length the following passages on the other side, which cannot be passed over if we are to consider all that the author says upon his subject. In Paul's letter to the Galatians, he states unqualifiedly that in the new dispensation there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond or free, neither male or female. We know how completely Christ abolished the false distinction between Jew and Greek. We are just learning how completely the Christian law abolishes the false distinction between slave and master. We shall presently learn also how completely the Christian law abolishes all special rights and honors which are now claimed by either of the sexes. Our children will be as much astonished that we could hold to the superior rights of one sex over the other in the face of this last clause, as we are astonished that Jews and slaveholders could hold to their superior rights under the first two clauses. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ."

Again in the 11th chapter of I Corinthians, Paul, after declaring that the woman is created for the man and that the man is the head of the woman, adds: "Nevertheless neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man, *sn the Lord.* For as the woman is of the man, so is the man also by the woman, but all things of God." The two statements seem contradictory. We shall try to reconcile them under the third head. We only notice now that Paul calls our attention on beyond the actual relations of man and woman in sin to their ideal relation in the Lord and declares that in this relation each is equally of and for the other.

Again our first canon commands us to learn the reach of Paul's precepts by studying the way in which he himself applies them. He forbids the Corinthian women to speak in meeting. We inquire whether this is a local direction to a turbulent Greek church, or an eternal principle. Happily Paul's conduct and letters to other churches throw much light upon this precept. We read in the 21st chapter of Acts that Paul visited Cæsarea, where Philip's four daughters were prophesying. This word is applied in the New Testament either to public teaching or to the act of receiving special messages from the Lord for the people. These women were plainly teaching the church at Cæsarea, either by the ordinary method or by special messages from God. Paul, instead of openly denouncing their work as violating some eternal principle of right and therefore of the devil; instead of even passing by their church as irregular in its worship, tarried many days with these women, thus publicly recognizing their work; and Luke, so far from treating their conduct even as a venial sin to be passed over in silence, records the prophesying or teaching of these women as an apostolic example to other women.

Again, Priscilla and her husband, Aquila, finding that Apollos did not understand the gospel, took the eloquent preacher aside and instructed him. Instead of rebuking the forwardness of this presumptuous woman Paul publicly salutes her and her husband as helpers in Christ, and he so far forgot her husband's inherent superiority as to mention Priscilla first in the salutation.

Once more, Paul publicly commends to the church at Rome, "Phebe, the servant of the church at Cenchrea." The Greek word here translated servant and applied to Phebe, is used in the New Testament in the

literal sense of slave, and also to denote a certain office in the church. Tertullian and Origen mention such an office, and tell us that women were chosen to fill it. From the word itself then, we may conclude that Phebe was either the slave owned by the church at Cenchrea, or a public officer of this church. As we can hardly imagine that a Christian church which Paul had founded would buy a woman for a slave and hold her in common, and least of all that the church, if it owned a female slave, would choose her to represent it on a public mission to Rome, we must regard Phebe not as the slave but as the public officer of the church at Cenchrea. Again, whether the office was that of minister or not, we know that Phebe, by reason of her office, represented her church in the chief city of the world, and that Paul publicly gave to her the same title which he applied to Timothy and himself, undoubted ministers of Christ.

We are told that the office of deacon was a mere temporal one, and that we have no record that Phebe or any other woman in the Bible received ordination as an elder or a bishop. We reply that there was no such distinction between temporal and spiritual offices in the apostolic church as this objection implies; that the names deacon, elder, and bishop are used interchangeably in the New Testament, and that we have no proof that the men who preached received such an ordination as the church now confers. While we have no proof from the New Testament that women or men received a formal ordination at the commencement of their ministry, we have unquestioned proofs that women exercised the essential functions of the ministry. They are mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions as ass sting at the baptismal service. The daughters of Philip and other women publicly taught the churches. Phebe represented her church at Rome. Paul gave her the same title which he applied to himself and Timothy, undoubted ministers of Christ. By the application of our first principle, therefore, we have established one fact, viz. · the old theory that Paul universally forbids women to speak in the church is shattered forever by Paul's own words and conduct.

II. What was the principle by which Paul lived and wrote and of which he made such wide and apparently contradictory applications? We think it will become plain to all who study Paul's life and writings that he tried to express, not the principle of justice, but the higher law of love. He never demands his personal rights, nor urges others to contend for theirs. His mind is all aglow with the higher inspiration of love and centered upon the grander work of building up the church and saving the unconverted. Upon the other hand, the Greek churches intensified personal rights; their liberty ran to license. Some were guilty of open adultery at their homes, of drunkenness at the communion table and of a confusion at their social meetings little short of mad ness. So Paul in the Corinthian letter almost pits the law of love against personal rights. In the 9th chapter, for instance, he meets the question of justice by first presenting clearly his claims against the Corinthian church for his services, and then yielding these claims to the higher law of love. If I yield unquestioned personal rights including even my living for your sakes, he argues, ought not you to yield your petty rights about meats and drinks for the sake of your brothers' souls? Again, the 10th chapter is summed up in the injunction: "Let no man seek his own but every man another's interest." The wonderful exaltation of love or charity in the 13th chapter is only the natural climax of the whole letter. Now who would think of looking into such a letter for a *magna charta* of personal rights, or of construing Paul's prohibition of any man to seek his own, or his prohibition of woman to speak in a certain church, or his prohibition of the slave to seek his freedom into a divine denial that the slave has any right to

his freedom, that the woman has any right to speak in church, or the man any right to his own?

This general view that Paul is writing from the standpoint of love, and is not basing his prohibitions upon the lack of rights, is abundantly confirmed by a particular examination of the passage in question. In the 14th chapter Paul shows that this law prompts us to seek two objects in a social meeting, viz.: the edification of the church and the salvation of unbelievers. With these two objects in mind, he complains that they come to the meeting each with a psalm, a revelation, a doctrine, etc.—not because it is wrong to bring psalms and doctrines to church, but because at that time and place it was not edifying. Again, when he forbids the Jew or Roman to speak in the Corinthian church, unless an interpreter is present, does he mean that men have no right to confess God in Hebrew and in Latin, or simply that a Hebrew speech was not edifying to Greeks, and so was forbidden by the law of love? And inasmuch as the women were adding to the confusion and deepening the disgrace into which the Corinthian church had already fallen by exercising a freedom which seemed scandalous to their neighbors, he commanded them also to keep silent. Were the two first restrictions — the one against the majority bringing psalms and the other against foreigners speaking, definitions of the absolute rights of the majority and of foreigners and therefore of universal application? No. By what exegesis, then, can we tear this restriction upon women out of its connection, construe it into a definition of rights and make it of universal application? We know how St. Paul, in this same letter and on the same ground of love, urged the slaves not to care for their freedom, but to obey their masters. And all remember how indignant we grew when the slaveholders interpreted this command of Paul, which had not the slightest reference to justice but was wholly based on love, into a divine proclamation of the justice of slavery. Shall we adopt the very exegesis we so indignantly condemned, construe Paul's plea for women to yield their rights for the sake of Christ into a divine denial of these rights, once more make the great champion of spiritual freedom the defender of the coarsest tyranny, because with Christ he dared to teach that love is higher than liberty?

III. Every deep principle is capable of wide and apparently conflicting applications. Under the same law of gravitation rain falls and mist rises. We must understand not only the abstract law but the actual circumstances which modify it, if we would know which action flows from the one and which from the other. So Paul's commands and conduct are often changed by local considerations. We need to apprehend clearly not only his ideal law of love but also the historical surroundings amidst which he applied his principle, if we would know which word or deed flowed from his central principle, and which was apparently reversed by circumstances. To us this constant modification of his principle to suit the circumstances shows not that Paul was a demagogue, but rather that he adopted the natural and divine method of reform. The present state of the race under sin is not its ideal state, nor the one in which God intends it to remain. But he is the silliest idealist who, in the application of some visionary plan of reform, ignores the present constitution of society. Man's earthly history is not a realization of God's ideal plan or His ultimate designs for the race. But neither Christ nor Paul was so foolish as to attempt to reform the race without any regard to history. But whether we believe in such a course or not, Paul avowedly modified his conduct out of regard to circumstances and prejudices. He avowed himself to be yielding to invalid reasons in abstaining from meats offered to idols; in circumcising

Timothy; in helping the Nazarites discharge their vows. He knowingly appealed to local prejudices when he urged natural instincts against men wearing long hair and women short hair, after the manner of the effeminate and of the harlots of his time. The natural instincts of pure women do protest against wearing even the outward badge of the harlot. But if Paul thought that some natural law forbade women to wear short hair and men long hair, how could he take the vow of the Nazarite and help others discharge that vow?

So we think all the first passages quoted against women are based on facts but not truths, and that the commands are applicable so long as the facts exist, but that they are not principles ordained of God for all time. In the 11th chapter of 1 Corinthians, Paul, going back to Genesis and supported by 4000 years of history, declares that man is the head of woman and he repeats the statement in various forms in his writings. Is St. Paul here describing the ideal state of man and woman, the state which God ordained and in which He intends them to remain; or is he describing the actual state of man and woman in their fallen condition? He is plainly describing the latter and lest we should mistake it for the ideal state Paul at once adds the important qualification noted under the first point, "Nevertheless, neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man *in the Lord.*" Paul here calls our attention beyond the actual state of man and woman in sin to their ideal state in the Lord, and declares that in this state each is equally of and for the other.

This explanation also applies to the noted passage in Genesis to which Paul refers. At the fall God prophetically describes the natural penalties which will flow from sin. When man descends from the high state in which God made him and lives in his passions, even nature revolts and the earth becomes thorny. We see in the sad history of drunkards and adulterers, the ignorant and the lazy, how true this prophecy has proved. So when woman descends from the high plane of spirituality and love for which God made her and contends with man on the plane of sensuality and selfishness, God prophesies that she will be worsted in the contest. "Her desire shall be to her husband and he shall rule over her." Is this prophecy a declaration of what in the nature of things must prove true in the sinful contest on which the race was then entering, a prophecy amply confirmed by 6000 years of history, or is it a declaration of what God intends shall remain true in the ideal state of the race? How can anyone think this passage expresses the absolute relation of man and woman in God's mind, when God expressly tells us that this condition comes as the consequence of the fall, and when the whole work of Christ is to lead us back out of the state into which the fall has plunged us? One might as well declare that the thorns and briers, which God said the ground should bring forth on account of man's sin, are an expression of the ideal attitude of nature toward man and that we violate God's will in putting forth any effort to improve these products, as to declare that the subservience of woman to man is an expression of their ideal relation and that we violate God's will in putting forth any effort to change it.

Since we are forced to go beyond St. Paul to explain God's words in other parts of the Bible, we may also study God's conduct in other parts of the Bible upon this question. In addition to the prophecy that your sons and your daughters shall prophesy and on my servants and on my hand-maids I will pour out of my spirit, in addition to the example of Philip's daughters and Priscilla and Phebe, we read that Miriam was chosen to lead the hosts of Israel in praise and her song is part of our inspired Bible. Huldah was seated in the prophetic college and was inspired by God to teach the high priest himself. Deborah

was a judge and a prophetess in Israel and the Lord confirmed her declarations by miraculous victories. Isaiah refers to his wife under the well-known title of the prophetess. Anna in the New Testament is called a prophetess of the Lord and Elizabeth and Mary spoke words which rank among the choicest parts of inspiration. Beyond all our arguments then as to whether God will qualify and approve women as teachers in the church, we have the indisputable record of His holy word that again and again he has so qualified and approved them.

But, says one, granting the interpretation of St. Paul and the argument from the Bible, does not this 3rd principle furnish sufficient reason for still maintaining the restriction? Is not the race still in a fallen state? Must we not yet conform to historical conditions, conditions which if not ideal are at least natural in the present state of the race? We answer that while we have not yet reached our ideal, still to deny our right and duty to remove the results of the fall as fast as possible is to condemn the husbandman for tilling the soil and the minister for preaching salvation. Again, the teaching of the church by women was not so distant a possibility, such an ideal privilege as to be removed beyond even Bible times. Besides Woman's position has changed greatly since the time of Paul. It is not now thought improper for her either to speak in public or to engage in pastoral work. The church may safely remove official bans and honestly recognize the tens or the thousands who may qualify themselves and do successful ministerial work.

Still more, we may remove an artificial barrier which excludes the whole sex without abdicating the use of judgment in the case of each particular candidate. A colored brother was admitted to the New England Conference in 1878 without a single objection on the ground of race. The removal of the color line has not flooded our Conference with negro preachers. Not another colored brother has been admitted since, not because the Conference has abandoned the principle of fair play for all races, but simply because no other churches have wanted colored pastors. The New England Conference has been obliged to use its judgment and admit only a few of the many young men knocking at its doors the last dozen years. The question, what shall we do with the young women who with an open field before them might take the course of study and apply to our conference for work, is to be met in the same way that we meet this question now in regard to young men. The conference does not set aside the law of supply and demand and either admit or station men indiscriminately. All we ask is that she shall not by artificial barriers thwart the action of this natural law in the case of women. Since Miss Oliver has added scores of converts to our churches, since she has saved to the denomination a church in Passaic and is making heroic efforts to save another in Brooklyn, since she has been asked to become the pastor of thirteen churches in the Methodist denomination, we do protest against a Bishop thrusting an official barrier between her and those churches, refusing her the official recognition which he gives all similar helpers, and advising her to leave the denomination.

The time has come for the church to advance upon this question. The sweeping changes taking place in regard to Woman's position are not appreciated by us. "Within scarcely more than a decade and a half, one hundred and seventy coëducational universities and colleges have sprung into being in this country. They outnumber by more than thirty all the colleges for men and all the colleges for women taken together." The example of the United States has been followed by the universities of London, Paris, Rome and Copenhagen and by part of the German universities. For years certain women desired to minister to their sisters in many delicate diseases. They were denied,—not simply the right to practice while incompetent, but a fair chance to

qualify themselves at our medical schools and the right to practice after they had earned a degree by private study. The prejudices of the conservative medical profession are giving way; women are admitted to the first medical schools in America to-day and have as good a legal right to practice medicine as have men. Despite the barriers and the interminable delays with which we ministers charge our legal brethren, legal barriers against the sex have broken down and the highest court in the country now welcomes women to its bar.

The evangelical churches are guilty of a double injustice upon this subject. The church has had more devotion and service offered her by women than any other institution on earth. Two-thirds of her membership and much of her support comes from women. Women have been freely chosen, often without pay, to work among our hardest and vilest classes as city missionaries. Side by side with their brothers, women are trying to plant the standard of the cross in our hard and unrecognized mission fields in South America. They are trying day and night to save their Chinese sisters in San Francisco. It was a woman who saved our mission in Africa. It is women who are piercing the caste of India. Twelve girls have gone out like martyrs to the fatal mission of Liberia. For the church to hold that the Bible allows and nature and God qualify women for the hardest and most dangerous part of the Christian service and greedily accept this devotion; and then for the church to persist, while lawyers and physicians and professors are all granting women their rights, that the Bible and nature and God all forbid her to grant women the frank official recognition which she extends to her common servants, is an act of double meanness.

We expect the Methodist Church to lead the evangelical denominations in removing this disgrace: (1) Because the question is fairly before her and must be voted upon in May. (2) Because with the many guards to her ministry she can make the change without danger. (3) Because Wesley personally encouraged women as well as laymen to exhort and preach. His conference never sanctioned the step; but Sarah Crosby, Hannah Harrison, Misses Bosanquet, Horral, Barret, Newman, and others publicly taught in the churches with Wesley's knowledge and approval down to the day of his death. (4) Because for one hundred years, in the face of these verbal prohibitions of Paul and of public ridicule by other churches, the Methodist Church has maintained the right and duty of women to publicly witness for Christ.

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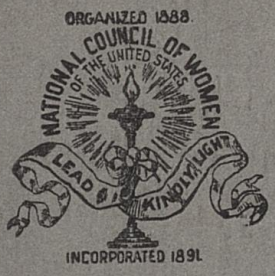

NATIONAL

COUNCIL OF WOMEN

OF THE

UNITED STATES

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ORIGIN.

In 1882 Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton conceived the idea of an International Association of women for the advocacy of woman suffrage. On November 15, 1883, at a suffrage meeting held in Liverpool, in honor of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony, the following resolution, proposed by Mrs. Margaret E. Parker and seconded by Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, was unanimously passed:

> Recognizing that union is strength, and that the time has come when women all over the world should unite in the just demand for their political enfranchisement, therefore,
>
> *Resolved*, That we do here appoint a Committee of Correspondence preparatory to forming an International Woman Suffrage Association.

In January, 1887, the National Woman Suffrage Association passed a resolution introduced by Miss Susan B. Anthony, to celebrate the fourth decade of the woman suffrage movement in the United States, by convening an International Council.

Such a Council was convened in Washington, March 25, 1888, and adjourned April 1. On March 24, 1888, at a preliminary meeting of the duly accredited delegates to this International Council, Mrs. May Wright Sewall stated her plan of forming, as a fitting result of that Council, two permanent organizations, National and International, which should make possible at regular intervals representative meetings of the same character.

Mrs. Sewall concluded her statement by introducing the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider the question of permanent National and International Councils, and to report to the delegates assembled at this meeting a basis of operation.

March 31, 1898, the Committee on Organization met and adopted the report of the sub-committee on Constitution.

CONSTITUTION OF THE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

OF THE UNITED STATES

(Organized at Washington, D. C., March 31, 1888.)

As Revised at the Second Triennial, 1895.

PREAMBLE.

We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby unite ourselves in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.

That we may more successfully prosecute the work, we adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This federation shall be called the National Council of Women of the United States.

ARTICLE II.

General Policy.

This Council is organized in the interest of no one propaganda, and has no power over the organizations which constitute it, beyond that of suggestion and sympathy; therefore, no organization voting to enter this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other organization or to any act or utterance of the Council itself, beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution.

ARTICLE III.

Officers.

SECTION 1. The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President-at-Large, a Corresponding Secretary, a First Recording Secretary, a Second Recording Secretary and a Treasurer. Each President of an organization or of a State Council belonging to the Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the National Council, and the President of the National Council shall be *ex officio* Vice-President of the International Council.

SEC. 2. The six general officers with the *ex officio* Vice-Presidents, or their proxies, one delegate from each organization of national scope or value, and the Presidents of State Councils or their proxies, shall constitute an executive committee, of which nine members shall make a quorum, to control the Council and provide for its general interests.

SEC. 3. The President of the National Council shall not be eligible to re-election for a second consecutive term of office, nor shall the President of any national organization be at the same time President of the National Council.

SEC. 4. The election of the general officers shall take place at a joint business session of the Upper and Lower Councils, only the following named persons voting thereupon: The general officers of the Council, Presidents and delegates of organizations of national scope or value, Presidents of State Councils and Presidents of Local Councils. The nomination shall be by informal ballot, and the three persons having the highest number of votes for any office shall be declared the candidates, and the will of the Council shall be taken by a formal ballot.

ARTICLE IV.

Members.

SECTION 1. Any organization of women, the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive Committee, either as to its undoubtedly national character or national value, may become a member of this Council by its own vote and by the triennial payment of one hundred dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

SEC. 2. The women of any national organization composed of both men and women may associate themselves together within said national organization, and may connect themselves with the Council by electing a woman to represent them on the Executive Committee of the Council, and by the payment of the regular triennial fee into its treasury.

SEC. 3. Any State Council of Women, organized under a constitution harmonious with that of the National Council, may become a member of this Council by its own vote, and the triennial payment of sixty dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

SEC. 4. Any Local Council of Women, organized under a constitution harmonious with that of the National Council, may become a member of this Council by its own vote, and the triennial payment of twenty-four dollars into the treasury of the National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

ARTICLE V.

Meetings.

SECTION 1. The National Council shall hold triennial public meetings.

SEC. 2. At its public triennials the National Council shall sit as a body, composed of two parts—an Upper Council and a Lower Council.

SEC. 3. The voting members of the Upper Council shall be (*a*) the President and delegate of each national organization; (*b*) the President of each State Council, and (*c*) the following general officers: the President, the Treasurer, the Corresponding Secretary and the First Recording Secretary.

SEC. 4. The voting members of the Lower Council shall be (*a*) the delegates of State Councils; (*b*) the Presidents and delegates of Local Councils, and (*c*) the Vice-President-at-Large and the Second Recording Secretary of the National Council.

SEC. 5. The President of the National Council shall preside over the sessions of the Upper Council and over any joint meetings of the two Councils. The Vice-President-at-Large shall preside over the sessions of the Lower Council. In the event of the absence of the Vice-President-at-Large the Lower Council shall elect its presiding officer.

SEC. 6. The Patrons of the National Council shall be eligible to either the Upper or Lower Council, as each may elect, at any triennial session, with power to discuss questions and to serve on all committees, but without a vote.

SEC. 7. The chairman of all standing committees of this Council or their proxies shall be eligible to the Upper Council, with power to discuss and to serve on all committees, but without a vote.

SEC. 8. The Committee of Arrangements for the triennials shall be composed of the Executive Committee and the Presidents of the Local Councils, or their proxies.

SEC. 9. The Executive Committee shall hold an annual business meeting at such time and place as the general officers shall determine.

ARTICLE VI.

Amendments.

This constitution may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the Council at any triennial meeting, printed notice thereof having been sent to each member of the Executive Committee at least three months prior to such meeting.

(Amendment proposed in executive session, February, 1899, to be acted on finally at the next annual executive.) See page 26.

ROSTER.

GENERAL OFFICERS OF FIRST ADMINISTRATION,

Serving from March 31, 1888, to February 25, 1891.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, Illinois, President.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, New York, Vice-President-at-Large.
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Indiana, Corresponding Secretary.
MARY F. EASTMAN, Massachusetts, Recording Secretary.
M. LOUISE THOMAS, New York, Treasurer.

N. B.—Notwithstanding the constitutional requirement of triennial meetings, the second and third terms have each covered a period of four years. The extension of the second term was due to the World's Congress of Representative Women, held in 1893; and that of the third to the illness and consequent resignation of President Dickinson.

GENERAL OFFICERS OF THE SECOND ADMINISTRATION,

Serving from February 25, 1891, to March 2, 1895.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Indiana, President.
FRANCES E. BAGLEY, Michigan, Vice-President-at-Large.
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, Pennsylvania, Corresponding Secretary.
LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, Maine, Treasurer.
ISABELLA CHARLES DAVIS, New York, Recording Secretary.

GENERAL OFFICERS OF THE THIRD ADMINISTRATION.

MARY LOWE DICKINSON, New York, President from March 2, 1895, to October 28, 1897.
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, Indiana (elected to fill unexpired term), President from October 28, 1897, to February 20, 1899.
EMELINE BURLINGAME CHENEY, Maine, First Recording Secretary from March 2, 1895, to October 28, 1897, resigned; succeeded by FRANCES STEWART MOSHER, Michigan, who served to February 20, 1899.

Officers Serving from March 2, 1895, to February 20, 1899.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Pennsylvania, Vice-President-at-Large.
LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS, Michigan, Corresponding Secretary.
HELEN FINLAY BRISTOL, Illinois, Second Recording Secretary.
HANNAH J. BAILEY, Maine, Treasurer.

CABINET.

It was the first Leader of the Council, President Willard, who suggested the creation of cabinet offices as a part of the machinery of the Council idea. Cabinet offices, however, were not created until 1895, when in her opening address President Sewall recommended the formation of an advisory board which, corresponding to the cabinet in the administrative department of our National Government, should assist the chief officer in the performance of her duties.

Members of the Cabinet, Serving from March 6, 1895. Successors not yet appointed.

*May Wright Sewall, Secretary of Foreign Relations,
633 N. Pennsylvania street, Indianapolis, Ind.
†Frances E. Newbury Bagley, Secretary of Department of Art and Literature, 113 Washington avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Isabella Charles Davis, Secretary of the Department of Social Economics,
156 Fifth avenue, New York City.
Lillian M. N. Stevens, Secretary of Department of Moral Reform,
Stroudwater, Maine.
Rachel Foster Avery, Secretary of the Department of the Home,
119 N. 19th street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mary Newbury Adams, Secretary of the Department of Religion,
200 W. 11th street, Dubuque, Iowa.

PRESENT ADMINISTRATION,

Elected February 15, 1899.

Fannie Humphreys Gaffney, President,
333 W. Seventy-seventh street, New York City.
Maria Purdy Peck, Vice-President-at-Large,
723 Brady street, Davenport, Iowa.
Kate Waller Barrett, Corresponding Secretary,
218 Third street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Anna Garlin Spencer, First Recording Secretary,
1536 Westminster street, Providence, R. I.
Emmeline B. Wells, Second Recording Secretary,
Templeton Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Hannah G. Solomon, Treasurer, 4406 Michigan avenue, Chicago, Ill.

(N. B.—See page 25.)

May Wright Sewall, First Honorary President,
633 N. Pennsylvania street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Mary Lowe Dickinson, Second Honorary President,
230 Central Park South, New York City.

List of organizations constituting the National Council of Women of the United States:

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

National American Woman Suffrage Association,
Miss Susan B. Anthony, President, Rochester, N. Y.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union,
Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, President, Stroudwater, Maine.
National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society,
Mrs. Mary A. Davis, President, Arlington, R. I.
National Woman's Relief Society,
Mrs. Zina D. H. Young, President, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Wimodaughsis, Mrs. Ada G. Dickerson, President, Washington, D. C.

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* Appointed by President Dickinson. (Resignation made necessary by Mrs. Sewall's election to the Presidency. No successor appointed.)
† Deceased.

Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association,
Mrs. Elmina S. Taylor, President, Salt Lake City, Utah.
National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity,
Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis, President, New York City, N. Y.
Universal Peace Union,
Rev. Amanda Deyo, Representative, Philadelphia, Pa.
Woman's Republican Association of the United States,
Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, President, Washington, D. C.
National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty,
Mrs. I. C. Manchester, President, Providence, R. I.
Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic,
Mrs. Flo Jameson Miller, National President, Monticello, Ill.
National Association of Women Stenographers,
Miss Gertrude Beeks, President, Chicago, Ill.
National Council of Jewish Women,
Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon, President, Chicago, Ill.
American Anti-Vivisection Society,
Mrs. Caroline Earle White, Representative, Philadelphia, Pa.
National Florence Crittenton Mission,
Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Representative, Washington, D. C.
Supreme Hive Ladies of the Maccabees,
Mrs. Lillian M. Hollister, President, Detroit, Mich.
Rathbone Sisters of the World,
Mrs. Jennette B. S. Neubert, President, Kansas City, Kan.

STATE AND LOCAL COUNCILS,

WITH LISTS OF SOCIETIES UNITING IN EACH.

STATE COUNCIL OF RHODE ISLAND,

REV. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, President.

Affiliated Societies.

Associated Charities of Pawtucket, R. I.
Bethel Christian Mission of Providence.
Bethany Home of Providence.
Children's Friend Society with Home.
Coventry Women's Club.
Educational and Industrial Union of Providence.
Providence Free Kindergarten Association.
Ladies' Aid Association of the Rhode Island Homeopathic Hospital.
Irrepressible Society of Providence.
Loyal Women of American Liberty.
Ministry to the Sick, of Providence.
Day Nursery Association of Pawtucket, R. I.
Providence Auxiliary of Women's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church.
Evangelical Young Women's Christian Association of Providence.
Prisoners' Aid Association of Rhode Island.
Providence Society for Organizing Charity.
Providence Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Rhode Island Department Women's Relief Corps.
Rhode Island Nursery Association.
Rhode Island Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.
Rhode Island Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
Rhode Island Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Rhode Island Women's Club.
St. Elizabeth Home (for incurables).
Union for Christian Work.
Women's Alliance of the First Congregational Church (Unitarian.)
Woman Suffrage Association of Rhode Island.
Young Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Young Women's Christian Association.
Union Missionary Society.
Council of Jewish Women, Providence Section.
Rhode Island Branch of the International Order of King's Daughters and Sons.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.

MRS. FLORA SULLIVAN WULSCHNER, President.

Affiliated Societies.

Aftermath.
Art Association.
Bible Society.
Boys' Club.
Central Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Clio Club.
Door of Hope.
Daughters of the Revolution, Caroline Scott Harrison Chapter.
Flower Mission.
Free Kindergarten Association.
Friends' Home for Girls.
Fortnightly Literary Club.
Froebel Club.
German Ladies' Aid Society.
German Literary Club.
George H. Thomas Woman's Relief Corps.
Hall Place Missionary Society.
Hyperion B. V. R. Circle.
Indiana Branch Association of Collegiate Alumnae.
Indianapolis Home for Friendless Women.
Indianapolis Orphans' Home.
Indianapolis Woman's Club.
Katherine Merrill Club.
Laundry Workers' Union.
Ladies' Aid Society Central Christian Church.
Ladies' Aid Society of Memorial Church.
Ladies' Aid Society of Tabernacle Church.
Ladies' Foreign Missionary Society of Second Presbyterian Church.
Ladies' Social Circle of First Baptist Church.
Ladies of the Maccabees, Hive 39.
Magazine Club.
Marion County Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Matinee Musicale.
Meridian Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
Minerva Club.
Monday Afternoon Club.
Occasia Club.
Over the Tea Cups' Club.
Primary Teachers' Union.
Propylaeum Association.
Philomathean Club.
Queen Esther Auxiliary.
Ramabai Circle.
Rosemary Club.
St. Paul's Guild.
The Wallace Union.

Union Veteran Legion.
Woman's Exchange.
Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Friends Church.
Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the Sixth Presbyterian Church.
Woman's Business and Social Union, Roberts Park Church.
Woman's Home Missionary Society of Roberts Park Church.
Woman's University Club of Indianapolis.
Young Woman's Christian Association.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

MRS. ANNA L. PARKER, President.

Affiliated Societies.

Atlantis.
Blessing Hospital Association.
Cheerful Home Association.
Daughters of the American Revolution, Dorothy Quincy Chapter.
Friends in Council.
Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Association.
Quincy Humane Society.
Quincy Woman's Exchange.
Round Table.
St. Mary's Hospital Association.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
Woman's Relief Corps, No. 47.
Woodland Home Association.
Young Women's Christian Home Association.
Woman's Republican Club.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF PORTLAND, MAINE.

MRS. J. HENRY CROCKETT, Acting President. MRS. MARGARET T. W. MERRILL, Honorary President.

Affiliated Societies.

Bosworth Relief Corps.
Chestnut Street Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.
Equal Suffrage Club.
Home for Aged Women.
Ladies' Aid, Church of the Messiah.
Portland Fraternity.
Present Era Club.
Salvation Army Aid Society.
Second Parish Ladies' Circle.
Samaritan Association.
Temporary Home.
Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Young Men's Christian Association Auxiliary.
Young Women's Christian Association.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA.

MRS. L. M. BECK, President.

Affiliated Societies.

Cemetery Association.
Humane Society.
Matinee Musicale.
Nineteenth Century Club.
Perestrelo.
Progressive Club.
Sorosis.
Unique Club.
Woman's Club.
Wednesday Club.
Woman's League.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF ROCHESTER, NEW YORK.

MRS. JOSEPH O'CONNOR, President.

Affiliated Societies.

Alumnae Association, City Hospital.
Alumnae Rochester Female Academy.
Auxiliary Sons of Veterans.
Colored Women's Club.
Council of Jewish Women.
College Women's Club.
C. J. Powers Relief Corps.
Children's Aid Society.
Door of Hope Organization.
Farmington Society.
Girls' Home Association.
Hebrew Ladies' Aid Society.
Ladies' Aid Society No. 1.
Lady Managers Hahnamann Hospital.
Literary Club Lady Principals.
Loyal Oak Hive.
Matinee Musicale.
Monday Reading Club.
Memorial Hive, Ladies of the Maccabees.
Mothers' Club of M. T. School.
Order of the Eastern Star, No. 59 Golden Rule.
Order Daughters of St. George, Primrose Lodge.
O'Rourke Woman's Relief Corps.
Political Equality Club.
Rochester Kindergarten Association.
Rochester Teachers' Club.
Sisterhood of Berith Kodesh.

Scottish Women's Club.
Tuesday Reading Club.
Traveler's Club.
Woman's Ethical Club.
Woman's Educational and Industrial Union.
Woman's Saturday Club.
Woman's Society of Plymouth Church.
Woman's Society Unitarian Church.
Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Wellsley College Club.
Young Women's Christian Temperance Union.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

MRS. ANNA M. HIGBEE, President.

Affiliated Societies.

Art History Club.
Abraham Lincoln Circle, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic.
Allied Minneapolis I. A. S.
Bethany Home.
Columbian Study Class.
Coterie.
Current Events and Literary Society.
Chicago Avenue Literary Club.
Clio Club.
Chapman Classes.
Central Non-Partisan Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Conference of Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Congregational Missionary Union.
Christian Science Association.
E. E. Kenyon Classes.
Eighth Ward Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
Free Kindergarten Association.
Friends in Council.
Federation of Women's Relief Corps.
Gettysburg Circle, Ladies Grand Army of the Republic.
Household Economic Association.
Home for Children and Aged Women.
Kappa Alpha Theta.
Kenwood Monday Club.
Lewis Parliamentary Law Association.
Ladies' Shakespeare Club.
Loyal Home Workers' Reading Circle.
Ladies' Thursday Musicale.
Ladies' Auxiliary Keeley League.
Ladies' Social Circle, Church of the Redeemer.
Monday Club.
Maternity Hospital.
Minneapolis Branch Theosophical Society of America.

Nineteenth Century Club.
Northwestern Hospital.
Obi Chapter of Kappa Kappa Gamma.
Outing Society.
Plymouth Kindergarten Association.
Presbyterian Home Mission Society.
Presbyterian Foreign Mission Union.
Political Equality Club.
Students' Christian Science Association, No. 39.
Students' Club.
Story Hour Club.
Saturday Club.
The Ramblers.
Tourists.
Travelers' Club.
Tuesday Club.
The Elective Club.
The Ladies' Union of Park Avenue Congregational Church.
Woodbridge Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Woman's Christian Association.
Westminster City Mission.
Woman's Auxiliary National Board of Christian Missions.
Woman's Baptist Home Missionary Union.
Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Quarterly.
Woman's Club of the First Unitarian Church.
Woman's Branch Single Tax League.
Woman's Suffrage Society.
Woman's Medical Club.
Young Women's Christian Association.
Zubrab Ladies.

PATRONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Privileges of Patrons.*

(a) A Patron is eligible to attend all business sessions of the Council.

(b) A Patron may introduce questions, resolutions and motions.

(c) A Patron may participate in the discussion of all subjects brought before the Council, whether they pertain to questions of Council policy or action.

(d) A Patron may be elected to any office in the Council.

(e) A Patron is eligible to serve on all committees of the Council, especially on standing committees.

(f) All documents and literature published under the auspices of the Council must be sent to each Patron of the Council.

Responsibilities of Patrons.

(a) A Patron must pay a fee of one hundred dollars ($100) into the Council treasury.

(b) It is expected that a Patron will keep herself informed of the work taken up by the National Council; that she will use her influence toward the formation of Local Councils in the community in which she lives; and that she will use her influence also to bring into the National Council all national organizations to which she belongs, and into the Local Council (when such Local Council shall be formed in her community) all local organizations of which she is a member.

(c) Thus a Patron has all the privileges and responsibilities of a President or a Delegate to a national organization belonging to the Council, excepting only the right to vote. The vote could not be given to an individual without destroying the balance of power in the National Council; for the Council is based upon the principle that all national organizations entering into it shall have an equal number of votes, viz., two. If the Patrons had the right to vote, it might come about that the national organizations of which they are members, or in whose work they happen to be interested, would really have more than two votes in the Council.

*Patrons must be nominated by a general officer of the Council.

PATRONS.

Mrs. Mary M. Adams.....Madison, Wis.
Mrs. Mary Newbury Adams.....Dubuque, Iowa
Mrs. Rebecca Raymond Adams.....Indianapolis, Ind.
Prof. Rasmus B. Anderson.....Madison, Wis.
Miss Susan B. Anthony.....Rochester, N. Y.
Miss Mary S. Anthony.....Rochester, N. Y.
Miss Lucy E. Anthony.....Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Mary S. Armstrong.....Kokomo, Ind.
Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery.....Philadelphia, Pa.
*Mrs. Rosa Miller Avery.....Chicago, Ill.
*Mrs. Frances E. N. Bagley.....Detroit, Mich.
Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey.....Winthrop Center, Maine
Mr. George W. Banker.....Ausable Forks, N. Y.
Mrs. Henrietta M. Banker.....Ausable Forks, N. Y.
Mrs. Emma J. Bartol.....Philadelphia, Pa.
Miss Clara Barton.....Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Allaseba M. Bliss.....Saginaw, Mich.
Mrs. Clara P. Bigelow.....Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Lucia Eames Blount.....Georgetown, D. C.
Mr. Charles H. Bond.....Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Isabella Bacon Bond.....Boston, Mass.
Miss Kate Bond.....New York City, N. Y.
Hon. Charles C. Bonney.....Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Jennette M. Bradley.....New York City, N. Y.
Mr. John Bryan.....Cincinnati, Ohio
Mrs. Laura Curtis Bullard.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary I. Bybee.....Indianapolis, Ind.
Mr. Albert Slo Caldwell.....Memphis, Tenn.
Mrs. Emily S. Chace.....New Greenwich, R. I.
Mrs. Elizabeth Howard Childs.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby.....Washington, D. C.
*Miss Harriett Cooper.....San Francisco, Cal.
Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane.....Kalamazoo, Mich.
Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis.....New York City, N. Y.
*Mrs. Ruth O. Delamater.....New York City, N. Y.
Rev. Amanda Deyo.....Philadelphia, Pa.
*Mrs. E. Louise Demorest.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson.....New York City, N. Y.
*Mrs. Eilen Battelle Dietrick.....Cambridge, Mass.
Mrs. Anna Dormitzer.....New York City, N. Y.

*Deceased.

Mrs. Sarah L. Downs.....New York City, N. Y.
Sarah T. Rogers Eavenson, M. D.....Philadelphia, Pa.
Miss Sarah J. Eddy.....Providence, R. I.
Mrs. Addie M. H. Ellis.....Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Ralph Emerson.....Rockford, Ill.
Mrs. Cornelia Cole Fairbanks.....Indianapolis, Ind.
Mrs. J. Ellen Foster.....Washington, D. C.
Hon. William Dudley Foulke.....Richmond, Ind.
Mrs. Fannie Humphreys Gaffney.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Emily Gross.....Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Samuel E. Gross.....Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Olivia B. Hall.....Ann Arbor, Mich.
Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst.....San Francisco, Cal.
Mrs. Fannie I. Helmuth.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Esther Herrman.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Emma Shafter Howard.....Oakland, Cal.
Miss Emily Howland.....Sherwood, N. Y.
Miss Isabel Howland.....Sherwood, N. J.
Rev. Ida C. Hultin.....Moline, Ill.
Mrs. Gulielma M. S. P. Jones.....Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Mary Jameson Judah.....Indianapolis, Ind.
Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew.....Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Mary W. Kincaid.....San Francisco, Cal.
Miss Isabel King.....Goya, Argentine Republic, South America.
Col. Thomas G. Lawler.....Rockport, Ill.
Mrs. Gertrude Stevens Leavitt.....Portland, Maine.
Mrs. Kate Beckwith Lee.....Dowagiac, Mich.
Dr. Hannah E. Longshore.....Philadelphia, Pa.
Miss Amanda M. Lougee.....Boston, Mass.
Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Hannah S. Luscumb.....Boston, Mass.
*Mrs. Clara L. McAdow.....Detroit, Mich.
Mrs. Ethel Rondthaler McCain.....Crawfordsville, Ind.
Mrs. Elizabeth C. McCaulley.....Wilmington, Del.
Mrs. Elizabeth Claridge McCune.....Salt Lake City, Utah.
Madame Helena Modjeska.....California.
Mrs. Paulina T. Merritt.....Indianapolis, Ind.
*Mrs. Sarah C. Mink.....Watertown, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary A. Moody.....Indianapolis, Ind.
Miss Anna C. Mott.....Toledo, Ohio
Mrs. Frederick Nathan.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Angie F. Newman.....Lincoln, Neb.
Mrs. Mary A. Newton.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne.....Auburn, N. Y.
Mr. George Foster Peabody.....New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Alice Wheeler Peirce.....Indianapolis, Ind.
Mrs. Alice E. Peters.....Columbus, Ohio
Mrs. Abby W. Pettingill.....Cassadaga, N. Y.

*Deceased.

Mrs. Emma F. Pettingill ..... Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mrs. Sally H. Porter Phelps ..... Detroit, Mich.
Mrs. Maria Purdy-Peck ..... Davenport, Iowa
Mrs. Lenore Sherwood Pyle ..... Canton, Ohio
Miss Mary C. Raridan ..... Indianapolis, Ind.
Mrs. Ellen A. Richardson ..... Winthrop, Mass.
Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins ..... Adrian, Mich.
Mrs. Frances E. Russell ..... St. Paul, Minn.
Mrs. Jennie Ryan ..... Syracuse, N. Y.
Mrs. Anna E. Safford ..... Cairo, Ill.
Mrs. M. Olivia Sage ..... New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Julia Stanclift Sanborn ..... San Francisco, Cal.
Mr. Ferdinand Schumacher ..... Akron, Ohio
Mrs. Annie C. Severance ..... Los Angeles, Cal.
Mrs. May Wright Sewall ..... Indianapolis, Ind.
Mr. J. C. Shaffer ..... Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Anna Howard Shaw ..... Philadelphia, Pa.
Miss Nicolas M. Shaw ..... Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. May French Sheldon ..... Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood ..... Toledo, Ohio
Mrs. Virginia T. Smith ..... Hartford, Conn.
Mrs. Sarah Sellers Smyth ..... Wilmington, Del.
Lady Henry Somerset ..... Reigate, Surrey, Eng.
Mrs. Louisa Southworth ..... Cleveland, Ohio
Mrs. Jane H. Spofford ..... Hampden Corner, Maine
Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens ..... Stroudwater, Maine
Mr. Ephraim B. Stillings ..... Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Lucinda H. Stone ..... Kalamazoo, Mich.
Mrs. Frances M. Swain ..... Bloomington, Ind.
Mrs. M. Louise Thomas ..... New York City, N. Y.
Miss Ellen F. Thompson ..... Pasadena, Cal.
*Miss M. Adaline Thompson ..... Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Helen B. Tillotson ..... Owosso, Mich.
Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton ..... Warren, Ohio
Mrs. Fannie Garrison Villard ..... New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Lydia Avery Coonley Ward ..... Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Elizabeth Cherry Waltz ..... Cincinnati, Ohio
Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells ..... Salt Lake City, Utah
Mrs. George Westinghouse, Jr ..... Pittsburg, Pa.
Mrs. Margaret Ray Wickins ..... Wilmington, Ill.
Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour ..... New York City, N. Y.
*Miss Frances E. Willard ..... Evanston, Ill.
Mrs. Mary H. Wilmarth ..... Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Jenny Barnum Wyman ..... Detroit, Mich.
Mrs. Lucy B. Young ..... Salt Lake City, Utah

*Deceased.

On October 27, 1897, in Executive Session at Nashville, the National Council passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States provide a means of bringing individuals into personal relation with the Council by recognizing a class of supporters of the Council Idea, who shall be known as "Annual Contributors." Such Annual Contributors shall pay the sum of $5.00 into the treasury, and in consideration of this aid shall receive all reports published by the Council during the term of their enrollment, and shall enjoy the privilege of sitting in the executive sessions of the Council so long as they continue to contribute annually $5.00 to the support of the Council.

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTORS.

Mrs. Benjamin Adams ..... Bloomington, Ind.
Mrs. Martha E. Moore Allen ..... Nashville, Tenn.
Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake ..... New York City, N. Y.
Mrs. Jennette M. Bradley ..... Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mrs. Margaret A. Caine ..... Salt Lake City, Utah
Mrs. Harriet Z. Carpenter ..... Providence, R. I.
Mrs. Cornelia A. Collins ..... Quincy, Ill.
Mrs. Sarah L. Danielson ..... Providence, R. I.
Mrs. Ralph Emerson ..... Rockford, Ill.
Miss Emily Howland ..... Sherwood, N. Y.
Mrs. Annie B. E. Jackson ..... Providence, R. I.
Mrs. Helen P. Jenkins ..... Detroit, Mich.
Mrs. Priscilla P. Jennings ..... Salt Lake City, Utah
Mrs. Margaret T. W. Merrill ..... Portland, Maine
Mrs. Louise Oberholzer ..... Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Thomas Plater ..... Nashville, Tenn.
Helen C. Putnam, M. D ..... Providence, R. I.
Mrs. Katherine E. Stillings ..... Boston, Mass.
Miss Rebecca O. Sheldon ..... Providence, R. I.
Countess Cora Slocomb di Brazzi Savorgnan ..... Italy
Miss Charlotte L. Tillinghast ..... Providence, R. I.
Mrs. W. H. Thompson ..... New Orleans, La.
Mrs. Lydia Avery Coonley Ward ..... Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Booker T. Washington ..... Tuskegee, Ala.
Mrs. Flora Sullivan Wulschner ..... Indianapolis, Ind.
Mrs. Clark Williams ..... New York City, N. Y.

LINES OF WORK.

It has in the past been the custom of the Council to organize a new Standing Committee whenever a new line of work was undertaken. The lines of work hitherto pursued are indicated by the following Standing Committees:

Committee on Dress, organized during the First Triennial term which ended in 1891. Mrs. Frances E. Russell, Minnesota, was the first Chairman of this Committee; Mrs. Annie White Johnson, Chicago, the second Chairman.

Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work, organized during the first Triennial term which ended in 1891. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, of Ohio, first Chairman of this Committee; Mrs. Lucia E. Blount, District of Columbia, second Chairman; Miss Mary Desha, District of Columbia, third Chairman.

Committee on Divorce Reform, organized at Executive Session held at Chicago, May, 1892. Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrick, Massachusetts, Chairman. This committee having secured the admission of women to the National Divorce Reform League, asked to be discharged at the Executive Session held in Boston, December, 1896.

Committee on Patriotic Teaching, organized at an Executive Session held in Philadelphia in May, 1894. Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Ohio, Chairman. This Committee was changed to Committee on Education in Citizenship, at the Executive Session held in Boston in December, 1896; Mrs. Sherwood's Chairmanship continued.

Committee on Domestic Science, organized during the Second Triennial term which ended in 1895, Mrs. Helen Campbell, Colorado, Chairman.

Committee on Social Peace and International Arbitration, organized at the Executive Session held at Nashville, October, 1897. Countess Cora di Brazza, Louisiana, Chairman.

Committee on Domestic Relations under the Law, organized at the Executive Session held at Nashville, October, 1897. Miss Octavia Williams Bates, Michigan, Chairman.

Committee on Social Purity, organized at the Executive Session held in Nashville, October, 1897. Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, Rhode Island, Chairman.

Committee on care of Defective and Dependent Children, organized at the Executive Session held in Omaha, October, 1898. Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, District of Columbia, Chairman.

Press Committee organized at the Executive Session held in Omaha, October, 1898. Permanent Chairman not appointed. Acting Chairman, Mrs. Susa Young Gates, Utah.

PRESENT POLICY.

The present policy of the Council is indicated by the following recommendations and resolutions passed at the Tenth Annual Executive Session of the National Council, held at Omaha, Neb., October 24 to 29, 1898, and endorsed by the Executive

during the Third Triennial of the National Council held at Washington, D. C., February 11 to 20, 1898. The policy may be inferred also from the recommendations submitted by President Sewall as a part of her official report at the opening session of the third Triennial, February 13, 1899, and adopted by unanimous vote of the Executive.

[OMAHA RESOLUTIONS.]

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States "shall unite in recommending an amendment to the Constitution of the International Council of Women, the object of which shall be to secure a more direct representation of the work and interests of the separate organizations belonging to each National Council in the International Council."

Resolved, That there be a standing committee formed in the National Council to consider the care of dependent and delinquent children.

Resolved, That the Press Committee shall be made a Standing Committee and announced with the rest of the Standing Committees, and that it shall report at annual Executive Sessions and at Triennials.

Resolved, That the National Council of Women of the United States, in formal executive session, October 29, 1898, endorses the nomination of May Wright Sewall for the office of President of the International Council of Women for the next Quinquennial term (viz: 1899 to 1904), made by the Executive Committee of the International Council July 5th, 1898.

Appreciating the distinguished services of their honored President, the members of the Executive Board of the National Council of Women of the United States rejoice in the presentation of her name for this high office. With a deep conviction that she is eminently fitted for the position, and that she will, if elected, acceptably and successfully carry forward that great work of the International Council of Women, which has been cherished and advanced by its distinguished President, the Countess of Aberdeen, we earnestly hope that this nomination will be confirmed by all other National Councils.

[PRESIDENT SEWALL'S RECOMMENDATIONS.]

First. I recommend that a committee shall be formed during this Triennial whose business it shall be (*a*) to secure a complete list of all the titles under which women are gathered into organizations in this country, and (*b*) to classify these titles and group them under the heads above mentioned, or under similar but more comprehensive titles.

You will observe that this recommendation does not limit the work of the committee to grouping the organizations that are already within the Council, but extends its work to grouping all organizations existing irrespective of their Council affiliations.

Second. I recommend that the General Officers shall have power to appoint eight or ten women each to stand at the head of one of the eight or ten departments above mentioned.

* * * *

Sixth. I recommend also that the constitution of the Council be so amended as to provide a standing committee on plan of work less unwieldy than the

Executive Committee, with more carefully specified duties. To my mind this committee should consist of the General Officers of the Council and the members of the Cabinet.

Seventh. In the grouping of organizations account should be taken of the titles under which our present standing committees exist, and each of the standing committees would, in my opinion, have its work facilitated, its importance magnified, and its just powers augmented by being put into close relations with one group of organizations within the Council and therefore with one of the Cabinet departments.

Eighth. I recommend that each president of an organization belonging to the Council shall be requested to send within a certain definite limited time a statement of her own views in regard to the means which organization presidents shall take of keeping the fact of their Council affiliation before the members of their respective organizations, and that the president of the National Council shall be authorized to make up from these suggestions a formal series of requests to organization presidents. I would not have conformity with these requests sustained by a constitutional provision; I would leave each president free to modify according to her own judgment the recommended method; but I would have a constitutional provision requiring every president of an organization belonging to the Council to send to the President of the National Council a sufficient number of copies of every bulletin issued by such president to her organization and of every program rendered by the affiliated organization as would enable the Council President to supply each member of the Council Executive with such documents. In no other way can the President of the National Council and the *ex officio* vice-presidents be kept fully informed of the lines of work that are included in the Council; yet without such full information it is evident that the President can not be most helpful to the organizations composing the Council.

Ninth. I recommend that a committee composed of one representative from each organization belonging to the Council be formed at this meeting with instructions to prepare a series of By-Laws for the guidance of the different General Officers, Cabinet Officers and Chairmen of Committees in the performance of their respective duties. At this point I venture to remind you that at the time of the organization of the National Council it was necessary to give scrupulous regard to the natural sensitiveness of organizations which in uniting to form the Council entertained the fear which in the beginning was natural, lest membership *in* the Council might mean subordination *to* the Council. It was the recognition of this possible and even natural attitude of mind on the part of its constituent elements that rendered the original committee of sixteen charged with the duty of drafting a constitution for the National Council, so solicitous to reduce the formal constitutional requirements and rules of order to a minimum. It is my opinion, resulting from the experience of eleven years in close and varied official relations to the Council, that the adoption of a series of standing rules not only would facilitate the work of the officers and members, but that it would also tend rather to augment than to diminish the integral dignity of the units which combine to constitute the larger unit. It can not too often be repeated that membership *in* the Council does not subordinate any organization *to* the Council; that the Council indeed finds its life in the *common purposes* of the different organizations which compose it; while these

organizations at the same time find a new life in the recognition of their common purposes, but retain in its fullness their separate individual life unabridged and indeed unmodified by Council relationships.

* * * *

Eleventh. In view of the practical extension of the United States, the acquisition of Hawaii, and the close relations that will probably henceforth exist with Porto Rico and Cuba, and the possible continuation of close relations with the Philippine Islands, I recommend that the National Council shall form a committee for the study of the social and domestic conditions of life in these islands with a view to seeing in what way the women of the islands can co-operate with us for mutual benefit and for the public weal. That these studies may be intelligently prosecuted, I recommend that a commission be nominated from the National Council and that the Council endeavor to secure for this commission the recognition of the United States Government, and that the commission be instructed to visit and inspect the conditions of life of the islands along the lines indicated in the preceding recommendation.

Twelfth. I further recommend that the National Council of Women of the United States endeavor to secure for their elected representatives at the Universal Congress of Women, to be held in Paris in 1900, the endorsement of the National Government.

Thirteenth. I further recommend that the last act of the present administration of the National Council shall be sending to the Czar of Russia a properly prepared and engrossed letter expressing the sympathy, appreciation and gratitude of women included in the Council for the initiative taken by his majesty in behalf of disarmament as a first step toward placing the so-called civilized nations of the world upon a permanent peace footing.

Fourteenth. I recommend also that the National Council express toward the National Committee in Great Britain having in charge the organization of circles and societies committed to the advocacy of disarmament the sympathy of the Council with its work, and that the Council shall, through its representatives, appointed or elected, participate in the proposed crusade for peace.

Fifteenth. It is essential to the preservation of the Council idea that the distinction of association membership, instead of individual membership, be guarded in all Councils, whether International, National or Local, and that the representative character of the Executive Board of a Council be also rigidly maintained.

Therefore it is recommended that

(*a*) The National Council prepare a form of constitution for Local Councils in perfect harmony with the constitution of the National Council; and

(*b*) That, in so far as the two points above mentioned are concerned, all Local Councils affiliated with the National, or organized under its auspices, shall be expected to make their respective constitutions conform to the constitution of the National. That is, their voting members shall comprise only their General Officers and the presidents and delegates of their affiliated organizations; that to increase the interest of individuals, they, like the National Council, may have Patrons and Annual Contributors, on such pecuniary terms as they may respectively elect, but that such individuals may not have a vote.

Sixteenth. And finally, although it is now hoped that by the first of May,

the time that the present Treasurer asks to retain her books before handing them over to her duly elected successor, all debts will be paid, and that a treasury neither mortgaged nor empty shall be handed over to the next administration, still the experience of the past and the work herein recommended demand the creation of a permanent fund, the income of which shall be devoted to the prosecution of enterprises undertaken by the National Council and in its name. To the end that such a fund shall be created, I recommend that a standing Finance Committee be appointed to work with the Treasurer in devising a plan for the establishment of such permanent fund.

The preceding recommendations were adopted.

A resolution was passed authorizing the formation of a committee to consider the following recommendations, final action upon which was postponed to the next Executive session.

Third. I recommend that institutions as well as organizations shall be admitted to membership in this Council. Institutions should, in my opinion, be admitted on the pecuniary terms and with the same representation that Local Councils are admitted; but I recommend that the relation of Local Councils to the National be reconsidered with a view to closer observance of logical sequence.

I feel that to this third recommendation it is necessary to append some explanation. The Council as it at present stands, when fully developed, will include all organized effort; but some of the most important institutions that exist in our country, and in all countries, are the result of individual initiative and enterprise. Take, for example, the following very different institutions: Hull House, the Woman's Reformatory of Indiana, or the Women's Prison at Sherbourne, Mass., or the Working Woman's Home of Chicago, or the Woman's College of Law, in Washington. Each of these institutions is distinctly individual, and while there are other institutions related to each which might be brought into affiliation with these, constituting a national group of similar but still separate institutions, I feel that on the one hand the Council would be greatly strengthened by bringing into affiliation with itself institutions of the kind indicated; and, on the other hand, its own influence would through such institutions find channels of expression now denied to it.

The National Council of Great Britain has been able to bring the unified influence of much of the organized life of Great Britain to bear upon educational questions through including in its membership the separate women's colleges.

Fourth. I think it quite in harmony with my third recommendation, as thus explained, to add a fourth, that an effort shall be made to bring different women's and co-educational colleges into affiliation with the National Council. To my mind it would be of more value to the Council to have a dozen of the co-educational institutions brought into direct membership in it than to bring into its membership the National Association of Collegiate Alumnae, although the latter is eligible to Council membership, and would both give and receive strength through entering into such membership.

You will see that my recommendation for thus extending the Council rela-

tionship is intended in no way to duplicate the work of any other organization. I do not, for example, think that any local suffrage society or any local Woman's Christian Temperance Union, or any local woman's club should be brought into the National Council, or that such a society should be considered eligible to membership in the Council, since the particular object for which a suffrage society, a local temperance union, or a local literary club, stands has already been nationalized through the National Women's Temperance Union and the National Women's Suffrage Association, which are already within the Council, and through the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which is, and has been, since its organization, eligible to membership in the Council.

Some of the best work done is the product of strong and unique individualities, and as the Council is primarily a deliberative body, an extension of its relations which would enable it to include strong individualities that have built up unique institutions would vastly increase the good that the Council can receive and the good that it can distribute. I do not overlook the fact that the bringing of institutions into the Council membership implies a modification of the constitution, but I think it entirely possible to so modify the constitution that such institutions may be brought into the Council. I recognize that this extension of the Council involves the most delicate discrimination and the most rigid adherence to high standards.

Fifth. That this subject may be wisely considered, I recommend at this Triennial the appointment of a committee to weigh this particular suggestion in all of its bearings upon the Council, to consider what modification of the constitution may be necessary in order that such institutions may be received and also to collate information respecting such institutions, with a view to bringing in an approximately complete list of the most important institutions of strongly individualized character in the United States at the next Executive Session of the Council.

The following statements included in Recommendation 10 (which was not voted on), were approved:

* * * *
* * * *

I ask my coadjutors in the Council, not only those who have a vote, but all patrons of the Council as well, to consider the reasonableness and the possible value of the following:

(*a*) No one should be considered for a General Office in the National Council to whom the task of unifying and harmonizing the parts into a more perfect whole is not of primary importance.

(*b*) This request, to my mind, affects only General Officers. I think one can not expect to find a Cabinet Officer or a head of a Standing Committee to whom her work in that relation is her exclusive or most important work in connection with organized effort.

(*c*) I do think it of the utmost importance that no one shall be placed, even as a member of a committee, much less as Chairman of a Committee or head of a Cabinet Department, whose willingness to serve is not positively known. Of

course it must be taken for granted that no one would be thought of in this connection whose ability to serve in this great place had not been tested in smaller places and proven by success.

RESOLUTIONS THIRD TRIENNIAL.

At the Third Triennial held at Washington, D. C., February 11 to 20, 1899, the Council reaffirmed the ideals it has already set forth and embodied in the work of its Standing Committees (see page 19), and adopted the following resolutions:

I. WHEREAS, The National Council of Women can not afford to lose from its Executive Board a woman who has had the experience of directing its policy as President;

Therefore, be it Resolved: That a President of the National Council, upon retiring from her office, shall be made Honorary President of the Council, with all powers and privileges, including that of the vote upon the Executive Committee.

Further, be it Resolved: Should this resolution commend itself to the Executive, that the names of May Wright Sewall and Mary Lowe Dickinson, the two living Presidents of the Council, be immediately placed upon the official staff, and that the constitution be so amended as to include the Past Presidents as Honorary Presidents within its limits.

Be it also Resolved: That no one except the Past Presidents of the National Council shall have either the title or the privilege of an Honorary President.

II. *Resolved:* We believe the state should give to all children in schools under its control physical as well as mental education.

III. *Resolved:* That the National Council of Women requests the Government of the United States to consider how it may largely avail itself of the services of women in the regulation of such matters pertaining to the army and navy, as to the preparation of food, sanitation, nursing, medical attendance, etc.

Believing that the two largest unifying forces of organized effort are human brotherhood and divine fatherhood, and rejoicing in the expression of humanitarian principles in the manifold activities of American women as represented by the National Council of Women, *therefore be it*

IV. *Resolved:* That this faith in the Divine Fatherhood should be expressed by either vocal or silent prayer at the opening of all meetings of the Council.

V. *Resolved:* That we protest against the canteen system in our Army and Navy.

VI. *Resolved:* That we deprecate war and are in hearty sympathy with the Conference called by the Czar of Russia for the gradual disarmament of the nations of the world, believing that all the difficulties between civilized peoples may be settled judicially by a High Court of the Nations without the sacrifice of life.

VII. *Resolved:* That the National Council of Women of the United States send a communication to President McKinley, requesting him to use his influence to put a stop to bull fights in Cuba, on account of their extreme cruelty and their demoralizing effect upon those who witness them.

VIII. *Resolved:* That in view of the wholesale destruction and threatened extinction of whole species of beautiful and useful song birds for millinery purposes, and the consequent multiplication of insect pests and serious menace to the agricultural interests of our country and the world, and in view of the manifest inadequacy of moral suasion to prevent the wearing of birds on women's hats, we urge the passage of a United States law prohibiting the sale by hunters or milliners of any bird plumage obtained by the destruction, torture or injury of birds.

IX. WHEREAS: The National Council of Women of the United States stands for the highest ideals of domestic and civic virtue, as well as for the observance of law in all departments of life, both STATE and NATIONAL, *therefore be it*

Resolved: That no person should be allowed to hold a place in any law-making body of the nation who is not a law-abiding citizen.

X. *Resolved:* That the following be adopted as the Standing Rule of the Council in regard to resolutions:

First: Each organization belonging to the Council shall appoint one member of the Resolution Committee, to hold office from the close of one triennial to the close of the succeeding triennial.

Second: Each organization may send in two resolutions to the Executive Board at least one month preceding the triennial or annual executive session at which they are to be considered.

Third: No resolution shall be presented to the Council at the triennial or executive sessions, except by the Executive Board.

WORK IN BEHALF OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

Inasmuch as the retiring President was authorized to prepare and send a letter to His Majesty, the Czar of Russia, it seems proper to append that communication as indicative of the attitude of the National Council of Women of the United States toward the general movement in behalf of International Peace.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., April 22, 1899.*

To His Majesty, the Czar of Russia:

The gracious attention of His Majesty, the Czar of Russia, is invited to this communication, which the writer was directed by the unanimous vote of the official representatives of the National Council of Women of the United States to send to His Majesty, in the name of the twelve hundred and fifty thousand women of the United States included in the membership of the Council.

The explanation of the letter may be found in the accompanying recommendation of the retiring President of the Council, and the resolution thereto appended. Both recommendation and resolution were presented to the executive session of the third Triennial of the Council, held in Washington, D. C., February 11–20, 1899, and sustained by unanimous vote.

The members of the National Council of Women of the United States beg His Majesty to accept their grateful acknowledgment of the service which He has been moved to render humanity. The members of the National Council are organized for the promotion of Religion, Education, Philanthropy, Industrial Progress, Civil, Social and Moral Reforms. They realize that all these noble objects must, to a greater or less degree, languish in time of war, and that they are retarded by all of the influences, conditions and circumstances accompanying war and resulting from it.

The women of the Council believe in the solidarity of humanity; they believe that whatever is most promotive of the best interests of one nation must, in the end, secure the highest interests of all. They see in the maintenance and enlargement of the present standing armies of the world a menace to the highest civilization, to the finest culture, and to the realization of Christian ideals. They therefore unite in the desire that His Majesty's motives in convening a Conference to consider disarmament may receive from all peoples the most generous interpretation. They unite in the hope that His Majesty, in the execution of his benevolent designs, may enjoy the co-operation of the

*Sending the letter was postponed in deference to the judgment of the International Committee, whose advice was sought.—M. W. S.

governments of all civilized countries throughout the world. Cherishing in their hearts aspirations for human progress and gratitude to all men and women, who, whether in low or in high places, promote it, they beg His Majesty's acceptance of their modest contribution of sympathy and support.

On behalf of the National Council of Women of the United States,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
Honorary President.

To this His Majesty will find appended a list of the organizations included in the National Council of Women, with the names of their respective Presidents, which the writer of this letter has been authorized to affix.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF NATIONAL COUNCIL WORK.
UNFINISHED.

—M. W. S.

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No Distinction of Sex in the Right to Vote.



By the Hon. John D. Long.

From an Address delivered at Melrose, Mass.

THE question of woman suffrage suffers from its very familiarity. People have come to think of it as a hobby, a sentiment, an impracticable dream. If it could be sprung as a new question, if, for instance, the right to vote were altogether a new right conferred on the people this year for the first time, there would be no more question of granting it to both men and women than of permitting both males and females to attend the public schools, or acquire and hold property, or do any of the other many things which both now do in common. On the contrary, the denial of the right of suffrage would then seem to be as violent an outrage as would now be the denial of any of these other privileges which they equally share.

Or put it in another way,—for, in homely phrase, what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander,—suppose that up to this time suffrage had been limited to women, and that no man had ever been permitted to vote except for school committee. Suppose, meantime, that men had developed their natural capacity for every department of business life and enter-

prise, and were demanding the ballot. How much nonsense do you suppose they, although in the minority, would stand from anybody who should answer them by saying that suffrage is not a right; that it is a matter of expediency; that there are too many voters already; that men were virtually represented already by their wives and mothers; that men had not been trained to the ballot; that to give it to them would result in the disturbance of families and endanger the home; that it would lead to violence at the polls; and that men ought not to be perverted from their sphere or distracted from their appropriate business of making money, raising corn, transporting freight, and all the great masculine concerns and economics of production and commerce? How they would roar you the great truths of the Declaration of Independence, that all mankind are created free and equal, and that government derives its just powers only from the consent of the governed; and that whoever is taxed for the common benefit and affected by the making of laws should have a voice in the processes of taxation and legislation!

My trouble with this subject is that I never heard an argument against woman suffrage. I have heard expressions of honest and crusty prejudice,

and the blunt won't-have-it. I know the conservative faintness that is terrified at the fall of a rose-leaf, and I appreciate the weight of the inertia of custom. But I never heard a reason urged against woman suffrage that was worth considering, or that was not an insult to the understanding of a very small boy. There is some satisfaction in striking at an obstacle that is capable of being knocked down. But the opposition to woman suffrage is like a bag of feathers suspended in the air. You may pound it all day, and at night it is a bag of feathers still, neither ruffled nor moved.

Let us be honest, and admit what we all know, that the real reason why the right is denied to women is because there is just trace enough of ancient barbarism lingering in our civilization to bar them out—the same barbarism that made women slaves, that made them beasts of burden, that made them pets and playthings, but that—thank heaven—is gradually passing away.

The whole logic of the thing lies in a nutshell. Either women should vote, or men should not vote. Why do I say this? I say this because human ingenuity cannot suggest a single distinction between the sexes so far as the right of voting is concerned. They

are equally intelligent, so far as the intelligence to vote is concerned. They are equally competent to judge of the merits of measures and the comparative merits of candidates. Is there any doubt that the women of this audience are equal in these respects to the average voter, or that they are as well prepared to pass on the comparative merits of Robinson and Prince, Blaine and Cleveland, free rum and prohibition, civil service reform and the spoils system, free trade and protection, free and equal suffrage and fraudulent elections? Shall we trust the man who does not know the multiplication table, and be afraid of Mary Somerville, who measures the stars?

Men and women have an equal stake in the government and laws; they each hold property to be protected and taxed; they alike have children to be educated, and lives and limbs to be made secure; they follow many of the same businesses and professions; they do much of the same labor, even to the extent of the barber's shop on one hand and the cook-stove on the other; they have each shown ability as queens and kings, as rulers and administrators, as bureau clerks and agents. Shakespeare evidently thought he was doing no violence to human nature when

he made Portia not only an upright but a preëminent judicial authority.

I am told that you will find many a street in our Massachusetts towns, on which of the adult residents a majority are women owning property on which they are taxed for the municipal expenditures in which they have no voice, while of the male minority, not infrequently more than half are persons having no visible property, paying only a poll-tax, some of them the employés of the women, and yet by their major vote actually the controlling numerical element. The mere statement of this frequent fact is at once an illustration and a demonstration of the case. And yet in every such community the average intelligence and competency of the women is, at the very least, equal to that of the men. Some of the women don't know much. Some of the men don't know much. Some of the women would not vote if they could; and as many of the men do not vote, although they can. Some of the women would vote as they were led or misled; as many of the men do the same thing. Most of the women in these instances would, if they were voters, exercise the suffrage with care, conscientiousness, understanding, and advantage; and the men do no more. These same men and women meet together many times a year and engage

in the same interests, not only in private life, but in public relations. If there is an industrial or agricultural fair or a village improvement enterprise, they are equally active. Both furnish members of the school committee, one as good as the other, not only in matters of instruction, but even in the way of schoolhouse repairs, and the grading of the grounds. They mingle in church meetings, and in this respect we all know that women are the salvation of the enterprise. They own stock in the same bank and railroad, and vote with common intelligence on their shares. They crowd into the same hall to attend lectures and balls. They go to the same theatres, and unite in local dramatic entertainments, the women usually a little quicker at their parts. They hold offices in the same savings bank and insurance company, the women subordinate clerkships, to be sure, but capable, if they had the same business training, of any place. Most significant of all, they go to the same political meetings, listen to the same stump-speakers, and if a hot campaign comes, engage with the same acrimony and passionateness in political debate, discussing men and measures at the street corners, and fighting it out around the family table, the household not infrequently divided against

itself. In view of this, what patience can be had when some hardshell tells us that this is all so, but the heavens would fall, society would be ruined, the State would collapse, if the same women, once in March and once in November, should enter a decent town hall or ward room,—all the more decent for their presence,—walk to a ballot-box, and put into it a piece of printed paper expressing in concrete form the results of their previous consideration! I can understand well enough why one man should be afraid of ignorant suffrage and desire additional educational qualifications; but while that test would exclude many men who vote, it would include women who do not. I can understand why another might demand the test of property, or loyalty, or age; but every such test would still be without distinction of sex.

Right! Of course it is the denial of a right, and everybody knows it. To deny a right is an outrage. It is idle to mystify this matter with refinements about natural right and artificial right. Somebody even has suggested that women are not particularized in the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution. Neither are slaves. Even as to them some used to argue that freedom is not a natural right; that children are not free; that of-

fenders against the law and insane persons are not free; and that freedom is a matter of expedient discrimination. As a matter of common sense, you and I know that if we contribute out of our property to a common fund, if we are taxed for a common enterprise, if our rights, our liberties, our persons, our children, are affected by certain laws, we ought to have a voice in the arrangement; and if you doubt this, try the experiment with a body of men and see what will come of it.

If it is a right, why should it be denied? When yet in the history of the world has it been found that what is right is inexpedient? Somebody says few women would vote if enfranchised. Well, it often happens in an election that more than half the men refuse to vote. But if one man or woman wants to exercise the right to vote, what earthly reason is there for denying it, because other men and women do not wish to exercise it? If I desire to breathe the fresh air of heaven, shall I not cross my threshold, because the rest of the family-group prefer the stale atmosphere indoors? If a majority of negroes preferred slavery, was freedom any the less essential? Somebody else says—but, really, these objections are too trivial for consideration or answer. Think

of arguing with a sober face against a man whose brains are reduced to such a minimum that he solemnly asserts a woman should not vote because she cannot fight! In the first place, she can fight; in the second, men are largely exempt from military service; and, in the third, there is not the remotest relation between firing a musket and casting a ballot. As to this matter of expediency, it is an insult to our civilization to assert for a moment that we have not intelligence and ingenuity enough to do a thing which it is right to do; or that the mere mechanical arrangements cannot be provided for permitting women to take part in voting as they take part in other exercises. Why, the thing has already been tried. In Wyoming it has been a success since 1869, certified to by the best authorities there, and showing a much better record than suffrage in many Southern States or Northern cities. Names can be cited on either side of the question, but it is something more than a crank's dream that commands the endorsement of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Chief Justice Chase, John G. Whittier, George William Curtis, Senators Sumner, Wilson, Hoar, Dr. Duryea here, and so many more.

Woman suffrage is vindicated by the fact that, while steadily the sphere

of woman has been broadening; admission given her into new fields, occupations, trusts, yet in no single instance has she failed to show herself equal to the task. Reflect upon that fact for a moment. If there were this inferiority or unfitness of woman incapacitating her for suffrage; if it were wrong and inexpedient and dangerous for her to exercise that function,—how do you account for the fact that, whatever forward step you have let her take, she has justified it? As I before suggested, even in highest political office, as queen or empress, she has excelled the average of kings. There were in her time men of superior capacity to that of Queen Elizabeth, but what Tudor king was her superior? What Russian despot, in personal force or even in the energy of his vices, surpassed Catherine? Which of the stupid litter of the House of Brunswick for a moment compares with Victoria in sense or character? Remember that all this time woman has for centuries been kept back, not permitted training or self-training for voting and masculine functions; that, with the same opportunities that men have for political exercise, and continually improving them, she will advance on her present capacity; and that even in her present circumstances she is a good merchant,

lawyer, doctor, minister; that she divides the orator's platform with men; that she is equally keen as a detective on the one hand or a swindler or a cheat on the other; and that on boards and associations of social and charitable work she is unexcelled even in business details. Indeed, the most remarkable thing in this whole woman suffrage matter is, that there are in it no longer the elements of an experiment. To grant the right would hardly cause a ripple on the surface. Nothing would happen that is not already discounted. Hardly a test would women be subjected to that they are not already subjected to.

Not only in my mind is there no argument against woman suffrage, but every argument for it. In the first place, every extension of intelligent suffrage strengthens the body politic. I must believe this, or give up the principle of republican government, which is the strongest and securest form of government. I know some shudder a little at universal suffrage, but it is ten thousand times more dangerous to suppress and exclude a part of the people. The gases which are harmless if vented, may work ruin if you confine them. There can in the long run be little danger when all are equally enfranchised and thereby equally responsible. Suffrage

is itself an immense education: its absence a degeneracy. The broader the basis of your State, the safer. In the next place, the influence of woman has refined whatever circle it has been admitted into under conditions of its own self-respect. History, homely experience, common observation, all confirm this. Woman suffrage would not debase women and politics. It would elevate both. It would add to the body politic the positive elements of feminine wholesomeness and natural antagonism to vice and violence. A new interest for the security of home and peace, sobriety and order, would be invoked. Woman herself would be benefited, as intelligent emancipation of every sort and to whatever degree always benefits its object.

I cannot help feeling that back of all this matter of casting a vote, lies a still deeper question of social integrity. There is at stake not the unrest of a few women, leaders of a movement, but the welfare—the moral and intellectual status—of the great body of women who are in the mass of life, who toil in shops, and whose character and fate are subject to the molding of their circumstances. Anything that attaches to them a badge or fetter of inferiority, dependence, or weakness, just so far impairs self-respect, and hinders their ultimate moral and

intellectual self-sovereignty. I know not what eruptions may break out in the transition time; but when that is past, and woman is under full equality of rights and of social responsibility, thence will date the era of a wholesomer social life, which now sometimes seems to be the despair of social science.

The opponents of woman suffrage never make allowance for the reactionary influence which the exercise of suffrage would have upon the ability of woman for its exercise. While her feminine nature would remain unchanged, that ability would develop exactly in proportion to the demands upon it; otherwise is human nature a failure. It would turn to its duty, as a flower, hitherto shaded, turns to the light and grows, a flower still. With emancipation and suffrage comes, by inevitable law, the growth that vindicates both. It would react back to the very sources of education. The standard of woman's education, of her training and reading, would be lifted and attuned to her new obligations.

But the topic is boundless. It involves the elements of the profoundest principles of human progress, and might well be treated on philosophic grounds. I have, however, touched only on familiar and practical

aspects, which come quickest home to the sense of justice. To sum them up, it is right that women, equally burdened, should have equal voice in the adjustment of the burden. It is despotic and undemocratic to deny the equal right. Nothing is easier than to arrange for its exercise without injurious disturbance to social life or political stability. Women would not be drawn from their duties, or their time over-occupied, any more than now in the case of men,—and we all know how little, how next to nothing, that is for nine hundred and ninety-nine of every thousand of them. No dangerous, but a better, element would come into influence. It would be a step out of the direction of unnatural restriction, which is dangerous to liberty and stability, and in the direction of natural enlargement, which is indispensable to liberty and stability. I have no more doubt of the ultimate voting of women than I have of the progress of the human soul, or than I have that, when that time comes, a more enlightened age will look back on our discrimination against one of the sexes in this respect as a relic of barbarism, a slowly melting glacier of bourbonism and prejudice. I want to be on record as having melted out early, or rather as having never been frozen in.