thousand instruction slips, and the postage, expressage, and sundries. Of this money $1,000 was the gift to this work of the first chairman of the committee, Mrs. Catt. One thousand four hundred dollars has been contributed from the Anthony Memorial Fund (the fund collected by Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett of Bryn Mawr), and the remainder has come by appropriation from the national treasury.

The committee has the most profound faith in the results, both direct and indirect, of the expenditure of so much labor and money. We believe it to have been well directed effort, the results of which will be felt and will travel in perhaps unexpected quarters. A part of the plan originated by Mrs. Catt was to have special petitions signed by men and women in different professions. There were many difficulties encountered in carrying this out, and the only real success was in the writers and journalists' petition which, under the direction of Miss Minnie Reynolds, chairman, bears the signatures of several hundred really eminent writers, both men and women, with the name of William Dean Howells, the dean of American letters, at the head.

If Mrs. Catt's original plan had been carried out, that each State before sending in its petitions for presentation to Congress had made a classification of the number of men and women signers and the numbers representing different lines of professional, commercial and industrial work, the results would have possessed greater value, but so few of the States have been able to put upon the petitions the amount of work necessary to make such a collation of these facts that the committee is unable to make any comprehensive statement along these lines.

The petitions have come in so tardily that at this time the count has not been completed. Had it not been for the fact that State campaigns of great importance were in progress in several States, and that State petitions were being circulated in others, the number of signatures would have reached the million at which we aimed. Whatever its influence may be upon Congress itself, there can be no question that no educational work has ever been undertaken in this country which has resulted in so much discussion upon the question, both public and private, and which has enlisted in the work so many new advocates of the cause.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PETITION TO CONGRESS.

More than a quarter of a century ago the work of petitioning Congress was practically abandoned by the National Association. The demand for an amendment to the National Constitution enfranchising the women of the United States was presented at the first session of every Congress and a hearing was secured before committees in both the Senate and the House, but the method of appealing to Congress upon our subject by petitions from all over the country has been allowed to lapse for this past quarter of a century.

When, at the Buffalo convention in the fall of 1908, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt proposed that one of the chief lines of work for the ensuing year should be to roll up the largest petition which had ever been presented to Congress on any subject, the suggestion was greeted with considerable enthusiasm and was voted unanimously by the convention. A petition committee was appointed consisting of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman, and Florence Kelley and Rachel Foster Avery, members.

In spite of this fact, when Mrs. Catt appealed to the different States to carry out the work, some of the very associations whose representatives had voted in favor of the big petition when assembled in convention at Buffalo calmly replied to the chairman's appeals with the statement that they had other work to do which seemed to them of more importance. So the first duty of the first chairman of your Petition Committee was to make all the States feel that this was one line of work which, in order to be a real success, needed the active co-operation of every State society.

In the latter part of November, 1908, Petition Headquarters were opened at the Martha Washington Hotel, in New York City, where the work went on actively for over two months, until the departure of Mrs. Catt for England in the middle of February, at which time Mrs. Avery was made acting chairman.

About 100,000 petitions were distributed from the New York headquarters during December and January, and 10,000 individual and form letters were sent out during those same months, employing the whole time of three stenographers, and half the time of another. In addition to that, Mrs. Catt gave her entire time during regular office hours and had the assistance of Miss Hay and Miss Reynolds. A number of other members of the local suffrage clubs assisted by folding and wrapping, addressing envelopes, and doing all manner of clerical work.

During the month of February the work was taken to Swarthmore, in the somewhat crowded quarters where the State work of Pennsylvania was being done, in Mrs. Avery's own home. During that time a number of different stenographers had to be called in, and the work was done at a great disadvantage because

of having no regular secretary whose whole time was devoted to it. It was soon realized that it would be necessary to have definite quarters, and the services of Rachel Brill Ezekiel, who had worked with Mrs. Catt in New York, were secured to carry on the work in the Washington headquarters at 1823 H street, under the direction of Mrs. Avery as acting chairman of the committee. Since the transference of the work from New York 60,000 petitions have been distributed and 11,000 more letters and 185 postals were sent out. This does not include 1,000 postals sent out for return messages.

You will see that there have been fifteen months of secretarial services in the Washington headquarters, entirely for petition work, in addition to the month at Swarthmore, with stenographers secured by the day, and the two months and more of very active work at the New York headquarters to begin the petition campaign.

The work of the last five months has been almost entirely devoted to securing the return of the signed petitions, although there has been combined with this since January first the appeal to 5,000 new people whose names have been secured in divers ways, each appeal accompanied by one blank petition.

Many of the letters have gone to State presidents and State chairmen of petition work, containing suggestions as to methods of work and the lines of effort which seemed to promise the richest returns.

A number of States which were not strongly enough organized for suffrage to undertake their own petition work have been worked directly in detail from the petition headquarters, and the results in these States will in many cases form a basis for effective organization work in the immediate future.

Our newest State organization, that of Virginia, which has brought a most valuable accession to the ranks of suffrage workers in the persons of distinguished women citizens of that Commonwealth, is in part the result very directly of the petition work done from the National Petition Headquarters.

Kansas, which had been separated from the National Association, has been aroused to new interest and a desire for renewed alliance with the other States, as represented in the National, through the petition work.

In a number of other States the petition work has aroused hitherto dormant interest in the question of Votes for Women.

The National Chairman, who is a new State president, feels that in Pennsylvania a large portion of the new life which is felt in all parts of that great Commonwealth may be traced to the

petition work, by which over 20,000 friends of the cause have come into touch with the State officers.

The National Petition Committee has urged upon the various State workers the desirability of making card catalogues from the petitions, and the fact that the petition blanks had a column for the occupations of the signers has given an added value to the signatures when thus tabulated.

The new Woman Suffrage Party of the city of New York owes a measure of its successful organization to the thousands of names which were secured through the petition.

Every effort will be made to secure the return of the petitions after they have served their purpose in connection with the Congressional Hearings, and we hope that they may be returned, at least to those States which have not been able to keep their own copy of the signatures secured.

The petition has been a means of introducing suffrage into thousands of households, giving the suffrage workers an opportunity to ask the direct question, "Do you believe in Woman Suffrage," when presenting the petition for signature. They have been brought forward in hundreds and hundreds of meetings of all kinds in which the subject had not before been mentioned. Even women's clubs have had to listen to suffrage when brought to them by eager seekers after signatures for the petition. It has given to many people who have never before really done anything for suffrage an oppurtunity to work. In some cases whole neighborhoods have been reached through the work of a single energetic woman willing to go from house to house circulating the petition, and leaving literature with families where she found little or no sympathy for our movement. Each letter sent out from petition headquarters enclosed a suffrage leaflet, and these letters carried to thousands of men and women the first suffrage literature they had seen.

To some extent the Grange and the Prohibition Party have assisted in the circulation of the petitions. Of the organizations outside of our own State and local associations of suffragists, the Socialists and the Labor Union men have been our effective helpers, but our most efficient ally has been the W. C. T. U., to whose active efforts we owe many thousands of signatures.

The total cost of doing this national petition work, covering a period of nearly eighteen months, has been $4,555. This includes rent of quarters in New York and for the last four months in Washington (ten months in Washington have not been charged to the Petition Committee), salary of secretary and stenographers, printing of 160,000 petitions and many

[c1909?]

"Failure Is Impossible."

"If I have lived to any purpose, carry on the work I have to lay down."

Susan B. Anthony.

"The work that you've laid down, my friend, we'll carry to the end."

Virginia A. Rugg.

SONG.

Our Cause Is Marching On.

(Air: Battle Cry of the Republic).

1. We are coming Sister Susan,
We are marching right along.
We are gaining fast in number,
And will reach a million strong.
We are coming with a hearty will,
We're coming with a song.
Our cause is marching on .

Chorus—

Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Our cause is marching on.

2. We are coming, Sister Susan,
See you not our banner bright?
It waves from every town and hamlet,
Where they are clamoring for the right.
We are coming, Sister Susan,
We are ready for the fight.
Our cause is marching on.

Chorus.

3. Great and noble men are rallying,
Rallying with us in the fight
For a universal freedom,
And every human right,
We are coming, Sister Susan,
We are coming with a might.
Our cause is marching on.

Chorus.

Virginia A. Rugg, Newport, Ky.

[Feb 19, 1909]

SUSAN B. ANTHONY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE FUND

REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, CH.,
MOYLAN, PA.
FANNY GARRISON VILLARD,
145 WEST 58TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
KATE M. GORDON,
1809 PRYTANIA ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
PAULINE AGASSIZ SHAW,
BOSTON, MASS.
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, SECRETARY,
SWARTHMORE, PA.
JANE ADDAMS,
HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO, ILL.
LAURA CLAY,
189 N. MILLS ST., LEXINGTON, KY.
LUCY E ANTHONY,
MOYLAN, PA
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
6 BEACON ST., BOSTON, MASS.
MARY McH. KEITH,
2207 ATHERTON ST., BERKELEY, CAL.
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, TREASURER, WARREN, OHIO.

TO PROFESSIONAL WOMEN.

In raising the Susan B. Anthony Suffrage Fund, in memory of the great woman who labored nearly sixty years to secure better opportunities for women, we turn naturally to those classes of women who have benefited most by her work. In speaking of her at the time of her death, Dorothy Dix wrote in the New York Evening Journal: "She found the doors of almost every college barred to women and the highly educated woman looked upon as a freak and derided as a monstrosity. She leaves nearly every university door swinging on its hinges to admit women, and parents as anxious to educate their daughters as their sons.

"She found only three vocations—that of the domestic servant, of the factory hand and of the school teacher—open to the woman who was under the necessity of earning her own bread. She leaves every profession and every walk of commerce free to women, with no bounds set to a woman's achievements except the limitations of her own ability and energy.

"It is true that alone and single-handed Miss Anthony did not bring about these enormous reforms. They are too great for any one individual to have accomplished, but to her, above all others, is the honor due, for she was the head and front, the animating spirit of the great movement for woman's emancipation that has done so much to better the condition of the female sex and to which the woman of today owes her ability to get an education and to make an honest living at something better than servile drudgery."

And a host of journals all over the world recognized and spoke of the debt of the self-supporting women of today to Miss Anthony and her cause. Yet many of these women, who have never studied the history of the time which just preceded their own entrance into professional life, do not know of the struggle of the pioneers to open to these younger sisters doors of opportunity which had been closed to themselves.

If you have enjoyed the fruits which others have planted, is it not your duty and your pleasure to help in your turn to make things better for those who are to come? There is no other work today which is laying the foundations for the real equality of women with men and for the civic righteousness, from the lack of which we now suffer so deeply, as is the work for the political emancipation of women; this was and is Miss Anthony's work and to this will be applied the Memorial Fund to which we ask your contribution.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Ch. of the Fund.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, Secretary,
Swarthmore, Pa.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES LABEL

[Feb 19, 1909]

STANDING COMMITTEES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Twenty-Fifth Legislative Assembly

RULES—3. Mr. Speaker, Maricopa; Bailey, Cochise; Bray, Yavapai.

WAYS AND MEANS—5. Bailey, Cochise; Bourne, Pinal; Merrill, Graham; Hightower, Yuma; Morris, Yavapai.

APPROPRIATIONS—7. Woolf, Maricopa; Bailey, Cochise; Bourne, Pinal; McCormick, Gila; DeSouza, Maricopa; Duffy, Santa Cruz; Coalter, Coconino.

EDUCATION—5. Peterson, Navajo; Morris, Yavapai; Tobey, Mohave; Moore, Pima; Reed, Maricopa.

JUDICIARY—7. Duffy, Santa Cruz; Sutter, Cochise; McCormick, Gila; DeSouza, Maricopa; Bourne, Pinal; Pace, Graham; Doan, Pima.

CORPORATIONS—7. Bourne, Pinal; DeSouza, Maricopa; McCormick, Gila; Duffy, Santa Cruz; Tobey, Mohave; Bailey, Cochise; Peterson, Navajo.

PRINTING—5. Duffy, Santa Cruz; Sutter, Cochise; Hogwood, Pima; Morris, Yavapai; Coalter, Coconino.

TERRITORIAL AFFAIRS—5. Sutter, Cochise; Hightower, Yuma; Hogwood, Pima; Shaw, Pinal; Coalter, Coconino.

IRRIGATION—5. DeSouza, Maricopa; Roberts, Cochise; Duffy, Santa Cruz; Shaw, Pinal; Moore, Pima.

LIVE STOCK—7. Roberts, Cochise; Merrill, Graham; Hall, Yavapai; McCormick, Gila; Gibbons, Apache; Bray, Yavapai; Shaw, Pinal.

ELECTIONS—5. DeSouza, Maricopa; Bailey, Cochise; Pace, Graham; Hall, Yavapai; Peterson, Navajo.

LABOR AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS—5. Hall, Yavapai; Bailey, Cochise; Pace, Graham; Tobey, Mohave; Hightower, Yuma.

CLAIMS—3. Tobey, Mohave; Hogwood, Pima; Reed, Maricopa.

MILITIA AND INDIAN AFFAIRS—3. Hightower, Yuma; Merrill, Graham; Roberts, Cochise.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURES AND ACCOUNTS—3. Morris, Yavapai; Sutter, Cochise; Pace, Graham.

ENROLLED AND ENGROSSED BILLS—3. Peterson, Navajo; McCormick, Gila; Gibbons, Apache.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS—3. Merrill, Graham; Hightower, Yuma; Roberts, Cochise.

MINES AND MINING—5. Hall, Yavapai; Sutter, Cochise; Merrill, Graham; Tobey, Mohave; Moore, Pima.

COUNTY AND COUNTY BOUNDARIES—5. McCormick, Gila; Peterson, Navajo; Duffy, Santa Cruz; Morris, Yavapai; Woolf, Maricopa.

FEDERAL RELATIONS—3. Bourne, Pinal; Hall, Yavapai; Peterson, Navajo.

AGRICULTURE—5. Pace, Graham; DeSouza, Maricopa; Hogwood, Pima; Doan, Pima; Gibbons, Apache.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS—5. Woolf, Maricopa; Pace, Graham; Morris, Yavapai; Bourne, Pinal; Doan, Pima.

TERRITORIAL LIBRARY—3. Hogwood, Pima; Bray, Yavapai; Reed, Maricopa.

Council Standing Committees

Twenty-Fifth Legislative Assembly

MILITARY AND INDIANS.
Breen, Hampton, Morgan.

MINES AND MINING.
Goodrich, Burns, Weedin, Hampton, St. Charles.

CORPORATIONS.
Norton, Finley, Morgan, O'Neill, Burns.

WAYS AND MEANS.
Weedin, Day, Finley.

FEDERAL RELATIONS.
Finley, Weedin, Breen.

PRINTING.
St. Charles, O'Neill, Weedin, Breen, Finley.

TERRITORIAL AFFAIRS.
Morgan, Burns, Day, Weedin, Norton.

MEMORIALS AND PETITIONS.
Burns, St. Charles, Morgan.

ENROLLING AND ENGROSSING.
Hampton, Weedin, Breen.

EDUCATION.
Morgan, Hampton, Goodrich.

COUNTIES AND COUNTY BOUNDARIES.
Burns, St. Charles, Norton, Goodrich, Finley.

JUDICIARY.
O'Neill, Hampton, Goodrich, Morgan, Burns.

CLAIMS.
Day, Norton, St. Charles.

AGRICULTURE.
Hampton, O'Neill, Norton.

ROADS AND FERRIES.
Finley, Morgan, St. Charles.

RULES.
St. Charles, O'Neill, Breen.

Phoenix Printing Co., Phoenix, Ariz.

[Jan 20, 1909]

Statistics of White and Colored Population.

We are asked how woman suffrage would affect the race question. From the figures below it is evident that the number of white women (possible voters) in the Southern States is more than 611,000 greater than that of all the negroes, men and women. In other words, with equal suffrage for women, admitting that both races all voted, the white majority would be greater than the total white male vote of those States. The figures are compiled from the latest U. S. Census.

SOUTHERN STATES.	WHITE.				NEGROES.			
	MALES.		FEMALES.		MALES.		FEMALES.	
	Under 21.	21 and over.	Under 21.	21 and over.	Under 21.	21 and over.	Under 21.	21 and over.
Alabama	275.084	232,294	267.075	226 699	227,766	181,471	230,489	187,581
Arkansas	263,273	226 597	256,091	198.619	98,185	87,157	101,604	79,910
District of Col. . .	32.879	60.318	34,195	64,140	15,276	23,072	18.048	30,306
Florida	76,766	77 962	74 696	67.909	58.782	61.417	59.869	50 662
Georgia	315,632	277.496	310 590	277 576	286.796	223.073	298,146	226,798
Kentucky	478.842	469.206	467.120	447.141	67.345	74,728	68 873	73,760
Louisiana	193.264	177,878	189 830	168 640	175 316	147.348	178,896	149,244
Maryland	212.140	260.979	212,375	266.930	55.211	60,406	57,931	61,516
Mississippi . . .	176.180	150 530	171,393	143,097	255.448	197,936	258,167	196,079
Missouri	704.180	809.797	694.458	736 408	34,788	46 418	35,776	44.252
North Carolina . .	342 892	289.263	333 791	297 657	176 510	127,114	181,190	139,655
South Carolina . .	150 772	130.375	145,924	130,736	230 766	152,860	236,889	161,806
Tennessee . . .	407,656	475 046	394,310	363 174	126 152	112 236	127,161	114,694
Texas	667.709	599.961	650,056	508,943	173 260	136,875	176,749	133,838
Virginia	300,617	301,379	293,687	297,172	177,337	146,122	181,957	155,306
	4,597,886	4,439,081	4,495,591	4,194.841	2,158 938	1,778,233	2,211,745	1,805,407

Total white women over 21 in 14 States and District of Columbia, . . . 4,194,841
Total negro men over 21, 1,778 283; total negro women over 21, 1,805,407—3,583,640

Excess of white women over 21 above all the negro men and women, . . 611,201

Evidently, therefore, if it be the wish and intention of the Southern States to minimize as far as possible the political power of their colored population, and to do it without proscription, injustice, or conflict with the U. S. Constitution, the extension of suffrage to women would accomplish this purpose. It may be said that in some of the States, where the races are nearly equal numerically, the argument would not apply. But the South, in all national questions, votes practically as a unit, and if the race question were eliminated as a political issue by the extension of suffrage to women, the States south of Mason and Dixon's line would speedily regain national supremacy.

H. B. B.



HALF A CITIZEN

WOMAN = CITIZEN

WOMAN = 2

In all civilized countries, quietly, steadily, inevitably, a revolution is taking place. The issue is the great matter of WOMAN'S FREEDOM.

In the March issue of

Everybody's Magazine

OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR writes of the woman's rights movements of the world in an article entitled "THE WORLD'S HALF-CITIZENS." This article should be read by every woman as it is an attempt to fix woman's political, social and legal status—

WOMAN = CITIZEN

The March Everybody's is for sale on all News-stands

[Aug 1911]

The Ohio Equal Franchise Association

Honorary President:
MRS. BYRON STANTON

President: - - - MRS. JOHN M. DIETZ
Vice-President: - - MRS. CARL S. RANKIN
Secretary: - - MISS FLORA E. WORTHINGTON
Treasurer: - - MISS SOPHIA B. SPRIGG

Advisory Board:

DR. SAMUEL ALLEN
HON. L. A. BURRELL
REV. CHAS. FREDERIC GOSS
MR. FENTON LAWSON
JUDGE WM. LITTLEFORD
REV. SAMUEL TYLER

OUR PLATFORM

WE, THE OHIO EQUAL FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION, realizing that woman's interests are the care of children, the improvement of the public schools and the Juvenile Court, the establishment of playgrounds, the enactment and enforcement of adequate child-labor laws and of laws to protect women in industry and to safeguard morality, and seeing that women are responsible for the health and well-being of their households and are therefor vitally interested in securing pure water, wholesome food and good sanitary conditions:

Resolve, that we ask for the ballot in order to elect representatives who will give more attention to these important subjects than has been given hitherto in this State. We wish for the suffrage not in order to compete with men, but to co-operate with them in furthering the welfare of this Commonwealth. We consider the exercise of the franchise a duty that every intelligent woman owes to her country and her home, and our motto is:

"The ballot for the better protection of our households"

OHIO EQUAL FRANCHISE ASS'N
628 Lincoln Ave., Cin'ti, O.

To the Members and Friends of the
OHIO EQUAL FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION:

WE have now enrolled four hundred members in six counties, and our work needs the interest and help of every one. Having no dues, we depend altogether upon voluntary contributions for the support of our society, and we ask your subscriptions, large or small. If you can give an hour a week to suffrage work, enroll new members, distribute literature, or otherwise aid us, let us know promptly. Your co-operation will greatly increase our usefulness, and your help may do much to make OHIO NEXT.

MRS. BYRON STANTON
FENTON LAWSON
WILLIAM LITTLEFORD

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Name and Address

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[Jan 28, 1912]

TWENTY-FIVE GREATEST WOMEN

Guessing Contest

...of...

NEW YORK STATE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

at its

February 14 & 15 FAIR 180 Madison Ave.

Four Volume "History of Woman Suffrage" the Prize

The Committee in charge of the above named Fair makes the following announcement:

The History of Woman Suffrage, the only authorized and exhaustive history of the movement, will be presented to the person who submits the list of twenty-five greatest women in history which most closely resembles the list prepared by the Committee.

This copy contains the authograph of SUSAN B. ANTHONY in each volume

Terms of Contest

The contest will close on the evening of Feb. 15, the last night of the Fair. Lists may be sent by mail to the Fair Committee, 180 Madison Ave., New York, or delivered during the Fair at the Book and Stationery store, where the History will be on view.

The contest is open to everyone except the person who framed the list. Each list must be plainly signed with the name and address of the sender, and accompanied by ten cents. (Stamps welcome.)

Nature of List

No Biblical characters are included.

The women named in the list have been chosen because of what is considered essential greatness, not fame.

Greatness, so far as the purposes of this list are concerned, is held to consist of two elements:

1. Influence of their achievements upon life and history, contemporaneous and in succeeding generations.

2. Difficulty and pioneer quality of their achievements.



I give herewith my list:

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no court or police system. In these school-cities, girls as well as boys vote and hold office. This is a splendid preparation for the future, encouraging as it does a feeling of equality between the sexes, which cannot but bring about Woman Suffrage.

The Committee on Education of the N. A. W. S. A. was formed soon after the meeting of that organization in Chicago, 1907.

For further particulars, address the Chairman,

MRS. PAULINE STEINEM,
2228 Scottwood Avenue,
Toledo, Ohio.

[Apr. 27, 1911]

Aims and Purposes of the Committee on Education

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Realizing that the success of our work, as of every lasting reform, must in the last instance depend upon the development of the individual, or in other words, upon the education of our children, it is the aim of this Committee to direct its energies principally towards the Public School, as the agency best fitted for this purpose.

With this end in view the Committee has outlined the following plan of work:

1. To encourage women to serve on Boards of Education.

2. To secure text books showing a proper recognition of Woman's work and influence in the history and development of nations, especially in History and Civics.

3. To organize Mothers' Clubs and Parents' Organization or Patrons' Leagues in connection with all school buildings.

These clubs and organizations serve the cause of Woman Suffrage indirectly by arousing women as well as men to a deeper sense of their responsibilities, to a study of the conditions under which their children are working and to the need of women on Boards of Education, while, with the co-operation of the teachers they may bring about many a vital reform in the school, which will serve the cause of Woman Suffrage in a direct way. For instance, pictures of the pioneers in our movement may be placed on the walls of our school-rooms and the opportunity secured to tell something of their life and work to the children.

School suffrage for women may be one of the topics very properly considered at a meeting of the Mothers' Club or Parents' organization, and above all the teachers may be interested in the self-government plan, more especially in the plan outlined by Miss Jane Brownlee, which differs from other school-city plans in that it has

bond issues, mileage and cost of roads, organization work, etc.

Annually, the Association holds a Road Congress for the discussion of problems of road construction, maintenance and administration, and for correlation and co-ordination of the work conducted by the various State and Interstate road organizations.

The Association co-operates with railroad companies and the national government in educational campaigns through the medium of "Good Roads Trains." Under this plan the government provides a miniature working exhibit illustrating types of roads and methods of construction, a stereopticon with slides, and assigns one or more demonstrators to accompany the train at government expense for salary, travel and subsistence. The Association at its own expense provides an experienced organizer who organizes in each county traversed, a practical association, and suggests a constitution and a working plan for it. Every agency for promoting the movement for better roads is utilized in the work which the Association has undertaken.

The Association issues a Year Book containing all practicable data on road legislation, construction, administration and economics. This publication is for the benefit of the membership primarily and is also given a wide distribution outside of the regular membership.

Definite purposes, a practicable working plan, and continuous effort are the three essentials which bring success to the efforts of the Association.

American Highway Association

ORGANIZED AT WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 22, 1910

MR. L. W. PAGE
DIRECTOR, U. S. OFFICE PUBLIC ROADS
PRESIDENT

MR. W. W. FINLEY
PRESIDENT, SOUTHERN RAILWAY CO.
VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. J. E. PENNYBACKER
SECRETARY

MR. LEE McCLUNG
FORMER TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES
TREASURER

MR. JAMES S. HARLAN
MEMBER INTER-STATE COMMERCE COMMISSION
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS

MR. CHARLES P. LIGHT
FIELD SECRETARY

Executive Committee

MR. W. W. FINLEY, CHAIRMAN

Committee on Membership

MR. THOMAS NELSON PAGE, CHAIRMAN

Finance Committee

MR. LEE McCLUNG, CHAIRMAN

Its purposes are:

To correlate and harmonize the efforts of all existing organizations working for road improvement.

To arouse and stimulate sentiment for road improvement.

To strive for wise, equitable and uniform road legislation in every State.

To aid in bringing about efficient road administration in the States and their subdivisions, involving the introduction of skilled supervision and the elimination of politics from the management of the public roads.

To seek continuous and systematic maintenance of all roads, the classification of all roads according to traffic requirements, payment of road taxes in cash, and adoption of the principle of State aid and State supervision.

To advocate the correlation of all road construction so that the important roads of each county shall connect with those of the adjoining counties and the important roads of each State shall connect with those of adjoining States.

To strive for the utilization of convict labor on works of public improvement, where that course is consistent with the local policy, so as to involve the least possible competition with free labor, the utmost public benefit, and a healthy moral and physical development of the convict. In many States these results can be attained by using the convicts on road work or the preparation of road materials.

The attitude of the Association toward National Aid for road improvement is indicated by the following resolution adopted by the Board of Directors:

"That the Board of Directors of the American Highway Association approve of Federal co-operation in highway construction and maintenance and that they believe the best results could be obtained by first improving those main highways which carry the greatest volume of tonnage and serve the largest number of people, taking into consideration the use of such highways for the purpose of common traffic and travel, and taking into further consideration the equitable distribution of such highway improvement among the several States."

Working Plan

The control of the Association is vested in a Board of Directors who in turn select an Executive Committee of five members. Committees are provided for the various important lines of activity. In addition to its volunteer non-paid workers, the Association has a small corps of thoroughly competent salaried men whose duties are: to appear before State legislative committees, on invitation, and give advice on pending road legislation; to address conventions and local meetings in advocacy of needed reforms in road improvement; to organize and prepare working plans for local road improvement associations; to prepare articles of educational and news value for the use of the press in arousing, stimulating and directing public sentiment.

The Association is continually assembling data concerning the progress and status of the road movement, embracing road legislation,

tributing literature were largely the work of women. The truth is, there would have been no campaign had not women initiated it and carried it forward.

If liquor money outweighs the concentrated prayers and self-sacrificing work of humanity-loving, God-fearing citizens, there must be redoubled efforts to waken the public conscience.

The fighting minorities have led in the onward march in the world's progress since that black day on Calvary, and the members of the Colorado Woman's Christian Temperance Union, undaunted and unafraid, will continue the campaign until the homes of Colorado are no longer endangered by the blight of the liquor traffic. —*The Union Signal.*

Copies of this leaflet may be purchased of the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of the Department of Franchise, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, 149 Cedar St., Bangor, Maine, or of the National W. C. T. U., Literature Bldg., Evanston, Illinois.

Price, 2 cts. each; per 50, 15 cts.; per 100, 25 cts.

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Prohibition and Woman's Ballot

Mrs. Adrianna Hungerford, president of Colorado W. C. T. U., writing of woman's vote in connection with the election last fall,* aptly says:

Injustice is being heaped upon the women of Colorado in connection with the prohibition campaign, but that does not arouse my indignation so much as the readiness with which our people accept these misstatements. In one day there came to my desk from papers published in Colorado and New Jersey, nearly identical clippings containing the following:

"Women defeated the amendment for prohibition in Colorado at the election last week by their persistent efforts at the polls. All day pretty and handsomely gowned members of the fair sex stood at the polls coaxing and cajoling voters to cast their ballots for a 'wet' state and local option. In addition, the women themselves made it a point to vote against prohibition. 'That so many

*1912

women were interested in the defeat of prohibition surprised me,' said a worker for the measure. 'But we must acknowledge that it was through them that the defeat was brought about'."

There is no doubt that this is plate matter prepared and sent out by the Whisky Combine to help defeat woman suffrage in other states and is accepted as the truth by those who ought to know better.

The injustice of the statements is emphasized by the fact that the last census shows there are 58,223 more voting males than voting women in the state. Women are not only handicapped by lack of numbers, but because they do not control any political party, the pulpits, platforms or press of the state.

By a careful canvass in one of the larger towns, it was found that not more than one woman in a hundred would vote against prohibition; similar work in sections of the larger cities disclosed like conditions.

Often women were decided in their stand for prohibition, when husbands gave evasive answers or were pronounced in their opposition. Election returns, if correct, prove that a majority of men, even some Christian men, voted with the whisky people for local option, and the responsibility for the continuation of the liquor business must rest upon them.

White-ribbon women planned, worked and prayed for four years for a "dry" Colorado in 1913; they have done more; they have denied themselves comforts and pleasures so there was money with which to send speakers into every section of the state every year. It was the women who took the responsibility of circulating the petition for the initiation of the amendment; all honor to the men who assisted, but for the women they would not have had the privilege and 25,164 signers would not have been secured. Women made the plans by which men campaigners reached the schoolhouses and country churches and arranged for women and men speakers in the cities as well as country places, and it was the women who had the vision and took the financial responsibility of having the greatest of prohibition speakers, Richmond Pearson Hobson, in the state for nine days. The prayer conferences in Denver and meetings of every kind all over the state have been in charge of or planned by women. Leaders of "The Dry Colorado League" will acknowledge that the copying of polling lists, house to house canvassing, preparing and dis-

California

woman's suffrage granted in 1911; there has been an increase of 475 dry towns in the two years women have had the ballot.

Kansas, Oregon and Arizona

granted full suffrage to women in 1912. Kansas is a Prohibition State.

Oregon and Arizona

are using the woman's vote aginst the liquor traffic and we believe that when the women of the United States are enfranchised as a whole we shall have found the strongest weapon against the liquor traffic, and every kindred evil.

2c each or 30c per hundred

Copies of this leaflet may be obtained of the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of the Department of Franchise, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, 149 Cedar Street, Bangor, Maine, or of the National W. C. T. U. Literature Building, Evanston, Illinois. Sent for 2 cents postage.

[July 25, 1913]

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, *Superintendent*

Woman's Suffrage and Temperance

BY DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

In the Colony of New Zealand

women were enfranchised in 1893, and in 1894 a Local Option Law was passed. Today the number of licenses in proportion to the population is less than half what it is in England. "By an act of parliament passed in 1910 it was made illegal to sell alcohol to persons under 21 years of age; and the employment of barmaids was prohibited beyond those already registered. In the last three elections an increasing majority has been cast against liquor."

In New South Wales

women were enfranchised in 1902, they failed to secure Local Option in 1907 and 1910, but the "No License" vote rose in the latter election

to the proportion of two for, to three against prohibition.

South Australia

women were enfranchised in 1893, no child is allowed under 16 in a bar-room, and no additional barmaids can be employed.

Queensland

women were enfranchised in 1905, and a law was passed making it illegal to serve any person under 18 with liquor for his own consumption.

In Europe

we find the women in Finland enfranchised in 1907, and a Prohibition Bill passed in 1910, which the Czar at the instigation of the French Government—France being a wine growing country—vetoed.

In Norway

the women were enfranchised in 1908, the same thing happened and the duties on French wines and spirits had to be reluctantly lowered because the Norwegians wanted to borrow money from France for the development of their railways, but they absolutely refused to weaken the direct veto law, by which the Spirit Traffic has been voted out of about half their towns.

In Wyoming

women were enfranchised in 1869; a law was passed in 1895 prohibiting the sale of intoxicants to persons under 16, and 90 per cent of the state is now dry territory.

Colorado

women were enfranchised in 1893, there has been a steady increase in its no license territory since the granting of suffrage to women.

Idaho

women were enfranchised in 1896; a law has been passed forbidding the sale of alcohol to persons under 16, the sale of liquor is prohibited on election days.

Utah

the women received full suffrage in 1896; every county in Utah but one is dry.

Washington

women's suffrage granted in 1910. Since the granting of suffrage to women there has been a gain of 115 dry towns.

Very special is the reason
Of my greeting for this season,
There's no need to tell about it
Everybody'll gladly shout it,
Soon, you see.

Friend, I trust you're glad to know
Of our hope that we shall grow
Really free.

While that glad time's getting nearer,
Of all good wishes, I'm the bearer,
Merry Christmas, peace of mind,
Every joy of every kind,
Now,—"D. V."

Christmas 1911

From Mary Ware Dennett

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crime, poverty and disease which necessitates so much of the organized philanthropy of our day. While there is some truth in the statement that poverty creates drunkenness, we know that there is no greater cause for poverty than drunkenness. This is equally true of crime and increasingly true of disease.

It therefore becomes the duty of every woman possessing the right of suffrage to exercise it against these great evils of modern society. She must realize that the "vote" is the only direct weapon that can be used for their overthrow. When the women fully appreciate this they will see with clear vision their duty and will show at the ballot box:

" The VALUE of My Vote."

" The Value of MY Vote."

" The Value of My VOTE."

2c each or 30c per hundred.

[Mar 20, 1913]

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, *Superintendent*

THE VALUE OF MY VOTE

In nine of the states of this Republic suffrage has been granted to women on equal terms with men. What this means cannot be estimated in figures nor can the results already accomplished in righteous legislation be tabulated. Much is being prophecied as to what shall yet be accomplished for the moral uplift of the nation by the extension of the franchise to women. The women of the suffrage states are not so much interested in the future possibilities of their suffrage as they are in the immediate use of it. "What is the value of my vote?" should be the first question each woman possessing the ballot, should ask herself. That the ballot is of inestimable value no one will gainsay. That it has a money value in many states is one of the shameless crimes of our modern politics. It is not this kind of value that we mean, but a value that is priceless so far as money is concerned. The value of the ballot to man and woman alike is that it enables them to express at the ballot box their convictions as to what kind of legisla-

tion and what manner of legislators shall govern them. It is well for each woman voter to ask herself such questions as these:

"Will my vote mean a clean administration?"

"Will my vote help destroy the traffic in women?"

"Will my vote make easier the life of the wage earning woman?"

"Will my vote affect child labor in my state?"

"Will my vote hasten the abolishing of the saloon?"

"Will my vote count for the enforcement of law?"

These are but a few of the many questions that will arise when women begin to ask "what is the value of my vote?" The majority of women will want to know for a certainty that the candidates who are desirous of her vote will be such men as shall be on the right side of these questions, for there are no more vital questions being asked by the women of the United States today than just these questions that we have enumerated. Women believe them to be vital because they touch the very heart of the home life of our Nation.

The important thing is that the women voters must understand these questions in order that they may vote intelligently upon them as opportunity is afforded.

Some of the things that have been accomplished in the states where the ballot has been given to women are:

The raising of the age of consent.

The reduction of the hours of labor for women and children.

The establishing of schools for the feeble minded.

Making mothers joint guardians of the children with the fathers.

The abolishing of segregated vice.

The securing of more just taxation.

The enforcement of law, relating to the liquor traffic, gambling and the sale of cigarettes to minors.

In all these and in many other things the women have been a large factor in securing the results.

It is however in the obtaining of legislation for the prohibition of the liquor traffic in state and nation, that the women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are most desirous of using the ballot. We believe that with the saloon wiped out legally, we will have taken the first great step toward the solution of the traffic in women, the elimination of children in industry, the reduction, to a large extent, of women in industrial life, and the removing of much of the

ask that women should do what they cannot do. If they cannot, that ends the controversy. But there must be no a priori masculine decision as to what woman can or cannot do.

We claim the Woman's Ballot, as one of the most important objects for which we are working; indeed it includes prohibition and it includes everything else that is worth having. They are but corollaries and deductions from the right to vote. The woman's vote is needed, first, for the woman herself, for self-respect is permanently impaired when you tell any class of persons that they are, as it were, born under an irrevocable curse which renders their opinions valueless to the State. But it is needed, secondly, for man. It is not good for man to be alone in Church or in State, any more than in the family. Man deteriorates when deprived of the constant alliance and co-operation of woman.

It has been said, that the best gauge of the civilization of any society is the estimate it has of its women. Hence the women's vote which would instantly and automatically raise the value of every man in the Republic, would tend to raise the standard of our civilization, and so, if woman's suffrage is a necessity for the woman and for the man, it is no less a necessity for the State as a whole. It is not enough that woman should be home-makers, but they must make the world itself, a larger home.

2c each or 30c per hundred

[July 25, 1913]

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, *Superintendent*

THE PROMISED LAND

BY FRANCES E. WILLARD

The W. C. T. U. was originally founded by the inspiration given to some few brave women to take up arms against the drink. That is a splendid Genesis, to be sure, but it is only a Genesis. If you want to go on to the full Revelation you must not stop with Genesis. You must go on till you have the whole message, the complete Revelation, the Gospel itself. Now in our cause the movement against the saloon was the Genesis, and the first formation of that W. C. T. U. was the Exodus. But we did not cross the Jordan until we proclaimed the right of women to vote, and we shall not enter into the Promised Land to possess it until the full right of women to full citizenship is fully recognized in every State in our land and in the federal government. The more I reflect upon the world, and the way in which its affairs are managed, the more I see that the right to vote in a democratic age is an acknowledgement by the Sates of the value of an individual, a recognition by the States of the right of a citizen to have an opinion and a right to tender it for the guidance of her fellow citizens

wherever occasion arises. The voteless adult is nowhere, whose rights, whose individuality, whose common nature, even, are all held by sufferance, permitted rather than recognized, and as a consequence, minimized beyond endurance. But we know that any thing that minimizes the self-respect of any class is an offense and injury to that class. Women are never treated as if they were citizens except in bearing liabilities, paying taxes, and suffering mischief which mismanagement brings upon the community. If we are ever to save the State, we must enfranchise the sex which at this moment has to bear the most painful burdens imposed by nature upon humanity, and which is much more acclimatized to self-sacrifice for others, than the sex which at present monopolizes the franchise. What lies at the root of everything? Give us the vote, that we may be recognized as if we were capable citizens. Give us the vote, in order that we may help in purifying politics, which at present can hardly be said to be so ideally pure that you can afford to refuse a helping hand. Give us the vote, in order that we may use it, and in using it exercise ourselves in the discharge of responsible duties, in the administration of affairs which form so large a part of the realms of most men. They accuse us of frivolity, but in the same breath deny us serious and responsible duties which we are eager to attempt. They sneer at us as unpractical, and at the same time shut us out of the school of practicability which is opened in every legislature, and then when they have endeavored to destroy in our minds the very conception of patriotism and enthusiasm, they marvel that the boys whom women bear and rear, do not dedicate themselves with enthusiasm to the unpaid service of their fellow men. For the mother is the level which measures the rise of the rate of progress of the race. What men make their mothers today they will make their sons tomorrow. If ever there was a sacred cause which strikes at the root of the secret sorrows of the world it is this which claims for women all the privileges and all the duties and all the rights of citizenship. We are not mere foolish women clamoring for they know not what, we are humble-minded but in dead earnest.

For our own sake we claim the suffrage as an indefeasible human right. We do not ask this with bated breath and whispering sycophancy—we claim it as our nature right. We are human, and we ought to be treated as such. And whenever human society finds out that all its affairs are really affairs of the family, it will learn that they should be managed not by one sex, but by two. The segregation of the sexes is an offense against nature's first law. The work of the coming century is the career open to all that are capable, even if they are women. We make no limitations other than those imposed by nature, which are too inexorable to need enforcing by man-made legislation. We do not

We are told that when women want the ballot they can have it. Let the cry go out from the women of our churches, especially from the women of our Woman's Missionary Societies: "We want it. We must have it. Give it to us quickly, for evils are rampant that overthrow our efforts for good. We are our brother's keepers, and our sister's keepers too."

IX. This is a year of united prayer for missions.

Yes, there cannot be too much of it; but let the prayers include one that God will open the eyes of the people in the churches to see how handicapped they are in securing an applied Christianity by having only one-third of their members able to touch with the power of the ballot the life of the world through an uplifted nation.

X. No pleading will lead our Father to do for us what we can do ourselves, but are unwilling to do.

2c each or 30c per hundred.

[July 25, 1913]

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, *Superintendent*

AN APPEAL TO WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

TEN THOUGHTS FOR YOU

(BY EMELINE BURLINGAME-CHENEY)

I. For about forty years Woman's Missionary Societies have been planning and working to carry the blessings of Christianity to heathen lands. These efforts have been attended with worthy devotion and much self-sacrifice in time and money.

II. While this work has been going on, there have been coming to our shores in rapidly increasing numbers representatives of the peoples for whom we have been working. They have come with the right to expect that they shall find a people all of whose life is dominated by Christianity, just as in their own countries, their religions enter into the daily life of the people.

III. What have they found? An applied Christianity? The Golden Rule a living factor?

On the contrary, from the time they land on our shores, they are the prey of selfish greed, in the form of the liquor traffic, the white slave traffic, graft, political corruption and similar evils.

We deprecate the life of zenanas and harems. How much worse it is that in our large cities thousands of girls are being dragged into the life of the underworld by underpaid labor and other bad conditions.

IV. How do you feel about it, my sister? Are you not ashamed to have the people from so called heathen lands study us as a representative Christian nation and go home to report?

Are we not saying to them "Our boasted Christianity is a failure so far as its application to these evils in National life is concerned?"

V. But the Woman's Missionary Societies have faced too many difficulties to cower now. To see obstacles is to work for their removal. Everywhere among us there is an awakening to a new sense of responsibility. The question is being asked as never before, "How can we improve conditions, under a government that rests upon the people and whose laws and institutions depend upon the ballot?

VI. We naturally turn to our churches for help, but find the surprising fact that only about one-third of the members can vote, while the two-thirds membership of women have no direct voice in helping make our nation better.

We find also that all the forces of evil see the advantage which this gives them and they therefore oppose with all their united powers giving the ballot to women and thus placing in the hands of two-thirds of the church members the most potent power that can be used against them.

VII. After more than a century we find ourselves with present conditions; but it is not fair to too seriously blame our brothers, the one-third membership of the churches, for they have found it impossible to control ballots enough to crystalize into our national life the righteousness which exalteth a nation.

It would surely be a too serious reflection on our churches to say that the addition of the two-thirds membership to the voting force would not infuse a higher type of morality into our national life.

As our Woman's Missionary Societies are composed almost entirely of women of voting age they ought to add more than a million votes to the ranks of those fighing for the right.

VIII. What greater present duty then, have the Christian women of America than to secure the ballot and seek to make this nation an object lesson by embodying into its life the principles which we have been sending missionaries to teach.

God's hour has struck for women to become a great moral force in our national life.

PLEDGE TO MARCH

IN

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROCESSION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MONDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 3, 1913

Starting 3 P. M., Rain or Shine

(Details as to place of formation will be announced later)

Name .....

Occupation or Group .....

Address .....

Send this pledge slip to CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, 1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

If you cannot march, will you not help by sending a contribution toward the expense of the procession. **Contributions should be sent to EMMA M. GILLETT, Treasurer, 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.**

1

From Miss
Alice Paul.

Other papers giving flattering mention of The Presiding Officer, are

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The NEWS LEADER, Richmond.

The TIMES UNION AND CITIZEN, Jacksonville.

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Price 25 cts. Address the author
Mrs. Florence M. Cooley
Jacksonville, Fla.
101 Bilmore St

[Aug 27, 1913]

FRIENDS OF THE PRESIDING OFFICER.

General Fitzhugh Lee, President of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exhibition has written:

"MY DEAR MRS. COOLEY:"

"I have read with much interest your Little Manual of Parliamentary Law. It is clear, concise and accurate. It shall be by my side whenever I discharge the duties of the "Presiding Officer."

Very truly yours,
FITZHUGH LEE.

Mrs. Chas. W. Fairbanks, President of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and wife of the nominee for Vice President of the United States, sets her seal of approval:

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Yours respectfully,

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Mrs. Augustine T. Smythe, President of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, embracing forty thousand registered members: "I would be glad to have a copy in the hands of each member of our organization."

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MARIETTA MORGAN DUKE.

Mrs. Kate Upson Clarke of New York City, the well known club woman and author, commends "The Presiding Officer."

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"I would like to add my name to those who appreciate 'The Presiding Officer.' It is concise, adaptable and convenient. I shall use every endeavor to have it adopted by the C. S. M. A.

From the ST. LOUIS REPUBLIC:

"For ladies, and for gentlemen too for that matter, who participate in parliamentary proceedings, "The Presiding Officer" is a very excellent little manual.

It is a tiny affair to fit a card case or vest pocket, and is thus a portable and ready reference.

The logicl sequence of the contents, the clear definitions of "the previous question" and the much abused "question of privilege," and the tables at back for ready reference, are distinctive features of this handy little work. Mrs. Florence Murphy Cooley of Jacksonville, Fla is the author.

you give them the power to protect along life's treacherous highway those whom they have so loved."

Hundreds of thousands of women in the suffrage states have now that power, and they are using it intelligently, to destroy the greed and lust that threatens the integrity of our homes and the safety of our nation. How much longer shall the disenfranchised women of our land wait for this power? You, my sister, must answer that question.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the educators, the philanthropic workers stand for the ballot in the hands of women, on equal terms with men. The saloon, the brewer, the trafficer in women, are making every effort by fair or foul means, and mostly by foul, to withhold the ballot from women. On which side do you stand? You are either for us or against us.

For the protection of your children, for the safeguarding of your property, for the uplift of your neighbor, for the welfare of your country, for the extension of the Kingdom of our Lord upon the earth, we urge you to demand the right and the power of the ballot, and to demand it **NOW.**

2c each or 30c per hundred.

Copies of this leaflet may be obtained of the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of the Departent of Franchise, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, 149 Cedar Street, Bangor, Maine, or of the National W. C. T. U. Literature Building, Evanston, Illinois. Sent for 2 cents postage.

[July 25, 1913]

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, *Superintendent*

THE REAL OPPONENT OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

BY DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

It may be true that every woman who is in favor of suffrage is not in favor of temperance, (meaning total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors and the prohibition of the liquor traffic in the state and nation) but, surely, the day is past when there can be found any number of women who, believing in total abstinence and prohibition, are not believers also in the ballot for woman. If there is such a one, let her stop and ask herself this question: Who is the real opponent of the granting of the ballot to woman? Let the states who have fought and won answer this, and let the states that have fought and lost answer as well.

When Oregon made its first fight for the ballot for women and lost, they were defeated by the "Liquor Interests." The same "Interests" defeated the suffrage amendment in Ohio, in Wisconsin, and twice defeated it in Michigan. In these states, every "wet" newspaper opposed suffrage, every liquor dealer's association opposed suffrage, every saloon-keeper opposed suffrage.

The Detroit Journal of Michigan said in reference to the defeat in that state: "The fight was made throughout the state by the liquor interests. They are the only opponents of suffrage who have any object in making an intense campaign."

The Kalamazoo Gazette said: "There is no doubt that thousands of dollars were sent into the state by outside liquor organizations, and it was this "barrel of slush" that, more than any other one thing, compassed the undoing of the suffragists."

The Lansing State Journal said: "With unlimited means at their command, the liquor interests flooded Michigan with misleading literature, and under the cloak of the Anti-suffrage Association, composed of well-known Michigan citizens, worked deadly harm."

In the recent campaign in Illinois, which resulted in so glorious a victory for the women, the only opposition of any strength was the combined power of the "white slavers," the employers of child labor and the liquor interests. The American Brewers' Review says that "the granting of suffrage to Illinois women is perhaps the most important event of a political character capable of affecting the traffic in alcoholic beverages that has occurred since the passage of the Webb Law." California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona and even prohibition Kansas all felt the tremendous strength of these combined forces of evil, but in spite of their unlimited financial resources and their political "pull" in every state legislature, they were defeated. And we see in these defeats the promise of that better and brighter day when this Republic will be freed from the tyranny and bondage which has so long held it because of its alliance with the liquor traffic.

There is no slogan of the Twentieth Century that is fraught with more meaning to the liquor interests of this country than "Votes for Women." They recognize it as the death knell of their business.

We hear much of the so-called unrest among the women of our day as if this unrest were something strange and peculiar, but it is merely the expression of the organized womanhood of our nation against the corrupt social and political conditions of our time. It is not peculiar to our nation alone, for it may be found in the Orient, as well as in the Occident. It is not confined to any one class. The woman of culture and the woman of industrial life, the woman of large possessions and the woman of direst poverty are all seeking for that "something" which is to give them power to right the wrongs, heal the wounds and bind up the broken-hearted. Perhaps we find the answer to this problem of unrest among women, in the famous words of Frances E. Willard: "It is the women who have given the costliest hostages to fortune. Out into the battle-field of life they have sent their best beloved, with fearful odds against them. Oh, by the dangers they have dared; by the hours of patient watching over beds where helpless children lay; by the incense of ten thousand prayers wafted from their gentle lips, I charge

January, 1913. 2nd Edition.

MASSACHUSETTS POLITICAL EQUALITY UNION

The Massachusetts Political Equality Union is organized to help in the fight to secure

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Its founders realize that the time is near at hand when the Legislature will submit to the voters of the State a Constitutional Amendment granting Equal Suffrage, and feel that before that time comes it is absolutely necessary to stir up and organize, far more generally than is done at present, the great amount of latent interest in the movement which must be turned into active support if that campaign is to prove successful.

We believe that more groups of workers, working through different channels, in more places, as well as from various points of attack are needed to strengthen and vitalize the whole movement.

Our Union depends upon a Ten Cent Initiation Fee and volunteer subscriptions and is, therefore, open to all men and women that believe in Equal Suffrage however heavy may be the other demands upon their support.

We plan especially to draw into our membership in large groups, working, professional and business men and women who have not as yet been closely identified with the suffrage movement and we

also plan to build up active membership in parts of the State not hitherto strongly organized.

All our members will be members of the Central Association itself, as there will be no organization of auxiliaries or branches; the active members in each district, will in the nature of things become an informal local committee. The unit of organization will be the Senatorial District, and the General Committee will, when fully organized, represent all these districts.

For the present the organization consists of an Executive Committee, of a Finance Committee and of the nucleus of the General Committee.

The officers are the Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer of the Executive Committee and there are already at work two field organizers.

The support and membership of all persons believing in VOTES FOR WOMEN and in true Democracy is urgently invited. The Union is trying to secure its minimum budget of $150 a month through monthly pledges ranging from $1 to $10; we are also receiving subscriptions of $1 and $5 a year and donations of amounts varying from 25c. to $100. Please join us and give us what support you can, remembering that the highest kind of service means some real sacrifice.

The Officers and Committees are serving temporarily until the membership is larger and more representative of the whole State, when they will be asked to select permanent officers.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MABEL GILLESPIE, *Chairman*, ... Boston
SUSAN W. FITZGERALD, *Secretary*, . Jamaica Plain
DR. LILY OWEN BURBANK, *Treasurer*, East Bridgewater
ANNE WITHINGTON, ... Newburyport
HELEN S. PARKER, ... Brookline
IDA S. RIPLEY, ... Newton Centre

FINANCE COMMITTEE

MRS. A. N. WINSLOW, MRS. J. LOVELL LITTLE, JR.
Mrs. E. H. CLEMENT

GENERAL COMMITTEE

DISTRICT
1st Middlesex—CORNELIA CHANNING (Mrs. Walter, Jr.)
5th Middlesex—REV. IDA C. HULTIN
6th Middlesex—JULIA O'CONNOR
7th Middlesex—GLADYS H. HOSMER (Mrs. Herbert)
8th Middlesex—LOUISE HALL
1st Norfolk—ALICE HAYNES MARSH (Mrs. Wilson)
2nd Norfolk—MARY SCHLESINGER (Mrs. Barthold)
1st Plymouth—LUCY A. CHANDLER (Mrs. L. D.)
2nd Plymouth—ELIZABETH MILLET (Mrs. Chas. S.)
1st Suffolk—CORA E. BIGELOW
3rd Suffolk—MARTHA T. MORRIS (Mrs. Geo. P.)
4th Suffolk—CASTINE C. SWANSON
5th Suffolk—MARY MORTON KEHEW (Mrs. Wm. B.)
7th Suffolk—ALICE B. RUSSELL (Mrs. C. A.)
8th Suffolk—MARY E. MATTHEWS
9th Suffolk—SARAH OTIS ERNST

FIELD ORGANIZERS

CELIA J. WHITE MARY A. HOWE

For information or membership cards address the Secretary Fees and donations may be sent to her with the membership card or may be sent to the Treasurer.

All money will be acknowledged by the Treasurer.

Secretary:

SUSAN W. FITZGERALD,
184 Boylston Street,
Boston, Mass.

Treasurer:

DR. LILY OWEN BURBANK,
East Bridgewater, Mass.

An appropriation by each local union for this department. Make it possible for your local superintendent to purchase the best and latest literature.

A fund in each county to carry on campaign work. The appropriation for the Franchise department by each state should be most generous. There is no more vital question before the people today than woman suffrage. Make it easy for your superintendent to enter every open door, to send out free literature, and to send speakers to the unorganized parts of your state.

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Use the daily papers. They reach the largest audience in the world. Send the latest news concerning this great movement, and do not fail to show that among all the opposing forces the liquor traffic is the greatest foe to the granting of suffrage to women.

Remember, we ask the ballot for the same reason that other organizations ask for it, and with this added reason—that we believe it will hasten the day when this nation will be free from the blighting curse of the liquor traffic, and thus hasten the coming of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

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[Mar 20, 1913]

Department of Franchise

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—LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS

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A County Superintendent in every county union.

A State Superintendent who believes that without woman's vote there can be no solution of the problem of the liquor traffic, and who will work unceasingly in the interests of this department.

c1911

INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS

Vote For the Woman Suffrage Amendment.

This is State Question No. 8, and is placed LAST on the list of Amendments to be voted for, November 8th, 1910.

There are four Amendments on the printed list. The LAST one refers to giving the ballot to women of our State and reads as follows:

State Question No. 8. **Initiative Petition No 3**

BALLOT TITLE.

"The purpose of this Amendment is to authorize women to vote under the same circumstances and conditions as men may now do so under the laws of this state, and this purpose is effected by striking out the word "male" wherever it exists as a limitation in Section One (1) of Article Three (3) of the Constitution of the State.

Shall the Bill be adopted?"

☐ YES

☐ NO

VOTE YES TO THIS AMENDMENT.

STATE QUESTION No. 8.

"HOME PROTECTION"

The Woman's Ballot



85

"HOME PROTECTION"

From Frances Willard's Beautiful Address

"Nothing worse can ever happen to woman at the polls than has been endured by the hour on the part of conservative women of the churches in this land, as they, in scores of towns, have plead with rough, half-drunken men to vote the temperance tickets they have handed them, and which, with vastly more of propriety and fitness, they might have dropped into the box themselves. They could have done this in a moment, and returned to their homes, instead of spending the whole day in the often futile endeavor to beg from men like these the votes which should preserve their homes from the whiskey serpent's breath for one uncertain year.

"Among the thousand churches of America, with their million members, two-thirds are women. Thus only one-third of this trustworthy and thoughtful class has any voice in the laws by which, between the church and the public school, the rum-shop nestles in this Christian land.

"Let us, then, each one of us, offer our earnest prayer to God, and speak our honest word to man in favor of this added weapon (the ballot) in woman's hands."

YOUR DUTY IS

"WHATSOEVER your hand finds to do for the betterment of humanity." Has your hand dropped into the ballot box the little piece of paper that is counted for the weal or woe of your community? Remember you cannot be represented at the bailot box any more than at the altar, or the bar of justice. Each soul must render it's individual account. There is neither male nor female—but we are all one in our responsibilities in life.

The Woman Suffrage Amendment will come before the voters at the general election Nov. 8th. Pledge the women of your acquaintance to get ten men to promise to vote FOR the Woman Suffrage Amendment, and each woman to enlist ten other women to secure the same pledge. In this way we shall roll up a splendid majority.

Do not shirk you duty on election day.

"For God and Home and native land."

You have done your duty to your God;
You have done your duty to your Home;
What have you done for your Native Land?

35. What is the minimum punishment for rape?

36. What is the punishment for bastardy?

37. Is seduction counted a crime or a misdemeanor?

38. Is there any adequate law against taking indecent liberties with young girls?

39. What is the punishment for pandering?

40. What classes of persons are disfranchised? May lapse of time or efforts by the disfranchised enable them to become eligible?

41. Is women's taxpaying as a qualification for voting recognized in your State?

42. For what offices have women the right to vote, and on what matters?

43. For the election of what officers has the Legislature the power to extend suffrage to women?

44. Is it necessary that a constitutional amendment be passed before women be allowed to vote for certain officers? If so, what are these officers?

Catharine Waugh McCulloch.
Legal Adviser N. A. W. S. A.

Copies of the above may be had on application to The National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

c1910 1

Questions Concerning the Legal Status of Women

1. Does the wife after marriage own her clothes and other personal property owned by her before marriage?

2. Does a wife own her wages earned outside the home? Can she by law enforce payment for her services performed in the home for husband and children?

3. What authority has the husband over his wife's real estate or the rentals therefrom?

4. May a wife convey her separate property without her husband's consent?

5. Can a wife's separate property be levied on for family necessaries ordered by her, and if the necessaries are consumed by the family can she secure repayment?

6. Does the law secure to a wife any portion of the family income free from husbandly dictation?

7. What share has a wife in the surplus of property, real or personal, accumulated by their joint efforts after marriage, or does a husband take this surplus in his own name?

8. Has a husband any other control over his wife's personal property or liberty except that which comes from his general control over the family pocketbook?

9. Are spouse's interests in each other's real estate equal, and do they inherit equally from each other and from a deceased child?

10. Is the wife entitled to a voice in the choice of the family home?

11. What is the punishment for wife-desertion?

12. What are the legal causes for divorce, and are they the same for both spouses?

13. Is a wife legally responsible for the support of the children and her husband?

14. Has she a right to share in the children's earnings?

15. Is a father liable for some family expense for wife or child, if the expense is one of which he disapproves?

16. Is a wife entitled to a share in the guardianship and control of the children, so that her wishes may guide in the choice of church, school, clothing, medicine and work?

17. Can a father will away from a mother the custody of their unborn child?

18. Are husband and wife legally competent to testify for or against each other when either one is a party in an action at law?

19. May a wife make contracts or enter partnerships without her husband's consent?

20. Are the public schools, from the lowest grade to the State university, open to girls on the same terms as to boys? Are women represented on the Boards of Control of these various schools?

21. Are women employed in the higher positions in these schools?

22. Do the salaries paid the women average as high as the salaries paid the men? If not, what ratio do they bear to the salaries paid men?

23. Are any of the County Superintendents of Schools women? Has any State Superintendent been a woman?

24. For what school officers may women vote? How many others are there?

25. Are the professional schools open to women?

26. Are women admitted to the bar?

27. To what elective offices are women eligible through special enactment, and to what because of lawmakers' omission of words "male" or "men"? Are these positions salaried?

28. May the apparent equal justice of your civil service laws be evaded if a head of department prefers a man rather than a woman who may have had higher marks?

29. Are any women on the Boards of Control of State charitable institutions?

30. Must women matrons, keepers, physicians or nurses be employed in the State and county and city institutions having the custody of women and girls?

31. Are women physicians received as jurors in insanity cases where the statute may provide that one of the jurors shall be a physician?

32. Does your law prohibit night work of women and girls?

33. Does your law provide sanitary regulations for factories and shops where women are employed, or prescribe hours of labor?

34. What is the "age of consent"?



Copyright 1911 by Ella Buchanan

THE SUFFRAGIST AROUSING HER SISTERS

By Ella Buchanan, Sculptress

[July 14, 1914]

[Feb 21, 1912]

"BRIDGET'S SISTERS"

A WOMAN SUFFRAGE PLAY

BY

CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH

For sale by Illinois Equal Suffrage Association at 25c. per copy

Those who wish to use this play for a dramatic reading or for a presentation on the stage may obtain from the author the right to do so by the payment of $5.00 for each presentation. This money secures ten copies of the book and is to be paid to **Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, 938 Fine Arts Bldg., Chicago.**

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[July 25, 1913]

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The accumulation of this great wealth, by dishonest exactions from the consumer, is termed by the daily papers "successful business" or "business tact." Why? Because each of the large department and dry goods stores pay every one of these newspapers tens of thousands of dollars yearly for advertising, which money comes out of the pockets of the consumer. But this is not all. These newspapers could not exist if it were not for the money they receive for this advertising. Consequently they will publish any false and misleading statement the managers of these stores will send them, the sole purpose of which is to mislead the consumers by inducing them to pay more for merchandise than it is worth. These newspapers control the politicians, who are nearly all fourth-class "Dogbery's" and "tricky." The politician makes the laws under which the consumer is imposed upon and such laws are sustained by the newspapers for their own mercenary purpose, not by any means for the public good. To rescue the consumer from the "grinding plight" in which he is placed, the grafting partisan political system must be entirely wiped out and "Government by Commission" adopted. In making this change, the first thing that should be done is to secure to women the franchise.

When they obtain this, we are sure they will, by their votes, bring effective force on the government to open up direct channels of business relations between the producer and the consumer and to eliminate all useless or obstructive middle men. It is well known that immense quantities of fruit and vegetables go to waste every year on American farms because it is impossible for the farmers to get them past the commission merchants with a profit to themselves.

We believe that the securing of the franchise for women will be the greatest advancement that civilization has made in centuries. It will tend to unify, in this country, as nothing else could, the bright and intelligent ladies of the various Christian churches, Catholic and Protestant, for the public good, and in the interest of honest and decent legislation.

It will also help to dispel many of the religious misunderstandings now existing, and cause women to become the successful apostles of "Christian unity" in the future, where men miserably failed in the past. At the fall, God promised that it would be by the agency of the seed of the woman the serpent's head would be crushed. It was by the agency of woman God caused His Son to be born into this world by the "Power of the Most High." We candidly believe woman will be the agency the Master will employ in bringing about the fulfillment of His promise in regard to the unity of His church. "There shall be one fold and one shepherd."

Reprinted From Issue of CATHOLIC PILOT of Chicago, May 14, 1910.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The woman's franchise question here in America is rapidly advancing and is gaining the support of the best and most intelligent men in the country. Woman suffrage would largely increase the legislative intelligence and rectitude of the electors of the nation, placing them away in the majority, ensuring sane and honest legislation for all the people.

It would effectually help to wipe out the robbery of "representative government" as now existing, and which is so flippantly and almost constantly proclaimed by the partisan professional politician for his own benefit and those of his retinue. Women would vote for the "commission form of government," which would place men and women of honesty, ability and reliability in office, regardless of boundary lines or partisan principles of any kind. By the women's aiding votes the names of Republicanism and Democracy will be forever wiped out and pass into history as a nauseating memory.

Women, by their votes, would correct the invincible ignorance of electors who are directed to the polls from the low dives and saloons of the city. Men of this class are absolutely indifferent to the government of their city, state or nation, whether it is good or bad. Many of the poor men are in dire distress, and will vote for a consideration. Too often for a glass of liquor or two given him by the saloonkeeper.

It can better be imagined than described the check woman suffrage will have on dishonest taxation and unnecessary representation, with an exorbitant consideration for the services of useless officials, for the payment of whom many times the poor property holder's lands and homes are sold, and which they cannot redeem from the outrageously exorbitant taxes and penalties heaped against their possessions.

Woman's contact with the world in taking a legislative interest in her country will be of physical benefit to her; instead of aging it will animate her; it will put new ambition into her. It will rub off the angles and will give her a polish she can acquire in no other way. The splendidly developed optimistic woman reigns to-day. Her activities in the interest of the laws of her country will cause her to bear the "dew of youth" in her

heart, and it will glow upon her cheeks and shine in her eyes until she is long past middle life. It is an outrageous injustice that cannot continue much longer to deprive her of a voice in the formation of the laws of her country, and to which she is amenable in case she violates them.

The eyes of the world are directed at the matured woman who is doing things and taking such a deep interest for the enactment of just and righteous laws for the government of this great nation and the betterment or humanity everywhere. She is not a fledgeling, nor a merely pretty thing, but a woman of gracious tact and wide sympathy who has lived down many a bitter disappointment and crushed many a sorrow, but who is imbued with the optimistic spirit of young America. She knows, in order to do her best, she must look her best. She inspires old and young with her "political rights" enthusiasm. She is sincerely interested in every humane question of the day. Thus unconsciously does she cultivate those endearing qualities of the heart, the daily exhibition of which, in the course of years, imparts an atmosphere of soft, sweet, femininity, and gives to a woman, when she reaches middle life, that delightful, subtle spirit we call "charm."

The following indorsements of able men, cardinals, bishops and priests, will conclusively show where Catholic women's duty lies in regard to women's suffrage:

Cardinal Moran, of Australia, in his official organ, the Catholic Press, of Sydney, says:

"What does voting mean to a woman? Does she sacrifice any dignity by going to the poll? The woman who votes only avails herself of a rightful privilege that democracy has gained for her. No longer a mere household chattel, she is recognized as man's fellow worker and helpmate, and credited with public spirit and intelligence. As a mother, she has a special interest in the legislation of her country, for upon it depends the welfare of her children. She knows what is good for them just as much as the father, and the unselfishness of maternity should make her interest even keener. She should deem it one of the grandest privileges of her sex that she can now help to choose the men who will make the laws under which her children must live, and exert her purer influence upon the political atmosphere of her time. How can she sacrifice any dignity by putting on her bonnet and walking down to the polling booth? Women think nothing of transacting ordinary commercial business, of working alongside men, of plying their part in the practical business of life. They do not mind going to the box office of a theater to purchase tickets for the play. There is very little difference between doing that and putting their vote in a ballot box. The men about the booths show them every courtesy, the officials are anxious to make things easy for them, and the whole business of voting does not occupy more than five minutes. The woman who thinks she is making herself unwomanly by voting is a silly creature."

Rev. Thomas Scully, of Cambridgeport, said at a legislative hearing on woman suffrage in Massachusetts:

"There are no duties or obligations attached to our American franchise that women are not capable of performing. For citizenship they possess all the patriotism, virtue and intelligence that the law requires, and a great deal more.

"Who, especially, are the women who demand for themselves and their sex this political equality? From my own observation, they are those whose standards of intelligence, morality and social position are the very highest. They are foremost in every good work for God and country, to help the orphan and widow, to aid the poor and comfort the sick. You will find such noble women, wives, mothers, daughters, in all our cities and towns, united and unceasing in their efforts for temperance, public decency and morality. I believe that the door of political freedom and equality, at which they are knocking louder and louder, should be opened to them. And why? In order that their special knowledge and practical experience in regard to their own sex and in regard to children may influence legislation for the physical, moral and social protection of girls, rich as well as poor, and for guarding the child's natural home from evils that carry with them criminal poverty and disease.

"I know of no argument for refusing the suffrage to women that is not equally applicable to men. We are away behind other countries in this. There women have certain political rights, with results so satisfactory that many of the leading men in Church and State are now willing to grant them full citizenship. Cardinal Archbishop Vaughn has publicly stated that he is for it. Among the most learned ecclesiastics of our own country, not a few are pronounced in its favor. Educated men and women of the Catholic laity are everywhere now to be found favorably disposed toward it. It pleases me to say that Miss Jane Campbell, a Catholic, is president of the Philadelphia Woman Suffrage Association, the largest local suffrage society in the country. Again, something to be very proud of is the fact that the first woman on this side of the Atlantic who demanded the right to vote was a Catholic—Margaret Brent, of Maryland, on Jan. 21, 1747."

I hope that women will consent to vote, as they do in England, for public officers. For the life of me I never could see that Blanche of Castile, or Matilda of Canossa, or Victoria Guelph were less exemplary as women for their being all their lives mixed in politics; and I think that a great onward step in the progress of mankind will be made when every adult person shall take an active part in the government of our country.—Rev. Father Edward McSweeney, Mt. St. Mary's, Maryland.

There is also the question of woman suffrage. The experiment will be made, whatever our theories and prejudices may be. Women are the most religious, the most moral, and the most sober portion of the American people, and it is not easy to understand why their influence in public life is dreaded—Bishop John Lancaster Spalding.

Women, knowing well the high cost of living, could and would quickly bring, by their votes, irresistable pressure on the national and local governing bodies to cause the producers and manufacturers to be brought in close touch with the consumers of every article of food and clothing that is necessary to humankind. The consumers are now and have been paying rentals based upon a valuation of $30,000 a front foot, exclusive of the building, in the large cities. Notwithstanding the paying of these oppressive high rentals, consumers have, by the high prices charged, been creating millionaires of the "managers" of many of the department and dry goods stores, and many times millionaires of the proprietors thereof.

[Nov. 20, 1912]

The Men's League for Woman Suffrage of Maryland

requests the pleasure of your company

at a dinner

at The Emerson

Tuesday evening, November the twenty-sixth

at half past seven o'clock

to meet

Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, of New York

TOASTMASTER: THE REVEREND JOHN ROACH STRATTON, D. D.

THOSE INVITED TO RESPOND TO TOASTS ARE:

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
PRES. OF THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE

THE REVEREND ANNA HOINARD SHAW,
PRES. OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOC'N

MISS JANE ADDAMS,
OF HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO

MRS. HARRIET STANTON BLATCH,
OF THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK

MISS LAURA CLAY,
OF KENTUCKY

THE REVEREND STEPHEN S. WISE, D. D.,
RABBI OF THE FREE SYNAGOGUE, NEW YORK

THE HONORABLE DAVID C. LEWIS,
CONGRESSMAN FROM MARYLAND

MR. REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN,
AUTHOR OF "THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE"

HOST

O. EDWARD JANNEY, M. D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE OF MARYLAND

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

MRS. J. WILLIAM FUNCK,
PRES. OF THE MARYLAND WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOC'N

MRS. WILLIAM M. ELLICOTT,
PRES. OF THE STATE EQUAL FRANCHISE LEAGUE

MRS. DONALD R. HOOKER,
PRESIDENT OF THE JUST GOVERNMENT LEAGUE OF MARYLAND

Dinner Tickets, $2.50

R. s. v. p.
The Reverend James Grattan Mythen
817 North Charles Street

[Oct 28, 1912]

THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

URGENT APPEAL!

MONEY is most urgently needed to carry on the work of the Association!

Please consider very seriously if you cannot send at once a donation large or small. We need money particularly for:

1) *Salaried Organizers in campaign states*
2) *The Press Bureau*
3) *The Woman's Journal*

Make all checks payable to

The National American Woman Suffrage Association,

JESSIE ASHLEY, Treas., 505 Fifth Ave., New York City

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK, N.Y. 119

[July 5, 1912]

(Tune—MARCHING THROUGH GEORGIA.)

Raise your gladsome voices, girls, we'll sing our suffrage song,
Sing of our great purpose, that will help the world along;
Raise your voices, sing it gaily, many thousand strong,
In our beloved State of Kansas.

CHORUS.

Hurrah! Hurrah! We bring the jubilee;
Hurrah! Hurrah! The vote for you and me;
And so we sing the chorus that will make our women free,
In our beloved State of Kansas.

Soon there'll come a happy end, to all our hopes and fears;
When that star so bright, upon our suffrage flag appears,
Shining brighter, brighter still, thro' all the future years
Of our beloved State of Kansas.

When the Indian Summer day, November fifth, is done,
And o'er prairies peaceful sinks the glorious western sun,
Down 'twill look on womanhood, whose righteous cause is won,
In our beloved State of Kansas.

O, hark the cry for freedom in our grand Sunflower State,
It is ringing from the rivers to the matchless prairies great,
And behold! a new star rising now, all fair and sure as fate,
The world is marching on!

CHORUS.

Glory, Glory, Hallelujah,
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah,
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah,
The world is marching on!

Our Country's maids and mothers are fast coming to the fore,
And are asking for the ballot, twenty million strong and more.
They send us hope and courage from the broad Pacific Shore,
The right is marching on!

(Glory, Glory, Etc.)

We have worked and watched and waited for a weary length of years,
We have seen life's red wine wasted spite of countless prayers and tears,
But a brighter day is coming, lo! the rosy dawn appears,
The right is marching on!

(Glory, Glory, Etc.)

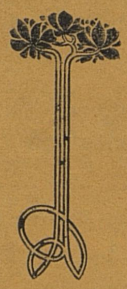
O, land of oats and live stock, alfalfa, corn and wheat!
All nature's choicest blessings, each morn we Kansans greet,
That thou shouldst be the eighth star is surely only meet,
The right is marching on.

(Glory, Glory, Etc.)

[July 2, 1912]

Woman's Franchise League of Indiana

816 Odd Fellow Building
Indianapolis



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and Business Manager

Notes

for Branch Leagues

Gather friends of suffrage together for consultation looking toward organization.

Hold meetings in parlor, or public places for presentation of the cause of suffrage.

Seek at this meeting to get members for your branch league, and if possible elect your officers and committees for furthering the work.

Men, women and children are eligible to membership.

Five or more members may constitute a branch league.

Meetings should be held at least twice a month, weekly preferable.

Secure, from headquarters, guidance to literature on the subject. Read, distribute and sell literature. Do the same with the Woman's Journal, the National Official Publication.

Topics of importance are:—

(*a*) General principles of suffrage.
(*b*) History of woman's suffrage.
(*c*) Its distribution.
(*d*) Special needs for it.
(*e*) Results where tried.

Have parlor meetings, lawn fetes, fairs, plays, entertainments, booths at county fairs and any public demonstration possible to draw attention to the cause.

Offer prizes for suffrage discussions in the schools.

Supply the county papers with suffrage items, general and local.

Show a lively interest in politics and investigate the sentiments on suffrage of all candidates.

This is a State Movement, the Board of Directors is a State Board, its headquarters are for the State.

PLAYS:

The Flower Shop, Marion Craig Wentworth	1.08
Three Plays by Brieux	1.62
Justice, John Galsworthy	.68
A Doll's House, Henrik Ibsen	1.11
Sister Beatrice, Ardiane and Barbe Bleu, Maeterlinck, 2 plays in one book	1.36
The Doctor's Dilemma, On Getting Married, The Showing Up of Blanco Posnet, G. Bernard Shaw, 3 plays in one book	1.62

RECITATIONS:

The Yellow Ribbon Speaker, Shaw, Blackwell, Anthony	.57

These books can all be obtained from National Headquarters at the prices quoted.

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Here you will find

Facilities for study and research, information, reference library, files of all the suffrage periodicals, suffrage literature and supplies, bureau for suffrage plays and entertainments. Suffragists visiting New York are especially urged to call at Headquarters for conferences on methods of work, situations in the various states, new developments and special requirements in the way of literature and supplies.

SUFFRAGISTS IN WESTERN STATES CAN SAVE TIME AND MONEY

by sending all orders for literature and supplies to the Western Branch Office of the National Association, 936 Fine Arts Building, Chicago, Illinois. Prices and stock precisely the same as at National Headquarters.

SEND FOR CATALOG

For News and Pictures of the Woman Suffrage Parade of May 4th, see

	Postpaid
The Woman's Journal for May 11th	.06
The Woman's Journal for May 18th	.06
Harper's Weekly for May 11th	.12

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The only suffrage paper of national scope.

Official organ of the Association. Alice Stone Blackwell, editor.

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What to Read on Suffrage

A MONTHLY BULLETIN

published by

THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

MAY 1912

IN THE CURRENT MAGAZINES

Claudy, C. H. Women as Inventors. Scientific American. New York. April 13.

Crane, Hattie Elliott. Woman's Place in the Government and Conduct of Society as Illustrated by the Splendid Achievements of California Women. Overland Monthly. San Francisco. April.

Delbruck, Hans. Ein Nachwort zum Frauenkongress. Preussische Jahrbücher. Berlin. April.

Dorr, Rheta Childe. Why Women Want to be Self-Supporting. Pictorial Review. New York. May.

Gerould, Katharine Fullerton. The Newest Woman. Atlantic Monthly. Boston. May.

Hard, William. Discovering the Laws About Women. Delineator. New York. May.

Harper, Ida Husted. The Life and Work of Clara Barton. North American Review. New York. May.

Harris, Mrs. L. H. Moving Pictures of English and American Women. Independent. New York. April 4.

Lyman, Clara Brown. How a Business Woman Found Herself; a typical struggle to surmount the barrier of an impractical college course. World's Work. New York. May.

Paget, Lucy Gardner. The Era of Physical Force and After. Westminster Review. London. April.

Porritt, Annie G. The Argument of Broken Windows. Independent. New York. April 18.

Robins, Elizabeth. Sermons in Stones. Contemporary Review. London. April.

Schuster, W. Morgan. Persian Women in the Recent Crisis. Century. New York. May.

Spencer, Anna Garlin. The School and the Feminine Ideal. Forum. New York. May.

Theobald, R. M. The Philosophy of the Suffragist Movement and of Dealing With It. Westminster Review. London. April.

Schlesinger, Therese. Frauenarbeit und Lohnpolitik. Neue Zeit. Stuttgart. April 12.

Troufleau, Louise. Pour l'amélioration de l'enseignement féminin; quelques mesures pratiques. Revue universitaire. Paris. April 15.

White, E. M. The Woman-soul. International Journal of Ethics. New York. April.

Zepler, Wally. Bürgerliche und proletarische Frauenbewegung. Sozialistische Monatshefte. Berlin. April 11.

ELIZABETH J. SHERWOOD.

PERIODICALS OF VALUE TO SUFFRAGISTS.

Jus Suffragii, 92 Kruiskade, Rotterdam, Holland; organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance; Martina G. Kramers, editor. Subscription, $.82 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston street, Boston, Mass.; organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Alice Stone Blackwell, editor. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 5c per copy. Published weekly.

The Woman Voter, 1 Madison avenue, New York City; organ of the Woman Suffrage Party; Mary Beard, editor. Subscription, $ .50 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

The Western Woman Voter, 419 Boylston street, Seattle, Wash.; Adella M. Parker, editor-in-chief. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 10c per copy. Published monthly.

Life and Labor, 127 North Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.; organ of the National Women's Trade Union League; Alice Henry, editor. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 10c per copy. Published monthly.

The Progressive Woman, 5445 Drexel avenue, Chicago, Ill.; Josephine Conger-Kaneko, editor. Subscription, $ .50 per year, 5c a copy. Published monthly.

The Forerunner, 67 Wall street, New York city; Charlotte Perkins Gilman, editor. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 10c per copy. Published monthly.

The Woman Citizen, State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.; Antoinette D. Leach, editor. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 10c per copy. Published monthly.

The New Citizen, 624 Gravier street, New Orleans, La.; Sake D. Mehan, editor. Subscription, $ .50 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

The Newsletter, 180 Madison avenue, New York city; organ of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association; Minnie J. Reynolds, editor. Subscription $ .50 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

The Citizen, Brodhead, Wisconsin; Lena Newman, editor. Subscription, $ .25 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

Votes for Women, 4 Clement's Inn, The Strand, London; organ of the Women's Social and Political Union;; Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, editors. Subscription, 10/10, 1d per copy. Published weekly.

The Common Cause, 2 Roberts street, Adelphi, London, W. C.; organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies; Mrs. Henry Fawcett, editor. Subscription, 8/8 per year, 1d per copy. Published weekly.

The Vote, 1 Robert street, Adelphi, London, W. C.; organ of the Women's Freedom League; C. Despard, editor. Subscription, 8/8 per year, 1d per copy.

The Freewoman, 9 John street, Adelphi, London, W. C.; Dora Marsden, editor. Subscription, 14s, 3 d per copy.

The Englishwoman, 3 Adam street, Adelphi, London W. C.; E. M. Goodman, acting editor. Subscription, 12s., 1s. 3d. per copy.

"Dress," a monthly magazine published by Doubleday, Page and Co., has recently adopted the advocacy of woman suffrage as a deliberate editorial policy and is printing numerous articles bearing upon this subject. **"Judge,"** one of the humorous weeklies, devotes a page of every issue to humorous matter on votes for women. In **Harper's Bazaar,** Mrs. Ida Husted Harper conducts a department of woman suffrage news, which is published every other month. **The Delineator** is running a series of articles dealing with legal discriminations against women.

SERVICEABLE BOOKS FOR SUFFRAGISTS.

Treating of suffrage, civics, the theory and machinery of government, and the woman movement in general.

	Price Postpaid
ON SUFFRAGE:	
Equal Suffrage, Helen Sumner	$2.16
The Political Status of Woman, Bertha Rembaugh	1.10
HISTORY:	
The History of Woman Suffrage, 4 Vols	8.00
Life of Susan B. Anthony, Ida Husted Harper	7.50
A Short History of Women's Rights, Eugene Hecker	1.65
The Woman Movement in America, Belle Squire	.83
The Suffragette, Sylvia Pankhurst	1.62
MISCELLANEOUS:	
The New Womanhood, Winnifred Harper Cooley	1.08
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LAW AND WOMAN



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LAW AND WOMAN

All law is of God. Had the being (male and female in the image of God, whose name was called Adam in the day He created them) not failed in the test, we would not know law in fear or terror. To live within the sphere designed for us could only bring us the joy, peace and perfect harmony resulting in obedience to God's unchangeable, immutable, eternal and beneficent law.

When this glorious law was transgressed, another law sprang into being, called everywhere, in scripture, "the law of Sin and Death." Even the law of Moses belongs to this category, for it could not bring life. The Law of Sin and Death is merciless. Vengeance, not reform, is one of its fundamental traits. Justice, relative by necessity, is a dominant trait.

In ancient history, both sacred and secular, woman generally stands in the shadow of masculine dominance. A few glorious names prove the eternal truth that neither God nor nature is a respecter of sex. "Owing to the hardness of their hearts" man's authority over the other sex was tacitly admitted. But where a man abused his

so-called right a double responsibility was laid upon him by Jehovah the God of Israel.

Jehovah's prophecy to Eve in Gen. III:16 was rapidly being fulfilled all over the world. But every now and then a glimpse was given of the Savior of the whole world who was to come through woman. The "woman's seed" was to "bruise the serpent's head." Truly Jesus Christ was "woman's seed." In the original tongue we read of Him as "Humanity's Son." Not all languages have no separate word when designing to speak of a person to include both sexes. Ever since this Son of Humanity has lived, woman's redemption has progressed. Law is a necessity. Not until all shall love the Lord with all the powers of their being and their neighbors as themselves, will there be no need of law.

To come down to modern law, we find it permeated with traditions and superstitions which give it a color at variance with the true white of justice. In the law of ancient Rome (which tinges much law in civilized countries of today) the father had power of life and death over the members of his family. There was no "coming of age" for his sons, even. As long as the father lived his authority was unquestioned. Later the law provided a way for a mature

son to acquire his freedom. For daughters there was tutelage always, no matter what the relationship. Authority of father was only exchanged for that of husband; or, in case of the father's death before marriage, to that of brother. Even a widow was not free, but had to have a male guardian, whether son, brother, uncle or even cousin. Under these pagan laws woman was property. Today this conception still holds in English law. Many reforms were actuated by greed—that is, woman was valuable and should therefore be protected. The individuality of woman as a citizen was only dreamed of by a few great minds, and the idea is still today only partially developed.

Under French law a woman's value to the State lies in her ability to bear soldiers who shall defend the State. When Napoleon said "France needs more mothers," he did not mean to express any sentiment of reverence for woman's power or place of honor in the State, but simply and alone wanted the French women to understand that they failed in duty to the State if they did not have sons to make food for the enemies' guns and daughters to again bear more soldiers.

From Spain we have the community property idea for married folk, with the proviso, however, that the husband

by virtue of the marriage rite has sole control of the common property. How many men would go into business partnership with another man, if the law made joint control impossible, defining partnership as putting complete control into hands of one partner, leaving the other to the more or less developed sense of justice possessed by the partner in control? We would soon hear many protests, if contracts were all defined in so one sided a way. Do you wonder at woman's growing discontent with conditions so unequal? If we desire the marriage contract to be the most sacred on earth, it must have justice for its foundation stone. It will be necessary to have partnership in the marriage bond defined as real partnership, in which each has exactly the same legal rights as the other.

In some ancient laws woman is defined as a necessary evil. The nations who have built a tottering civilization upon such a concept of woman need not be mentioned. They are awakening to Western ideals which are, to some extent, founded upon the Christian conception in which woman is the heart and life of home, and of State.

In this connection, it is significant that Eve means life; Adam means blood-reddened earth. In the Old Testament, woman is pictured as her hus-

band's crown, the idea of property that lends and brings glory being curiously commingled. In the New Testament, woman is humanity glorified because clothed with the sun—or Christ—the moon which represents the law under her feet, and a crown of stars above her head, an emblem of the glory of believers. Notice, in the figure of speech where the relationship of husband and wife is compared to that of the Christ and His church, that it is not as King or Priest but as Savior that our Lord figures as the husband.

Into man's law must be built the principles of equality and justice regardless of sex, before we can truly say that this is a land of the free. It will take true courage to down tradition, which is the false prophet holding sway over many who call themselves after the name of Christ, yet whose reign we must refuse if we want a part in making our country one in which truth and righteousness shall prevail.

S. L. W. CLARK

National Supt. Franchise, 1910

W. C. T. U. SETTLEMENT SCHOOL

HINDMAN
KENTUCKY



Two Girls in the Home.

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Miss May Stone

Miss Ruth Huntington

Hindman, Ky.

ASSISTANT

Miss Helen V. Rue

Hindman, Ky.

TREASURER

Mrs. Norah B. Taylor

723 Central Ave.

Lexington, Ky.

Extract from the Address of Judge D. W. Gardner, Judge of the 31st Judicial District of Kentucky, before the Knott County Grand Jury, at the June Term of the Knott Circuit Court, 1912.

The people of Knott county, more than any other of Eastern Kentucky, of which I am acquainted, and my acquaintance is pretty general throughout this part of the state, are to be congratulated upon the decrease of crime within the county. Eight years ago when I first came to this county to hold your Circuit Court, I found that on the Saturday night before my arrival, the Clerk's Office had been entered and nearly four hundred indictments stolen. More than half of these indictments were for the illegal sale of liquor in the county.

It was generally supposed that the illegal liquor vendors were responsible for the theft, and it seemed that this class of outlaws had the county by the throat. Murder throughout the county was rife, fights and brawls, cuttings and woundings common, arson numerous, drunkeness rampant, and it was hardly safe to be upon the streets of the little town of Hindman after nightfall.

How is it to-day? No homicide for several years; felony docket of little moment; your town quiet and peaceable, and your last grand jury able to report, that which is true, that crime of all kinds is decreasing, and the illegal sale of liquor had been reduced to a minimum.

Now what has brought about this happy state of affairs? To my mind it is the effect of education, disseminated among the people of this county and surrounding country, through the school in your midst conducted under the auspices of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE

Miss May Stone

Miss Ruth Huntington

Hindman, Ky.

ASSISTANT

Miss Helen V. Rue

Hindman, Ky.

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Lexington, Ky.

W. C. T. U. SETTLEMENT SCHOOL

HINDMAN, KNOTT CO., KENTUCKY

IN August, 1902, the Kentucky W. C. T. U. established in Hindman, a Social Settlement and School with Miss Katherine Pettit and Miss May Stone as Committee in Charge. The original property consisted of four acres of ground (the men of the county paid $700.00 for three acres of this land and gave it as an inducement to have the school at Hindman), a frame school house of five rooms and a rented cottage.

The present equipment consists of sixty acres of land; a large school house; a power house; a workshop; two small cottages; a small log hospital; the orchard house, containing laundry, kitchen, dining-room and bedrooms; two cottages of twelve rooms each; a barn and silo; a log smoke house; a large reservoir.

SCHOOL

The school fund received from the State for the six months of the public school term, is $1,044.00; and from the County for the High School, $450.00.

Students of school age in district	284
Students enrolled	310
Girls in the home	63
Boys in the home	32

DEPARTMENTS

1. Primary
2. Intermediate
3. High School
4. Normal
5. Industrial.

a. Machine Work
b. Woodwork
c. Farming
d. Gardening
e. Nursing
f. Sewing
g. Cooking
h. Laundry

SETTLEMENT WORK

Library; Social Meetings; Glee Club; Debating Club; Game Club; Crochet Club; Temperance Meetings; Fireside Industries; encouraging the arts of spinning and weaving coverlets, blankets, linsey-woolsey and making baskets. In ten years, $10,500.00 worth have been sold for the mountain people.

The settlement and school are inter-denominational but strongly Christian, assisting in the Church and Sunday School work of the village and community.



A Chorus for Thanksgiving Day Service.



New Workshop.



Smallest Boys at Shop Work.



A Cooking Class.



Some of the Older Boys in the Home.

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Intermediate ..... Miss Margaret Cornell, Louisville, Ky.
Miss Ina Allen, Deerfield, Mass.

Primary ..... Miss Elizabeth Watts, Abbot Academy

Woodwork ..... Miss Ruth Huntington, Smith College and Columbia Univ.

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For further information, apply to the Committee in Charge of the W. C. T. U. Settlement School.

(Kentucky W. C. T. U., Incorporated.)

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1. $6,000.00 to meet salaries of workers.
2. $100.00 each for 100 Scholarships.
3. $2,000.00 each for endowed scholarships.
4. $10,000.00 for a Settlement House.
5. $100,000.00 for an endowment fund.

SHIPPING DIRECTIONS.

Address all freight and express to W. C. T. U. Settlement School, Hindman, Ky. via Hazard, Ky. on L. & N. R. R.

Extract from a Letter of Mrs. Frost of Berea College, Berea, Ky.

"THAT twenty mile wagon ride along Troublesome gave me leisure to think over the years of our acquaintance.

There were the summers you spent in a tent in the mountains—then came your plan for a school. I had known starving, inefficient schools in the mountains and I dreaded seeing another started. It seemed impossible for two girls to get the necessary support for a really good school, but your program of uplift was so practical, your faith so strong, your courage in the midst of hardships so soldier-like, that your plea proved irresistable.

During this visit, I was reminded at every turn of your early visions as to how the work should be done, and I marveled that those visions have been so nearly realized."

The Ann Arbor Press

MICHIGAN MEN WHO KNOW

Committees of Michigan alumni have been formed in a number of the very largest cities of the country for the purpose of introducing Michigan graduates to the various kinds of social, civic, and religious work that a college man can do during his spare time.

The following representatives of the e committees will be glad to meet Michigan men who have this kind of work in mind:

Chicago: Charles W. Seabury, Insurance, Nat. Life Bldg.

Minneapolis: E. C. Garrigues, Att'y., Guaranty Bldg.

St. Paul: John E Burchard, Burchard-Hulburt Investment Co.

Omaha: Jesse D. Palmer, Attorney, Brandeis Bldg.

Detroit: John H. Snook, Associated Charities.

Cleveland: Dr. R. A. Bolt, Cedar Ave. & E. 83rd St.

Pittsburg: Chas. F. Weller, Gen. Sec. Assoc. Charities.

Philadelphia: Wm. H. Oxtoby, 3700 Chestnut St.

New York City: Allen Broomhall, 25 Broad Street.

Boston: J. W DeBruyn, Director of Home & School Assoc., 84 Worcester St.

NOTE: *These men are not willing to interview Michigan alumni who are looking for remunerative work. They are interested only in the man who wants to give a portion of his time free of charge to the service of the community.*

The Students' Christian Association, connected as it is with Associatian work in all the great cities of our land, will be glad to introduce any Michigan graduates to any of the men whose names have been mentioned, or to any organization in any city of the country with which a man may desire to ally himself.

A Matter of Patriotism

Your Spare Time, Seniors, Next Year

It is needed by the political, social and religious organizations in the town or city to which you are going. If any of these organizations are inefficient, it is the fault of the best trained and most highly educated men there, who are not assuming their share of the burden. These men ought to lead, but their numbers are few. They need you.

What About It?

University of Michigan
Students' Christian Association
Ann Arbor, Mich.

THE FIRST THING TO DO

As soon as you enter the city, acquaint yourself with the work in at least one of the following organizations.

1. The Associated Charities. They will tell you how to treat the beggar on the street, and give you invaluable informaton about the needs of the city.

2. The reform political party. Visit their headquarters, and discover their purposes. Then you can decide as to the wisdom of allying yourself with your own political party.

3. The Juvenile Court. The sessions of this Court are always open to the public. You will find them of interest, and it may be that the probation officers can use you in caring for some unfortunate lad.

4. The nearest social settlement. Here you will see how the congested sections of our cities are being treated. Do not fail to ask questions. The best part of the work is always underground.

5. The mission to the most degraded. You may not be able to help in this work, but you ought to know the heroic attempts that are being made to rescue the drunkard and the desperate of both sexes.

6. The Y. M. C. A. Here you will often find the best dormitories in the city, and unlimited opportunities for service. The business men of this country have given more money to this organization during the past year than to any other one religious agency. Why? You ought to know.

7. The church of your choice. Church men and church women are giving more time and thought and money to the welfare of our cities than any other class of people. If you want the best society in the world, and a great chance to work, don't fail to join your church.

If located in a small town consult at least three men—your own minister, the ablest physician, the most prominent lawyer—concerning the best ways of serving the community.

THE NEXT THING TO DO

Take off your coat and tackle at least one good hard job for which you receive no money. It will provide great relaxation. It will give you insight into at least one of the great problems of our day. It will give you the acquaintance and the comradship of the men and women who are actually doing something for their fellows. Above all things else, it will give you a chance to pay the debt that every Michigan man owes to the community that has contributed no little amount to his education. *Don't lose your nerve if the first task afforded seems insignificant.*

It will be interesting to know how may of the one thousand and more Michigan graduates who step back into the community after the 30th of June, are willing to give at least a part of their time to the service of the community in which they live.

To The Students' Christian Association, Ann Arbor, Mich:

I am interested in the question of public service, and should like to know about the opportunities for religious work, social work, political work,* in.....City,

.....State. My permanent address is:

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State .....

*Underline the particular branch.

National Prohibition Party Platform.

The Prohibition Party in National Convention at Atlantic City, N. J., July 10, 11, and 12, 1912, recognizing God as the source of all governmental authority, makes the following declarations of principles and policies:

1.—The alcoholic drink traffic is wrong; is the most serious drain on the wealth and resources of the nation; is detrimental to the general welfare and destructive of the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. All laws taxing or licensing a traffic which produces crime, poverty and political corruption, and spreads disease and death, should be repealed. To destroy such a traffic there must be elected to power a political party which will administer the government from the standpoint that the alcoholic drink traffic is a crime and not a business, and we pledge that the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages shall be prohibited. We favor:

2.—The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

3.—A uniform marriage and divorce law. The extermination of polygamy. And the complete suppression of the traffic in girls.

4.—Absolute protection of the rights of labor, without impairment of the rights of capital.

5.—The settlement of all international disputes by arbitration.

6.—The abolition of child labor in mines, workshops and factories, with

the rigid enforcement of the laws now flagrantly violated.

7.—Suffrage for women on the same terms as for men.

8.—A Presidential term of six years, and one term only.

9.—Court review of Post Office and other department decisions and orders; the extension of the Postal Savings Bank system and of Rural Delivery, and the establishment of an efficient parcels post.

10.—The initiative, referendum and recall.

11.—As the tariff is a commercial question it should be fixed on scientific basis of accurate knowledge, secured by means of a permanent, omni-partisan tariff commission, with ample powers.

12.—Equitable graduated income and inheritance taxes.

13.—Conservation of our forest and mineral reserves, and the reclamation of waste lands. All mineral and timber lands, and water powers, now owned by the government, should be held perpetually, and leased for revenue purposes.

14.—Clearly defined laws for the regulation and control of corporations transacting an interstate business.

15.—Efficiency and economy in governmental administration.

16.—The protection of one day in seven as a day of rest.

To these fundametnal principles, the National Prohibition Party renews its long allegiance, and on these issues, nvites the co-operation of all good citizens to the end that the true object of government may be attained, namely, equal and exact justice for all.

Platform Adopted at State Prohibition Convention at Louisville, Kentucky, May 28th.

We, the delegates of the Prohibition Party of Kentucky, in State Convention assembled, renew our allegiance to the principles and policies of the National Prohibition Party, realizing the peril that confronts this State and Nation from the liquor traffic and trusting in Almighty God, who in ages past and in our own history has shown Himself the God of Nations not less than the God of individuals, do declare our loyalty to the following resolutions:

First—That the liquor traffic is the most dangerous foe of the State in that it not only destroys the manhood of its victims through drink, but its most deadly effect on citizenship is that by its compact organization and immense financial power, is controlling the two dominant political parties, furnishing campaign funds with which they purchase thousands of votes, intimidating the man who could not be bought outright with money, until our officers are afraid to enforce the law, and as a result we are suffering all over the State from non-enforcement of law and are thus having a demonstration that officers elected through a political party that derives the chief portion of its campaign fund from the liquor traffic cannot and will not enforce the law against the traffic. We, therefore, stand for the political party that never

has and never will accept one cent of liquor money for any purpose, and we call upon all good citizens to join with us to elect officers who will enact and enforce all laws against the liquor trust and all other trusts which are detrimental to the welfare of the people.

Second—That we are convinced that the Prohibition Party has done more to create public sentiment against the liquor traffic and to compel the enactment and enforcement of such laws as we now have than any other force, in that it has created a great literature, kept in the field strong, brawny men and women who have held up the standard of prohibition, so we believe the time is at hand when the State government should be put in the hand of the Prohibition Party, that they may demonstrate that Prohibition does Prohibit.

Third—We believe that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, therefore, no government can be just which denies the ballot to one-half its citizens, we therefore declare for the enfranchisement of all intelligent moral citizens.

Fourth—We believe the ballot the most sacred trust of the citizens, and therefore declare that a citizen who sells his vote has proven himself unworthy of citizenship and should be disfranchised and one who purchases a vote is even more corrupt and should also be disfranchised on conviction by due process of law.

Fifth—That while we declare that additional laws are necessary for the

protection of territory from which the saloon has been abolished, we firmly believe that if the present laws were adequately enforced that the consumption of alcoholic liquors would be greatly decreased and crime reduced.

(Signed):

Frances E. Beauchamp, Chairman,
A. W. Carpenter,
J. R. Pile,
Resolutions Committee.

What a Prohibition President Could Do.

The question, "What Could a Prohibition President Do if the Country Should Elect One?" is so often asked it is well to consider some of the things he could do:

"As chief executive, a Prohibition President, officially holding the keys of every distillery and bonded warehouse in the nation, would be able to thoroughly investigate and ventilate the methods by which the brewers and distillers are nullifying by wholesale the prohibitory laws of States and communities.

"One hundred thousand offices are filled by Presidential appointment, some of them second only in importance to his own. He would name a Prohibition Secretary of War who would quickly transform the official attitude on army beer sellers.

"He would name a Prohibition Attorney General, and not one who had been employed as the attorney of the liquor traffic in his own State and had

appeared as the paid lobbyist of the saloon in that State.

"He would name a Prohibition Postmaster General who would hit the traffic a herculean blow by a few rulings with respect to the use of the mails in transmitting fraudulent and lying whisky advertisement, preventing the use of the government service to practice fraud upon the public, soliciting whisky trade in dry territory, prostituting the rural free delivery into a drummer for the liquor traffic; and could decline to discriminate against newspapers to reform, or to extend the use of the mails to fake brewery rural publications without a bona fide subscriber.

"He could use his great influence to prevent the smothering of interstate legislation in House and Senate committees.

"His Governor of our Colonial Possessions could end the exploitation of the child people of the Philippines by the American brewer.

"His Chairman of the Panama Commission would clean up that Zone, abolish its dives and saloons and protect 30,000 American workmen under federal employment on the Canal.

"His District Commissioner would clean up the National Capitol and wipe out the infamous vice preserve adjoining the White House.

"His Commission of Internal Revenue would not hobnob with the liquor leaders as a guest at their national convention.

"A Prohibition President could also safeguard the Supreme Court of the

Nation and prevent its being packed in the interest of the liquor traffic.

"A single administration by a Prohibition President would forever settle the legal status of the saloon; his first election would make the suppression of the liquor traffic the only issue in the succeeding election, and that is all we need now to drive the liquor business to perdition."

High Cost of Living—Bring It Down!

The National Prohibition Platform for 1912 declares:

"The Liquor Traffic is the most serious drain on the wealth and resources of the nation."

Discussing which Presidential Candidate Chafin well says:

Nearly a million men are engaged in making and distributing liquor. They support families of four millions more.

To start with, we have here an army of five millions of non-producers —all consumers of food, clothing and shelter, the necessaries of life.

As a result of this traffic, more than two hundred thousand men are in jails and penitentiaries. All consumers and non-producers.

Then add to this army, court officials, policemen, employes and attendants of poorhouses, jails, penitentiaries, insane and other hospitals for the dependent classes caused by the liquor traffic and you will have an army of nearly ten millions who consume and do not produce any of the necessaries of life.

Herein lies the cause of the high cost of living.

Destroy the Liquor Traffic — let those ten millions of consumers become producers and the problem is solved and there is no other solution.

The way to do this is pointed out in the first plank of the National Prohibition Platform:

"To destroy such a traffic there must be elected to power a political party which will administer the government from the standpoint that the drink traffic is a crime and not a business."

For the License Voter.

From a Bushel of Corn the Distiller Gets Four Gallons of Whisky

Which retails at	$16.80
The farmer gets	.45
The U. S. Government gets	4.40
The drayman gets	.15
The manufacturer gets	4.00
The railroad company gets	.80
The retailer gets	7.00
The consumer gets	Drunk
The wife gets	Hungry
The children get	Rags
The Politician gets	Office
The man who votes license gets	Fooled

Prohibition Party order of State Chairman, Lexington, Ky.

10 Cents per 100

[Apr 27, 1910]

Your Privilege



It is worth all it costs to secure the ballot for the women of Illinois.

WHY?

Because the ballot is the acknowledgment that women are a responsible part of the state, bearing its burdens and sharing its life.

It is a sign of equality.

It is a key to opportunity.

It is a weapon of defense.

It is a tool for civic betterment.

It is a door to self realization.

It is a lever to uplift humanity.

It is the armor of self respect.

To obtain the ballot men have waded through rivers of blood. It has been worth the price.

It will be even more valuable to women. Is any sacrifice of time, energy, ability or money too great to bestow upon a movement so righteous and important?

1910
OUR NEEDS

1. More local clubs and a County organization in every county.

2. A superintendent and organizer for each of the fifty-one senatorial districts, preparatory to legislative work.

3. State organizers. Miss Harriett E. Grim is employed at present. Her efforts should be supplemented by several others. Such workers are available if the necessary funds can be secured.

4. State headquarters were opened in the Fine Arts Building in October. Contributions for the rent, and necessary office expenses are earnestly solicited.

5. More money to develop our department work. The legislative department needs much money for pre-election work as well as after the bills are introduced. We wish to enlarge the press service by furnishing suffrage news to hundreds of Illinois newspapers. Every department has new plans to further.

6. An increase of annual state memberships at one dollar and life memberships at twenty-five dollars.

"Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more."—Shakespeare

I will contribute for 1910 the amount opposite my name to the *Illinois Equal Suffrage Association*

NAME	ADDRESS	AMOUNT
Mary H Wilmarth	Auditorium Annex	100.00 Fair
Eugenie M. Bacon.	130 N. Eldorado St Decatur	5.00
Kate. Hughes	Table Grove. Ill.	10.00
Omar E. Blount, Jr.	Oak Park, Ill	$60.00

"Between right and wrong there is no ground—except the battle ground."

Will you volunteer for active service in addition to financial support?

WORKERS ARE NEEDED

1. To secure 300,000 names to the petition to Congress which will be presented in April. Haste!

2. To hold parlor suffrage meetings and arrange public meetings.

3. To answer every newspaper article which opposes equal suffrage.

4. To design and use suffrage posters, banners, postcards and cartoons.

5. To increase the membership in the local and state associations.

6. To interview members of the Legislature and induce others to do so.

7. To offer prizes in high schools for the best essay or oration on woman suffrage.

8. To get the ministers to preach sermons on woman suffrage.

9. To secure the endorsement of woman suffrage by other organizations.

10. To take, read and circulate PROGRESS, published at 505 Fifth Avenue, 25c a year and The WOMAN'S JOURNAL, Boston, $1.50 per year.

Illinois Equal Suffrage Association

Headquarters
934 Fine Arts Building, Chicago

Officers

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Mrs. Ella S. Stewart — Chicago
5464 Jefferson Avenue

First Vice-President
Dr. Anna E. Blount — Oak Park

Second Vice-President
Mrs. Minnie A. Watkins — Chicago
4740 Madison Avenue

Recording Secretary
Mrs. Caroline Miles Hill — Chicago
5728 Madison Avenue

Corresponding Secretary
Miss S. Grace Nicholes — Chicago
6710 May Street

Treasurer
Mrs. Jessie H. Stubbs — Chicago
441 E. 46th Place

Auditor
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Organizer and Lecturer
Miss Harriett E. Grim — Chicago
934 Fine Arts Building

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Lecture Bureau
Miss Anna E. Nicholes — Chicago

Church Work
Mrs. Fanny H. Rastall — Chicago

This little subscription book is to make trips to other friends during the year.

Please do not detain it.



Return to

ELLA S. STEWART, President

5464 Jefferson Avenue, Chicago

or to

JESSIE H. STUBBS, Treasurer

441 E. 46th Place, Chicago.



Let it contain your offering or subscription for the year 1910.

[June 6, 1911]

THE INFLUENCE

OF THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

OCTOBER
1910

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The Influence of the National Municipal League

How is one to measure the influence of an organization like the National Municipal League?

One cannot weigh it.

One cannot measure it with a yard stick.

One cannot count it up.

One cannot photograph it.

How then is one to determine whether it has any influence, and if it has, how far-reaching and how wholesome it is?

In a way its membership affords a test. The character of the 1800 and more men and women headed by former Attorney-General Charles J. Bonaparte as President, gives us a clue.

> The League includes in its membership not merely students and others who have only a theoretical knowledge of the questions to be considered, but many men experienced in public affairs and qualified to present the practical aspects of local government. Such deliberations as those conducted by the National Municipal League have been invested with high value and have already served as the means of accomplishing much good. It is primarily the agitation set afoot by persons who have mastered the science involved in the management of urban affairs which has brought about extensive reforms. A vast deal remains to be done, but the goal of government conducted solely with a view of securing the greatest good to the taxpayers and residents of cities is not as far off as it once seemed to be.—*Baltimore Herald.*

The National Municipal League has had no small part in bringing nearer the day of

better conditions. Here is the way a Los Angeles member of many years standing puts it:

> "While there is a colossal amount of work to be done and progress to be made, there has clearly been an awakening of popular municipal forces in the direction of civic righteousness and conservation of public utilities. In my opinion the National Municipal League has been an important factor along these lines."

President McFarland, of the American Civic Association, in responding to the address of welcome at Providence, said

> That he was inclined to suggest that the National Municipal League represented the man at his desk and the American Civic Association represented the man with his sleeves rolled up digging the mud out, but that he was reminded that he had heard a few years since the city accountant of Chicago describing in a meeting of the National Municipal League how the methods of accounting fostered under its organization saved to the city of Chicago a million dollars a year, and that it was the presiding officer, Mr. Deming, who had said, "and this is from an association of dreamers."

In the words of still another observer who has a wide and first-hand acquaintance with municipal conditions in America (Charles Zueblin):

> "One has but to attend one of the sessions of the League to find that it is conducted by experts, and to find that the men who have charge of its activities are men who are versed in all the intricacies of municipal government, and who not only know what is going on in all parts of the country, but who are largely responsible for the good things that are going on in the cities. . . . If one looks at the work of the National Municipal League, he finds that the officials are identified with everything that is moving toward the improvement of the great municipal corporations and he realizes at once that he is in the presence of trained experts."

Not only is the individual membership of the League influential and representative, but the organization membership roll is equally so.

At the 1907 meeting held in Providence, 135 affiliated organizations were reported with an enrolled membership of 111,752 (with 35 organizations to be heard from).

On October 24, 1908, there were 154 organizations affiliated with the League with an enrolled membership of 146,187 (with 30 organizations to be heard from).

On June 1, 1910, there were 191 organizations affiliated with the League with an enrolled membership of 181,473 (with 12 organizations not reporting).

One must look further than the membership roll, important though that is as a determining factor, for evidence of influence. A natural place to look for it is among those who have sought *the services of the League* and have been helped by them. For example, when a man writes as follows, his words may be accepted as pretty fair evidence:

> A year ago to-day I had a short letter from you expressing your good will and interest in our Civic Federation, in the success of which you are entitled to a large share of credit, for the samples of forms of organization of similar bodies in other places which you sent me enabled us to quickly organize a movement which has about as effectively put down graft and punished dishonest officials as we could have hoped for even in our fondest dreams. . . . The truth is, we have simply organized the intelligent and right-minded portion of a community into an effective machine for wielding the balance of power between the two parties.

The letter just quoted came from an active leader in a Kansas town. The following is from the Secretary of the Civic League of Greenville, South Carolina:

> "The work down here is perhaps not so thoroughly organized as it should be, but the civic spirit is being awakened everywhere, and the National Municipal League deserves great credit therefor, because without the information and data which you supply we could hardly accomplish anything. You should feel that your efforts are far-reaching."

Still more striking testimony reached the League from another southern city:

> "I have for a number of years been greatly attached to and had an ever increasing appreciation of the National Municipal League. I have served as recorder of the City of Atlanta, and as member of the City Council, and as such was Chairman of the Legislative Committee and afterwards Chairman of the Finance Committee, and I feel that it is not immodest on my part, and but justice to the League, to say that through information and suggestions derived by me from the publications of the League, Atlanta is richer by many thousands of dollars, and none can now estimate the immensity of the benefits which, in the years to come, the League will likewise bestow."

Although these letters are of recent date, the story they tell is not a new one. As far back as the Baltimore Conference (1896) the following telegram was received from a city where the League's literature and advice had been of material help:

> "The Citizens' League, organized by the young men, congratulates the National Municipal League on the fact that the splendid victory it achieved was won on the true lines of reform as laid down by your body."

Again, in 1902, at Boston, that veteran of reform in Pittsburgh, Oliver McClintock, declared that that city was

> "Largely indebted to the National Municipal League for the solid foundations upon which the Pittsburgh municipal reformers have erected their works for offensive operations against corrupt machine government. The recent great victory which has at last crowned their efforts is a sufficient warrant for both the continuance of the work of the National Municipal League and for its generous support by those who have been benefited and who will continue to be benefited a thousand-fold more in the near future."

The great victory to which Mr. McClintock refers was followed by a still greater one in February, 1906, when the Honorable George W. Guthrie was elected Mayor of the City. Since 1896, Mr. Guthrie had been an active member of the League's governing body and a member of its important committees, like those on Municipal Program and on Nomination Reform. While in office he was busily engaged in putting League principles into practice, and he has made for himself a high reputation for efficiency and effectiveness.

Helping to organize public sentiment and making it effective; offering suggestions leading to concrete reforms resulting in improved government and in a saving of the people's money, laying the foundations for far-reaching improvement in the personnel and form of municipal government—here then are evidences of helpfulness and usefulness and influence.

As this is more a brief of authorities than an original contribution, the effect which the League's constructive work has had can best

be illustrated by quoting from a recent editorial in the *New York Independent:*

> Its work in connection with drafting a municipal program, or, as it has popularly been called, "A Model Charter," has won for it widespread commendation. . . . The volume containing the Program and the papers explaining and justifying it have been used by every constitutional convention which has been held since its promulgation, and by practically every charter convention or commission which has been appointed since.
>
> Almost all its work in connection with uniform municipal accounting and statistics has been equally useful. Already the accounts of Chicago, of Boston, or the cities of Ohio, of Baltimore, Newton, Brookline and other lesser cities (over 80 in number), have been rearranged on its schedule. This does not mean that the systems of book-keeping have in every case been changed, but accounts and reports have been made up along the lines of the League's schedules, so that it is now possible to compare the cost of running those cities with reasonable assurance that the figures have been reduced to a common denominator.
>
> The League has also done notable work along the line of assisting instructors in the higher educational institutions in the matter of instruction in municipal government, and a committee, with Superintendent Maxwell, of New York City, at its head, studied the whole question of instruction in municipal government in the secondary and elementary schools.
>
> Altogether the League has been carrying on a group of activities of the highest usefulness to the cities of the country. It has been earnest in advocating higher standards and effective in suggesting ways and means for improvement. It certainly deserves well at the hands of those who are deeply interested in all that relates to the welfare of our municipal population and yet who are unable to contribute directly of their own time to the movement.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* is of the opinion that

One of the most potent factors in arousing the people and stimulating public interest in municipal affairs has been the National Municipal League. The League's activities have been influential through the distribution of literature on city problems and evils. "The Municipal Program" has been praised by discriminating critics and widely used by constitutional conventions and charter commissions, so that its influence can be traced in the large majority of the new charters adopted by American cities during the past five years.

Every Evening, of Wilmington, believes

That the National Municipal League, with its accompanying conferences for good city government, has done more for the betterment of municipal administration than any other agency of this character which now exists, or ever did exist in this country. The secret of this success is no doubt due to the fact that the members of this organization have no other interest than that of improving the conditions of municipal government.

Its members are not municipal office holders exclusively, but largely citizens and taxpayers, whose concern is the public welfare and not personal profit. All the members pay their own dues and their own expenses when in attendance upon the annual sessions, and having a sincere and unselfish interest in the cause, their best efforts are devoted to its promotion.

The direct influence of this League upon the practical operation of municipal government in this country has been surprising.

To this newspaper testimony, which could be indefinitely extended, we may add that of publicists and professors. Prof. Charles Zueblin, formerly of the University of Chicago, has already been quoted.

Eugene A. Philbin, who was appointed District Attorney of New York County by Theodore Roosevelt, when Governor of New York, attended one of the League's meetings

held at Boston, and after listening to the reading of one of the papers, said:

> "It was one of the strongest presentations of the correct theory of municipal government that I have ever read, and I think that it will do much towards strengthening the impression that the League is a thoroughly practical and efficient factor for good government."

Every once in a while a bit of testimony comes in an indirect way. President Dabney of the University of Cincinnati had been invited to join the League, but he declined. A little later, however, he wrote to one of the League's committeemen explaining why he had replied in the negative:

> "However, I sent and bought a full set of the reports of the Municipal League and after looking them over and 'cooling off' somewhat, I think that I shall have to join. Since informing myself better about them, I find that the reports will be indispensable to me in connection with the work we are trying to do in Cincinnati. Please, therefore, count me in."

The Proceedings of the League have had a pronounced influence on the thought and deliberation of municipal students, and on municipal affairs generally, but that is another story which we hope to tell another time, but it is pertinent to mention here that Dr. Dabney's experience has been by no means a singular one.

Speaking of the meeting held in Indianapolis, the *News* of that city said:

> One of the most encouraging facts about the present Good Government Conference is that the men participating in it have shown such an abiding faith in the democratic principle, such an unshakable confidence in the people. The committee which prepared the charter did not

feel that it was its duty to force any government, no matter how good, on the people, but that its sole duty was to devise such machinery as would enable the people to have good government if they wanted it, and just as good government as they desired. There was no thought of ruling the people against their will, even for their own good. And all through the deliberations of the Conference the controlling thought has been that the only way to secure valuable results—given the proper machinery—was to make the people appreciate the necessity for reform in municipal methods, and then trust to the people to bring it about.

And no small part of the League's usefulness can be traced back to the fact that it believes in the people and insists that the remedy rests in their hands.

These various quotations tell the story of the impression the League is making far better than words of our own. We are too close to the machinery, too close to the work being done to appreciate them at their full value. These testimonials are typical of hundreds of others. They carry their own argument in favor of a continuance and an extension of the League's work in behalf of higher municipal standards.

To all who are interested in municipal problems; to all who are desirous of extending the influence of the National Municipal League, a cordial invitation to join is extended.

The Secretary will be glad to send fuller information.

The annual dues are five dollars.

Office of Secretary
North American Building
Philadelphia

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MISS CLAY ON KENTUCKY LAW.

The Kentucky laws relating to the legal rights of women as mothers are pronounced by able jurists as barbarous and a blot upon her civilization. A study of those laws will make evident the grounds for such an opinion.

The law ordinarily recognizes but one parent, and that one the father, only and always excepting the poor, despised mother whose offspring is the sign of her shame; for these mothers are vested with the same rights of guardianship as married fathers .

With married mothers it is different. The insignificance in which their rights are held is seen in extracts from the statutes concerning Guardians and Wards: "The father of the minor, if living, or, if dead, the mother, if suited to the trust, shall be allowed by the court to have the custody, nurture and education of the ward." And some women imagine that the state honors motherhood! "If suited to the trust," she may have the custody of her own child, if her husband be dead. But not in all cases, however, even if the father is dead and the mother is suited to the trust: for a dead father has more rights than a living mother, as is seen by further extracts:

"Any father may, by will, appoint a guardian to his infant child during its minority or for any less period, and may appoint the guardianship of the infant's estate to one, and the custody, nurture and education of the infant to another." Not by a word is the father placed under the slightest constraint to appoint the mother to the custody, nurture and education of the child!

Further, we read: "In appointing a guardian the court shall pay proper attention to the following order of precedence in right, and not depart therefrom, unless it deems that prudence and the interests of the infant so require:

"First, the father or testamentary guardian of his appointing.

"Secondly, the mother, if unmarried; and, thirdly, the next of kin, giving preference to the males."

In the exercise of this right of guardianship, undivided with the mother, a father has the sole direction of his child's life, the mother's wishes being consulted only so far as he pleases. If he is in humble circumstances and hires out or apprentices the child, he alone decides the employment and surroundings, and he alone receives its wages. If in better circumstances, he alone may direct its education, choosing its residence, its school and the moral training and religious bent its mind shall receive. It is always within his legal right to remove the child from the custody and nurture of the mother, and to place it with whomsoever he chooses; and if he dies, he is permitted to depute all these powers to a guardian of his selection.

It is terrible to think of the sufferings mothers may have to endure from the exercise of these unrestricted powers by misguided husbands, even when they are honest and well-meaning towards the mothers and children. But many husbands are depraved and selfish, and among the darkest realities of life are the miseries of mothers and children when such husbands have used their authority over children with indifference to the mother's happiness, and even with the distinct intention of torturing them through their natural affections.

The protection the law affords to mothers against possible abuses is inadequate, hard to obtain in every case, and in many of the worst instances wholly unavailable. As long as the husband and wife remain together, there is no clear provision for the defense of the mother. When they are legally separated or divorced, the court decides which parent shall have the custody of the child, regarding the interest of the child in the decision. But the presumption is always in favor of the father, and if he resists the court's assigning the guardianship to the mother, a clear case of his moral or financial unfitness for the charge must be made before the mother's superior claim is allowed, no matter if she is wholly "suited to the trust."

Even this meagre measure of justice may be easily defeated by the father in many instances, if he chooses; for, if he has reason to anticipate that the presumption in his favor will not suffice to deprive the mother, he can forestall the judgment by removing the child to another state before the court has taken action. After the child is once out of the State (and his legal right to take it where he pleases is unimpeachable until there is a decree of court to the contrary), it would take years of tedious and expensive litigation to compel him to return it. Practically, therefore, the mother has no right guaranteed her by the law.

It is no excuse for these iniquitous laws to say that men have little temptation to abuse them and seldom do so. Law is meant for the restraint of the bad, and there is no cruelty shielded by the law which is too dreadful for some bad men to practice. Neither is any mortal being in a position to say that such power is rarely abused. Since relief is so precarious and long delayed, there is every reason for women to endure these sorrows in silence; and yet from time to time society is shocked by a revelation of misery endured by a mother under this oppressive power of the husband, though her wretchedness was not made public until, perhaps after years of suffering, either it became beyond endurance or some circumstance enabled her to throw off his tyranny with impunity.

Women are reduced to pitiable straits to escape the brutalities of these laws in Kentucky, and in other states where they are similar. Newspapers report such instances as of a woman denying that she had ever been married to the man who was trying to rob her of her child; of another perjuring herself as was believed by her neighbors who accounted her a virtuous woman, by swearing in her desperation that her husband was not the father of her child.

Let no woman be indifferent to a law unjust to her sex because she may not personally observe its evil consequences in her circle of acquaintance, or feel them herself. She may be sure that somewhere, secretly or openly, it is doing its deadly work of carrying undeserved misehy or degradation to her sister women.

The remedy for all this injustice and misery is a comparatively simple amendment of the law, of which the principal features should be: Granting to fathers and mothers equal or co-guardianship of children, making their rights equal, and forbidding either, under a penalty, from removing a child from the other without process of law. In happy and well-regulated families such an alteration of the law would never be perceived, for equality is the rule now. When there is not perfect unity, the father would be more conciliatory, knowing that in the last resort he would have to justify his actions to a judge; and the mother would be more patient, assured that her rights could never be seriously infringed, because if necessary she would be protected by the law. The principal thing needed to effect this wholesome change in the laws of Kentucky, which has been made in fourteen or fifteen other states, is enlightenment of the public mind upon the subject.

LAURA CLAY.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES LABEL UNION COUNCIL YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

[1910]

Senate Bill No. 80, creating a Ky. Library Commission 2 Fayette men,

Sen. B. M. Arnett,
Rep. Hugh Mahin
" V. A. Bradley
H. A. Schobert

Sen C. N. Thomas,
Rep. S. G. Clay
Rep. R. D. Hunter,
Rep. W. L. Craig.

Sen. W. C. Dowling
Rep. L. H. Carter
J. T. Buford
J. P. Chiles.

Jan. 20th

Senator Thomas
A. Combs.

[Jan. 10, 1910]

An Act qualifying and enabling women to vote for the election of School Trustees and other School Officers chosen by the people, except such officers as women may be disqualified from voting for by the Constitution, and upon school measures or questions submitted to a vote of the people, and to hold common school offices, except such offices as women are disqualified from holding by the Constitution.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

SECTION 1. That all women possessing the legal qualifications required of male voters in any common school election, and who in addition are able to read and write, shall be qualified and entitled to vote at all elections of school trustees and other school officers required to be elected by the people, and upon all school measures or questions submitted to a vote of the people; and all women possessing the legal qualifications required as to males shall be eligible to hold any school office or office pertaining to the management of schools; Provided, however, that this Act shall not apply to any election the qualifications of the voters at which are otherwise prescribed by the Constitution, nor to any office as to which the Constitution otherwise prescribes the qualifications of the persons eligible thereto.

SEC. 2. In all places where a registration of the qualified voters is now or may hereafter be required women who are, by this Act, qualified to vote shall be registered at the same time and place and by the same officers and in the same manner as male voters; their registration, however, being made in a separate book to be furnished by the County Clerk as is prescribed by law in the case of male voters. And all the provisions of law relating to the registration of male voters are hereby made applicable to the registration of women qualified to vote by this Act.

SEC. 3. When the elections referred to in Section 1 of this Act are held on the same day with the State, County or City elections, separate ballots, similar to those required in other elections, except that they contain only the names of candidates for school officers or questions relating to schools, shall be provided for women voters qualified under this Act; otherwise the election shall be held according to the provisions of the general election law.

SEC. 4. All laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

[Oct 5, 1910] ✓

The Pennsylvania Limited Suffrage League

President, MISS MARY WINSOR, Haverford P. O., Penna.

Vice-Presidents:

MRS. RICHARD PETERS — MRS. JOSEPH P. MUMFORD
MRS. RUSSELL DUANE — MRS. HORATIO GATES LLOYD
MRS. JOHN READ PETTIT

Recording Secretary, MRS. IMOGEN B. OAKLEY

Corresponding Secretary, MRS. EDWARD YARNALL HARTSHORNE
Merion P. O., Penna.

Treasurer, MRS. FRANCIS G. OKIE, Berwyn P. O., Penna.

~~ANNUAL DUES, $1.00~~

OUR PLATFORM

WE, THE PENNSYLVANIA LIMITED SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, realizing that woman's interests are the care of children, the improvement of the public schools and the Juvenile Court, the establishment of playgrounds, the enactment and enforcement of adequate child-labor laws and of laws to protect women in industry and to safeguard morality, and seeing that women are responsible for the health and well-being of their households and are therefore vitally interested in securing pure water, wholesome food and good sanitary conditions:

Resolve, that we ask for the ballot in order to elect representatives who will give more attention to these important subjects than has been given hitherto in this State. We do not propose to bring to the polls the criminal and illiterate of our sex, but ask for a qualified franchise and hope that the men of the State will soon see the necessity of excluding from the franchise the criminal and illiterate male. We wish for the suffrage not in order to compete with men, but to co-operate with them in furthering the welfare of this Commonwealth. We consider the exercise of the franchise a duty that every intelligent woman owes to her country and her home, and our motto is:

"The ballot for the better protection of our households"

March 1st, 1910

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES LABEL UNION COUNCIL 9

c Jan 10, 1910

AN ACT To Provide for Location, Erection, Organization and Management in Kentucky of a State Sanatorium for the Care and Treatment of Tuberculosis, and Making an Appropriation for the Purchase of the Necessary Land, and the Construction and Equipment of Necessary Buildings, and Making an Appropriation for the Maintenance of the Sanatorium

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Kentucky, that a State Sanatorium for the treatment and cure of persons suffering from tuberculosis be and is hereby established in some suitable location in Kentucky to be known as "The Kentucky State Tuberculosis Sanatorium."

SECTION 2. For the purchase and location of a site for said Sanatorium and the construction of appropriate buildings to accommodate the patients, officers and employes of said institution, with all necessary heating, lighting, water supply and drainage appliances, and all necessary furniture and furnishings and equipment, there is hereby appropriated the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand ($120,000.00) dollars, to be paid out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SECTION 3. The Auditor of Public Accounts is hereby authorized and directed to draw his warrant upon the Treasurer of the State in favor of the Treasurer of the Kentucky State Tuberculosis Sanatorium for the moneys herein appropriated, upon the order of the Board of Trustees of said Sanatorium, evidenced by vouchers duly approved and signed by the Secretary of said Sanatorium, and countersigned by the President thereof.

SECTION 4. The sum of sixty thousand ($60,000.00) dollars annually is hereby appropriated to pay the running expenses and maintenance of said Sanatorium, said appropriation of sixty thousand ($60,000.00) dollars to be available on the passage of this act; and the Auditor of Public Accounts is hereby directed to draw his warrant upon the Treasurer of the State in favor of the Treasurer of said Sanatorium for said appropriation of sixty thousand ($60,000.00) dollars annually upon the first day of July in each year upon the order of the Board of Trustees of said Sanatorium, evidenced by a voucher duly approved and signed by the Secretary of said Sanatorium and countersigned by the President thereof. All vouchers shall be issued in duplicate and a copy of each shall be filed quarterly with the Auditor of Public Accounts.

SECTION 5. The government of said Sanatorium shall be vested in a Board of Trustees to consist of seven residents of the State, men and women; one from each appellate district. At least two of these trustees shall be legally registered physicians. Within ten days after this act shall be in force and effect, the Governor shall appoint the said trustees. The terms of office of persons first appointed, as above provided, shall be as follows: Two for a term of two years; two for a term of four years and three for a term of six years. Thereafter, as their terms expire, their successors shall be appointed in the same manner but for the term of six years each. A trustee shall hold office until his or her successor is appointed and qualified. Any vacancies occurring in said board shall be filled for the unexpired term by the Governor.

SECTION 6. For the purpose of this act the Board of Trustees and their successors in office shall be a body corporate with all the powers necessary to carry into effect the purposes of this act. Said trustees as soon as possible after their appointment and qualification, shall adopt a seal, organize by electing a president and a secretary and treasurer to serve for two years and until their successors are elected and qualified; but the same person may be elected to serve both as secretary and treasurer, and need not be a member of the Board of Trustees; and said secretary and treasurer shall give bond to the people of the State of Kentucky for the faithful performance of his or their trust, and for the proper handling and accounting for of all the properties, assets and moneys of the institution that may come into his or their hands at any time, in such sum and in such form, and with such sureties as the Board of Trustees shall approve. Said secretary and treasurer may at any time be removed and a successor be appointed by said Board of Trustees in its discretion. A majority of the Board of Trustees shall constitute a quorum.

SECTION 7. Said Board of Trustees shall have the general control of the property and affairs of the Sanatorium, and shall take such action as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act, select a site for said Sanatorium in such part of the State as in their judgment shall be best adapted to the wants of the institution and most economical to the State, having regard in the selection to water supply, drainage, facility of access, with a quality of soil suitable for farming purposes, and price asked for the land. The trustees may accept on behalf of the State any gifts in money, freights, lands or other property, but such donations shall not be received or accepted as the consideration in whole or in part for the location of the Sanatorium at any particular place.

SECTION 8. The members of the Board of Trustees shall receive no compensation for their services, but they shall be reimbursed for their actual expenses necessarily incurred in the performance of their duties, upon vouchers duly approved by the Board of Trustees, signed by the secretary and countersigned by the president thereof.

SECTION 9. There shall be a thorough visitation of said Sanatorium by two of the trustees thereof monthly, and by the whole board annually. On each of these occasions a written report of the state of the institution shall be submitted to them by the superintendent of the Sanatorium. On the first Friday in June of each year there shall be held the regular annual meeting of the Board of Trustees, at which the superintendent of the Sanatorium and the secretary and treasurer thereof shall each submit a report of the affairs of the Sanatorium, and the secretary and treasurer shall also submit a statement of his accounts, and the reports of the superintendent and secretary and treasurer, and the latter's statements of accounts shall be transmitted by the board, with their annual report, to the Governor for publication by the State Auditor.

SECTION 10. The Board of Trustees shall appoint a medical superintendent of the Sanatorium for tuberculosis not a member of said board, who shall be a legally qualified physician. He shall be a graduate in medicine and surgery from some medical college recognized as in good standing by the State Board of Health, and of acknowledged skill in his profession, and must have had special training and experience in a hospital or sanatorium for tuberculosis and such medical superintendent shall, in all matters pertaining to the Sanatorium, be under the general supervision of the Board of Trustees, who may remove him at any time and appoint his successor.

SECTION 11. The Board of Trustees shall have power to establish such by-laws as it may deem necessary and expedient from time to time for defining the duties of officers, assistants or employees for fixing the conditions of admission to the institution, support and discharge of patients, and for conducting in a proper manner the professional and business affairs of the Sanatorium and also to ordain and enforce a suitable system of rules and regulations for the internal government, discipline and management of the Sanatorium.

SECTION 12. No person shall be received into said Sanatorium as a patient, unless said person shall have been a resident of Kentucky for at least twelve months next preceding such person's application for admission into said Sanatorium, and no person entitled to be admitted as above shall be received as a free patient in said Sanatorium, unless said person shall file with his or her application for admission into said Sanatorium, a certificate of the County Judge of the County of which such person is a resident, stating that from evidence submitted to said County Judge, he is of the opinion that such applicant is unable to pay for maintenance in said Sanatorium. The Board of Trustees of said Sanatorium shall have power to provide by rule, the character of examination to which any applicant for admission into said Sanatorium shall submit before being received into said Sanatorium for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not such applicant is suffering from tuberculosis. No greater number of persons shall be admitted to said institution than can be properly taken care of and treated. As nearly as it may be done, each County of the State shall have the right to have admitted its proper and proportionate number of free patients, who are unable to pay their maintenance in said Sanatorium, and as far as it may be done, preference may be given by the Board of Trustees, to applicants for admission into said Sanatorium from Counties wherein no provision has been made for the treatment in Sanatorium of persons suffering from tuberculosis. The expense of the conveyance of indigent patients to the Sanatorium shall be paid by warrants of the Auditor on the Treasurer of the State, and the sum due for conveyance to be certified by the Medical Superintendent of the Sanatorium, and the cost shall not exceed 6 cents per mile for the patient from his starting point to the Sanatorium, the distance to be estimated by the closest usual route of travel.

SECTION 13. Where patients who have been, or may be maintained in said Sanatorium, have or shall acquire estate which can be subjected to debt, the Auditor of Public Accounts is authorized and directed in every such case, to sue them in the name of said Sanatorium, and recover the amount of such patient's maintenance, or so much thereof as such estate will suffice to pay for the time such patients shall have been kept and maintained therein, and not otherwise paid for, and by proper proceedings subject their estates, repsectively, for the payment thereof; and when the husband, wife or parent of any such patient, who has been or may be supported in said Sanatorium, shall have estate sufficient for the support of such patient, in addition to the support of any other persons, who may be dependent on such husband or parent, in like manner to sue and recover from such husband the amount of his wife's maintenance, from such wife the amount of her husband's maintenance, such parent the amount of his or her child's maintenance, at the rate aforesaid for the time they shall have been respectively maintained by said Sanatorium, and the statute of limitations providing the time in which actions for such recovery may be instituted shall not run against recovery herein provided for until from and after time at which said estate is acquired. Such suit shall create a lis pendens lien, and if judgment is obtained, such judgment shall constitute a lien upon so much of the patient's estate as is described in the petition. The State Auditor shall have authority to employ counsel to collect such claims, by suit or otherwise, and the compensation of such counsel for services shall in no event exceed an amount equal to 25 per cent. of the gross sum actually collected. The net sum realized in such suit shall be paid over to the State Auditor, who shall cover the same into the State Treasury. In case of failure of suits, the expenses therefor shall be paid by the State Auditor out of the State Treasury.

SECTION 14. If at any time the accommodations of the Sanatoroum will permit the treatment and cure of patients in excess of the indigent patients sent by the various counties, as hereinbefore provided, persons suffering from tuberculosis who are able to pay for their care and maintenance, or who have persons or kindred bound by law to maintain them, may be admitted to the Sanatorium, and the charges for the support and care of such patients shall be paid to the corporation through the medical superintendent for such patients, persons or kindred, at a rate to be determined by the Board of Trustees of said Sanatorium. Before such persons shall be admitted to the said Sanatorium, for the purpose of determining whether or not they are afflicted with tuberculosis, they shall submit to such an examination as the Board of Trustees may by rule determine.

SECTION 15. The medical superintendent shall be the chief executive officer of the Sanatorium. He shall have the general superintendence of the buildings, grounds, furniture, fixtures, stock, and the direction and control of all persons therein, subject to the by-laws and regulations prescribed by the Board of Trustees. He or his representative shall daily ascertain the condition of each and all the patients and prescribe or direct their treatment. He shall cause full and fair records of all his official acts and the entire business and operation of the Sanatorium to be kept regularly from day to day, in the manner and to the extent prescribed by the by-laws; and he shall see that all the accounts and records are fully made up to the last day, and present the same to the Board of Trustees at their annual meeting. It shall be the duty of the medical superintendent to admit any member of the Board of Trustees at any time into every part of the Sanatorium, and to exhibit to him or them on demand, all the books, papers, accounts, and writings belonging to the Sanatorium, or pertaining to its business management, discipline, or government; also furnish copies, abstracts, and reports whenever required so to do by said board. He shall make at the time of reception of patients a record of the date of same, name, age, residence, occupation, and such other statistics in regard to every patient admitted to the Sanatorium as the by-laws may require. The medical superintendent shall have power to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Board of Trustees, whenever in their discretion it seems necessary, as assistant physician or physicians, each of whom shall be a legally qualified physician, a graduate in medicine and surgery from some medical college recognized as in good standing by the State Board of Health and of acknowledged skill in the medical profession. The medical superintendent shall also have power to remove such assistant physician or physicians, with the consent of the Board of Trustees. The medical superintendent shall have the power and authority to employ any servants, or employees at the Sanatorium, all of whom shall be under his direct supervision, and any of whom may be removed by him at will. All moneys collected by the medical superintendent shall be immediately paid over by him to the Treasurer of the Sanatorium, and his receipt be taken therefor. No fees or money of any kind shall be collected by the medical superintendent or any employee of said Sanatorium, from any patient for services rendered such person while a patient in said Sanatorium.

SECTION 16. No member of the Board of Trustees of said Sanatorium, and no employe thereof, shall be interested directly, or indirectly, in any contract, of receive any benefit directly, or indirectly, from any contract made with said Sanatorium.

SECTION 17. The Secretary or Treasurer, as provided in the by-laws, shall have the custody of all moneys, bonds, notes, mortgages, and other securities and obligations belonging to said Sanatorium, and moneys shall be disbursed only for the uses and purposes of the Sanatorium and in the manner prescribed by the by-laws or itemized vouchers allowed by the Board of Trustees, and signed by the Secretary and countersigned by the President. He shall keep full and accurate accounts of all receipts and payments in the manner directed in the by-laws and such other accounts as the Board of Trustees shall prescribe; he shall render statements of accounts of the several books, and of the funds and other property in his custody whenever required so to do by the Board of Trustees. He shall have all accounts and records fully made up to the last day preceding the annual meeting, and present the same to the Board of Trustees at their annual meeting.

.... THE ....

HEADQUARTERS MESSAGE

NEBRASKA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
"Equality Before the Law."

= MEMORIAL NUMBER =

WYOMING 1869
COLORADO 1893
UTAH 1895
IDAHO 1896
NEBRASKA TO BE THE NEXT

JUNE, 1910

For the second time within a few years, the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association is called to mourn the loss by death of a beloved vice president, who laid down the duties of president because of failing health, but assumed those of the less responsible position in order that she might continue what service she could to the cause which lay so near her heart and which she believed to be of so much value to humanity.

No more earnest and ardent recruit ever entered the ranks, and no one ever prosecuted the work with a more single-hearted purpose to accomplish all that her ability, time and strength would enable her to do than our now promoted leader, Mrs. Amanda J. Marble. No one ever worked more faithfully and persistently in every branch of the work where opportunity offered, letting no selfish consideration of personal preference enter into her decisions. The writer has never been associated with anyone more kindly, tactful and considerate of others. It could be said of her as of Frances Willard, "She never censured—all the law of kindness was her creed." It could not be doubted that she discriminated. Her judgment was fine. But the expression of it was kindly, and her effort in criticism was always to bring out and give encouragement to the good points in the person or subject under discussion and to set the unlovely ones into the back ground of memory and consideration. So she fostered the good and helped it to displace the evil. She was not a woman to whom public life was specially attractive. She was timid in public utterance and somewhat lacked confidence. Her abilities were more apparent in executive meetings, where her direction and good counsel were invaluable. But she loved human beings, and saw the necessity of help and protection for the weak, and was brave enough to dare and endure much for their sake which she would never otherwise have attempted. Like many other workers for women suffrage, she gradually withdrew from other lines of effort to put her main endeavor there, from a conviction that suffrage is for woman, as for man, the right protective of all rights, and that only through the ballot can the work of women, whether in the home or elsewhere, be made effective and permanent. Her ability made its impress beyond her own state, and there is no doubt that, had her health and strength served, with the development and confidence which comes with experience and familiarity with the work, the nation as well, would have benefitted by the qualities which made her service of lasting value at home. Her plan of work at Chautauquas and other public gatherings was recommended to other states, her suggestions were considered of value at the national conventions, and she made warm friends among the national officers and workers.

IN MEMORIAM



AMANDA J. MARBLE
Born, February 28, 1846
Entered the Higher Life, April 6, 1910

"Warm summer sun, shine kindly here
Warm southern wind. blow softly here
Green sod above, lie light, lie light,
Good night, dear heart, good night, good night!"
—Mark Twain.

The writer's acquaintance with Mrs. Marble dated from the National convention in Washington, D. C., in February, 1900, where she was introduced to her by Miss Susan B. Anthony, but was confined to meetings at conventions and occasional correspondence until within a few years past, when with closer association she learned to love and appreciate her as a dear friend. Mrs. Marble was one of that company of delegates from Nebraska, including Mrs. Mary Smith Hayward, then president, and Mrs. Clara A. Young, elected president the next fall, which then attended a National convention for the first time, but was present also at Minneapolis, New Orleans, and Portland. She attended also at Chicago, Baltimore and Buffalo, during her presidency of the state association. The later of these conventions, as well as the state conventions of the same period, she attended with much danger to her health. How much she risked in coming to the state convention at Kenesaw, in 1907, was known to only a few of her friends at the

time. But to the last she worked with what strength she had at such work as she could do, and only her closest associates know how much she accomplished. She was known to certain of the national workers as "Old Faithful." She was elected to the vice presidency of the state association in 1898 and served until 1905, when, on the retirement of Mrs. Clara A. Young, she was elected president and performed the duties of that office three years, when she, too, was obliged by failing health to decline re-election, but accepted the vice presidency again as affording her opportunity to do what she felt she still could do. She was not less active in local than in state work, being in many ways the inspiration and leading spirit for many years of the association in her home town. The Woman's Club of Table Rock was organized by Mrs. Marble and other ladies on January 24, 1880. Later on, as the battle for suffrage began, the name was changed to The Table Rock Woman Suffrage Association, and no club in the state has worked more enthusiastically than the Table Rock club. Its contributions in a financial way have been of very material assistance to the state association. Full appreciation of the amount of work done by Mrs. Marble, and that too, under most discouraging circumstances, was never felt by the writer until since she has been trying to do a part of it herself, and until, during a visit to Table Rock she learned something of it from co-workers there. Mrs. Marble was greatly aided in her work for woman suffrage by the co-operation of her husband, M. H. Marble, who was heartily in accord with her views, and neglected no opportunity to assist a cause which he believed to be just and right.

Miss Laura Gregg, state organizer in Nebraska for four years and during the period of which she speaks, writes from Arizona, where she is now working:

What Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were to the suffrage cause in the nation, Mrs. Marble and Mrs. Hayward have been to it in Nebraska—the pioneers. Truly did they blaze the trail. Mrs. Marble organized the first suffrage club in Nebraska in Table Rock, and thro' all the vicissitudes in the life of a club, and particularly of a suffrage club in early days, it has never faltered. Always ready to do its part, and more, it has been a veritable pillar of the movement in the state. When the National Association offered to help Nebraska organize, and establish headquarters, Mrs. Marble and Mrs. Hayward, almost alone, shouldered the responsibility. Then we found Mrs. Clara Young, and these three women stood like a stone wall during those months of struggle and discouragement. The splendid achievements of recent years, reaching so nearly to victory in the last legislature, were made possible because these women were heroines. In 1907 we paid our tribute of love to the memory of our beautiful Mrs. Young, and now reverently do we honor the memory of her successor to the presidency, our leader, recently translated.

Many will be the eloquent eulogies—for there is much to be said, and many there are to offer them. I will therefore confine myself to relating one incident of her life—but it speaks volumes. When the national convention assembled in Baltimore the social leaders of the city extended more courtesies than perhaps had ever before been offered the convention. Miss Mary Garrett, both social leader and philanthropist, had invited Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw to be her guests during the convention, and almost daily did she give luncheons and dinners in their honor. One day Miss Garrett said: "Miss Shaw, I have been inviting my friends to meet you. Today I want you to invite some of your friends to dinner, that I may meet them." Miss Shaw replied: "Miss Garrett, there is one woman in particular I would like to invite. She is a model of devotion to the cause; she lives in the west, has blazed the way through pioneer conditions, has reared a large family, and makes a model home; but never is any work for suffrage too arduous for her to attempt. To every letter that we send to state presidents there quickly comes from her the cheery response, 'We will try,' and she not only tries, but she accomplishes. She is as good as gold."

And the woman to whom Miss Shaw referred was Mrs. Marble. Unassuming, never seeking honors for herself, she was singled out from among the many for a social honor, because of her sterling worth; because, as Miss Shaw said, "she was as good as gold." Unfortunately Mrs. Marble had another engagement and could not accept, but the tribute was none the less beautiful.

And now again she's been the one
Called from her unassuming place,
To be an honored guest. And none
Who e're beheld her gentle face,
And felt her kindly touch, and knew
The fullness of her love, can doubt
But that this invitation, too,
Means that she has been singled out
Once more because of her true worth,
And bidden to a Feast. And she
Accepted. And from Mother Earth
She sped. For this time she was free.

And gathered 'round that festal board,
With its celestial joys untold,
Are those great, splendid souls, adored
Because they were "as good as gold."
Because, if they had talents two,
Or if, perchance, were blessed with five,
They brought their Lord another two,
Or added still another five.
They toiled, nor sought the world's renown;
They fought earth's battles, and they won.
For service rendered, their's the crown;
For them the Master's toast, "Well done."

A queenly place the royal Host
Assigns our leader at His feast.
For oft she did for Him the most,
When seemingly 'twas for the least.
She did the daily patient work
That counts with cumulative power,
Its burdens never known to shirk,
No task could make her brave heart cower.
With faith sublime she wrought in gold,
Her hands ne'er touched its base alloy—
But hark!—the music—words of old—
"Come enter now into My joy."

Dr. Inez C. Philbrick, present president of the state association, writes:

In an acquaintance of several years, founded in a

common interest and effort in the woman suffrage movement, I came to regard as Mrs. Marble's distinguishing traits, her broad outlook on our movement and on life in general; her tolerance of all sincere and earnest opposition; and her never-failing charity for the failings of those with whom she was brought in touch. I shall always think of my association with her as one of the upbuilding influences life has vouchsafed me.

Dr. Emma Warner Demaree, treasurer of the state association, writes:

Having not long been an active member of the association, I had perhaps less personal knowledge of Mrs. Marble than most of those who pay tribute to her memory in this Message, but I know enough of her to have a very hearty appreciation of her strength and courage and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause for which she worked so long and faithfully. Motherliness seems to me to be the word that best describes the something that pervaded her being and made her such a power for good, that made her tolerant and tactful, and that impelled her to continue in the suffrage work long after illness had rendered work of any kind most difficult. One is filled with indignation that such sacrifices should be necessary—that so much effort should be required to gain a thing so evidently just and right as equal suffrage. Her going adds one more to the list of those whose memory should and will be an inspiration and an incentive to renewed consecration and effort to those who remain.

Mrs. Julia N. Cox of Exeter, auditor of the state association, writes:

It was with grief that we learned of the passing into the higher life of our beloved vice president, Mrs. Amanda Marble, who has so long and faithfully served the cause of woman suffrage in our state. Her loyalty and integrity of purpose should be an inspiration to all who have had the privilege of being counted among her friends and co-workers. Hers was indeed a labor of love, and so many instances of her thoughtful kindness and constant watchfulness in the work of the association has endeared her to all, and we feel a deep personal loss and will greatly miss her kindly presence, though we know that her influence is still with us, a potent factor for good.

"I cannot say, and I will not say,
That she is dead; she is just away.
With a joyous smile and a wave of the hand
She has wandered into an unknown land.
And left us dreaming how very fair
It needs must be—since she lingers there."

Mrs. Anna Kovanda, finance chairman of the state association, and president of the Pawnee County W. S. A., writes:

In the loss of this gifted woman the community has suffered irreparable loss. In her a brilliant mind was combined with a sincerity and capacity for sympathy that drew a wide and varied circle of friends. No one sought her in her hospitable home, embowered in vines and choice flowers, which she delighted to cultivate, without going away refreshed in spirit. She was one of three who had pledged themselves that so long as any of them lived in Table Rock there would exist a suffrage club in our town. She is the second of the three who has passed to the Great Beyond. For many years she was secretary of the local club, writing reports of the club work for home and county papers, thus constantly keeping the subject of the enfranchisement of women before the people. She was the chief counsellor in holding many county conventions, last year's being the first one she failed to attend, this being due to ill health. While she was not with us in person she was with us in spirit. She read widely and thought deeply, and with a hearty allegiance to the cause brought her strong powers of mind to the service of making the county conventions interesting and profitable. As a county organization we are poorer for her going, but richer for her service and the inspiration of her example.

Nelly E. Taylor of Broken Bow, chairman of press work, writes:

In contrast to lives lived on the surface of things, stand out the lives and characters of such as our beloved Mrs. Marble. To be in her presence an hour was to feel the energy of a beautiful spirit, an expansive love, a sweet charity, and these live on and on—a life of usefulness beyond to her, an influencing memory here to us.

Mrs. Cora Schurr, vice president of the Amanda J. Marble Suffrage Club, Table Rock, writes:

It seem to us, when we think of the losses of our suffrage club, that in no other person could such a void have been felt as we experienced by the death of our sister, adviser, counselor and friend, Mrs. Marble. But we know her so well that we feel sure it would not be her desire that we should idly sit down and mourn for her, but the very fact that she has ceased her labors should serve as an incentive to us to redouble our efforts along the line of work in which she was interested. Hers was a life and character, calm, peaceful and charitable to all. It was a pleasure and a rest just to sit in her home and talk with her, and one was sure to go away feeling better for having been in the pure atmosphere of her presence. We remember many times when we have gone to her with some vexing question that had come up in the suffrage work, she would listen patiently and then say, "Now don't let that worry you, Cora. We are bound to meet with discouragements in our work, but let us lift our heads and go bravely on because we KNOW we are right, and right will triumph some day." We say again, it was a pleasure to know such a woman and her memory gives us a new inspiration to do all we can in our lives to better the conditions of woman and lift up humanity in all ways within our power.

The Table Rock Woman Suffrage Association, in memory of Mrs. Marble, has changed its name to "The Amanda J. Marble Suffrage Club," and sends the following:

Whereas, we, the members of the Amanda J. Marble Suffrage Club, have lost a faithful friend and

adviser by the death of Mrs. Marble, and though we realize that none of us can do Mrs. Marble's work, yet we wish to commemorate her work by pledging ourselves to more faithful efforts in the suffrage cause, and that we will each secure a new member for the same, and actively engage in all work for the betterment of humanity. Resolved, that this resolution be read at four consecutive meetings, and all who will be asked to sign and pledge themselves to the same.

Mrs. Cora Schurr	Mrs. Edith Woods
Mrs. Alice Marble Woods	Mrs. Anna Kovanda
Mrs. M. M. Cox	Mrs. Emily J. Wemple
Mrs. Lolla Allen	Mrs. Allie Fisher Wood
Mrs. Allie Wheeler Zink	Mrs. Nancy Taylor
Mrs. Lydia K. Andrew	Mrs. C. J. Wood
Mrs. Claire E. Scism	Mrs. Mattie Hulbert

A member of the W. C. T. U. of Table Rock, writes:

Having known Mrs. Marble since I was a little child, I have had a great deal of respect for her, as she was a woman of strong character, being a good worker in any cause that she believed would in any manner better humanity; especially did she believe in the enfranchisement of woman. A temperance worker and a literary woman, one thing commendable in her nature was her cheerful way of looking at any question that would arise. As a neighbor I often visited her and would always come away feeling I had been benefitted by being in her presence. Another commendable point in her nature: if any one happened to differ with her in any point of view, she always respected their views and weighed them before giving her opinion. So, in her death, not only her family is bereft, but the whole community in which she lived.

Capitola Rebekah Lodge, No. 115, I. O. O. F., Table Rock, sends this tribute:

We would earnestly render tribute to the work and worth of Sister Amanda J. Marble. She was a charter member of our lodge and the first Noble Grand. She has passed to the Great Beyond but the lessons learned from her life will live forever. We hope to profit by the good example she set for us, and in days to come we will ever remember her teachings as well as the manner in which she exemplified them.

Fannie C. Norris of Table Rock, says:

I write to express my appreciation of the life and character of our sister, Mrs. Amanda J. Marble. She was ever the champion of broader opportunities for women in every sphere of life. One of my most pleasant memories is of the hours spent with her, planning how best to advance the work nearest her heart (the enfranchisement of women) in our town, county and state. I feel that our society has lost its best friend, and personally I am poorer because she has passed away.

O. D. Howe of Table Rock, says:

That Mrs. Marble possessed a wonderful influence over all who chanced to be drawn within her sphere, all friends realize. Her quiet unassuming ways, her ready tact in emergencies, her indomitable persistence under the greatest discouragements, combined with a mind well stored with a general fund of information upon subjects of everyday life, all contributed to render her a power for good in a community. When any movement for the uplifting of the community seemed necessary, her mind would comprehend the situation, and she rallied the faithful workers of her acquaintance to its support. The cause of woman suffrage had no more ardent or efficient worker in Nebraska, while her strength could endure the strain; and the present prospect of success in the movement is in a very great measure due to her untiring energy. We all must regret that she could not remain to share in the achievement. I think I have never known a more spiritual person. While not an active member of any church organization, she possessed a spirituality that could not but impress most people who were so fortunate as to enjoy her intimate friendship. Her religion was not of the boisterous type, but of a quiet nature, which could see good among all sincere and honest believers of any faith. She looked upon death, not as the "king of terrors," or as a calamity to be dreaded, but simply laying aside this wornout physical body for a glorious spiritual form; that the real person is the undying soul, which finds real work through the endless ages of eternity in learning more and more of the wonderful works of God. She also believed that the event of death is but the exchanging of one company of friends for another company, equally dear. Her sentiments are beautifully expressed by the poet, Longfellow:

> There is no death. What seems so is transition.
> This life of mortal breath is but the suburb of
> the life Elysian,
> Whose portal we call death.

Mrs. Annetta Nesbitt of Pawnee City, writes:

It is no easy task to pen the thoughts that come to me as I try to pen a few lines to the memory of Mrs. A. J. Marble. For eighteen years I have been associated with her in the great work for civic righteousness. Many have been the quiet talks we have had. Many have been the happy hours spent together in her home and in chautauqua work and always could I rely on her good judgment. As a home-keeper she was par excellence; as a neighbor not to be excelled. Her life was one of activity, ever faithful to every trust, not to further her interests, but the interests of humanity in general. She will be greatly missed in home, state and nation, but her mantle of charity, faith and good works should be taken up and worn by we who are left here, that her heart's wish may be carried out to the success of the many reforms she lived and longed for.

Mrs. M. A. Van Middlesworth, president of the Peru club, writes:

At our last meeting of the Peru Equal Suffrage Club it was voted that the club give expression to our sorrow, caused by the death of our former state president, Mrs. Amanda J. Marble, who lately passed away, and that the same be forwarded to the state secretary. Those of us who met with her in her

work for a number of years and knew how enthusiastic she was to the cause, feel that the suffragists of Nebraska have met with a great loss. She labored long for the cause so dear to her; even with health gone she still worked on. May her untiring efforts for the good of woman, inspire us with greater zeal for the work. Individually the club members mourn her loss as one of the early workers in the state.

Mrs. Rosa Modlin writes from Beaver City:

I feel that there is nothing I could say to place Mrs. Marble any higher in the esteem of those who knew her. Everything good and nothing bad may be said of her. She was a devoted and loving wife, and a mother to the motherless. She was an inspiration to her friends and to the suffrage cause, in which she was one of the leading spirits. Her ability to preside and make a success is seldom equalled. We shall miss her friendly presence and her wise counsels.

Mrs. Modlin wrote the following in the March (1908) Message, which she edited:

I wish to say a word of praise for our beloved president, Mrs. Marble. When I receive from her the letters, all written with her left hand; when I find that, whoever forgets their duty and their share of the work, our president never does, I feel ashamed that my part has been so poorly done, and I resolve again to be more in earnest and more faithful myself. However, some of her "burdens" are pleasures. The ladies of the Table Rock club planned and executed a lovely surprise on her. While she was preparing herself to attend a club meeting elsewhere (as she supposed) the ladies of the club, marching two by two, arrived at her home to find her in cloak and furs ready for the meeting at another residence. She was indeed most pleasantly and completely surprised.

Mrs. Lillian L. Walker, of Blue Hill, writes:

I am glad to offer my tribute to the memory of Mrs. Amanda Marble. Altho I had known her less than two years I loved her. About five days before she died I called on Mr. Marble on a matter of business and he asked me if I wished to see her; I told him I did. When I entered the room, she reached out her hand and said, "I wanted to see you." There, with the pallor of death on her face, she thought of me. I asked Mr. Marble if she suffered as she made no moan and was so patient that it seemed impossible to think that she did not, and he told me she had never made a complaint, but was always so patient, courageous and brave. I think he suffered for her—he was so good to her thru that long illness of hers—and could not believe that she was as near the great white portal as was so patent to us all. The women of Nebraska have lost a staunch and fearless friend, one that was brave and ready to lead them on to a higher plane. And she gave herself so freely, so willingly that it must have been a great renunciation to give it all up when weakness made it impossible to work for their advancement any more. It will be a bright spot in my memory ever—the acquaintance of Mrs. Marble.

AMANDA J. MARBLE.

Amanda J. Linn was born in Tazewell county, Ill., on February 28, 1846, being the second daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Linn. With her father's family she moved to Hardin county, Iowa, in 1856, the family coming nine years later to Pawnee county, Neb., locating near Table Rock. A year or two later the subject of this sketch took a homestead two miles south of town, and resided thereon many years, spending a portion of her earlier life in teaching school. She was united in marriage on October 31, 1872, to Milton H. Marble, who survives her, and together they resided on a farm near town until January 1, 1894, at which time they removed to the present home in Table Rock. A pioneer in the work of civic improvement, her home community reaps the benefit of the combined unselfish efforts of she and a few co-workers. Her main thought has been directed, however, to the cause of womanhood, and for years much of her time has been given to the work of the Woman Suffrage Association, local, state and national. In this connection she was repeatedly honored by her state co-workers, who chose her several times as president and vice president, also delegate to the national gatherings. Owing to ill health she was compelled in the fall of 1908 to decline re-election to the presidency, but the society voted unanimously to retain her in the vice presidency that the benefit or her experience and advice might be theirs. She was earnestly devoted to the cause of education and aided in church and society work. She held membership in the Suffrage Club, the W. C. T. U., Rebekahs and the Woman's Relief Corps. While acting as installing officer for the Pawnee City Corps a few years ago she sustained a fall, which by many is thought to have brought on the trouble which finally caused her death. While in failing health for over two years, her last severe illness dates from August, 1909, and the passing to final sleep occured at the home on Wednesday, April 6, 1910, at 9:30 p. m.

Funeral services were held in the Methodist church. One of the songs was "The Holy City," a well known favorite of Mrs. Marble. An escort was furnished by the local suffrage club. The pall-bearers were all men who had been her pupils in school during boyhood. Flowers in profusion were sent by friends who knew her great love for them. Dr. P. C. Johnson of Tecumseh spoke on "The Endlessness of Life." He said:

"It is no fulsome flattery or unmeaning exaggeration to say that a spirit like our departed friend would require a life of endlessness to work out her ideals of human progress. Not that her plans were slow of realization, but that they were great in scope and world-wide in purpose. She was a philanthropist. She loved humanity, not alone her section of it. She was strong-minded in the best sense of that word. She hated oppression and wrong, and was on the side of the oppressed and wronged. Her friends were friends, not merely admirers. There may have been

those who did not like her views and ways. Well, that may be their way of complimenting her. I may be asked: 'What was her religion?' Generally that question means: 'With what church denomination did she affiliate?' I do not know. That is a question that I seldom ask. I do not regard these matters as unimportant, but as less important. I ask: 'What was the life and the life motive?' By their fruits shall ye know them. Fruits are better than certificates.''

Mrs. Marble was a mother to three foster children and her husband's daughter and son. The latter, H. P. Marble of Humboldt, testifes:

It is no easy task to pen the thoughts that come over one who is compelled by the unchangeable law of nature to bid a last earthly farewell to one who, though not of the blood, has yet, through infancy, youth and young manhood, filled for him the sacred place of mother. From earliest recollections the writer has known no other, and the same power which decreed that he should not know the tender and holy love of his own mother of the flesh, also decreed that his young life should be in the care of one who brought into it all the love and tenderness it were possible for an own mother to bestow, and he shall bless with his latest breath she who first guided his feet out into the unknown pathway of life, ever smoothing the rough places and pointing out the dangers and pitfalls which beset the route and threaten the unwary. Their's was a close comradeship and a clear understanding which extended through all the years of association, and her confidence and faith in him was so strong as to render no sacrifice on his part too great if he but might retain her love and her respect. And not only was her love and interest for himself and other members of the household, but for all of her fellow-creatures, and never was she so well satisfied as when performing a service for someone when others had over-looked or ''passed by on the other side.'' Her charity was boundless as her love, comprehending the universe, and no unkind word or thought regarding persons or their motives was ever heard to pass her lips, even by her most intimate friends. Ever an earnest searcher for the truth, a close student of nature and of individuals, she somehow seemed to have a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of life, its purposes and possibilities, than most people, and her faith in the ultimate triumph of the right was fairly sublime. Hers was a life of activity, not to further any selfish interest, but in support of every cause, the purpose of which was the betterment of the race, and never for one moment did she express doubt that the world is growing better, and a brighter day dawning for womanhood, on behalf of whom the greatest burden lay upon her heart. Something of her determination and force of character may be learned from an incident of her later years. When stricken two years ago with inflammatory rheumatism, which utterly disabled her right arm, and kept her in paroxysms of pain the greater part of the time, she could not bear to see the suffrage work entrusted to her care, go undone, nor could she turn it over to inexperienced and often unwilling hands. Hence, instead of attempting any of these expedients, she took up, in the midst of her pain, the task of learning, for the first time in her life, to write with her left hand. And at the age of sixty-two years she accomplished this feat, that she might carry on the necessary correspondence, and the interests of her associates not suffer. Such was the heroism and fortitude of her character, before which we stand in awe. Nothing the writer could say at this time would add one ray to the brightness of her life and character, but he feels that in this hour it is his, not to mourn, but to give thanks that it was his privilege, during the time she remained here, to sit at her feet and learn from her lips the lesson of living. That these instructions will not pass away, but will ever be with him as a chart and compass through the voyage of life, is as certain to his mind as that the principles taught have already guided the teacher out into that broader and better life, where her work may be carried on without the heartaches and disappointments so common in this earth life.

''Even for the dead I will not bind
My soul to grief—death cannot long divide:
For is it not as if the rose had climbed
My garden wall and blossomed on the other side?''

As the best tribute to Mrs. Marble that can be given, the State Association is carrying on with all its strength and resources the work to which she gave her best and highest endeavor.

The July Message will be given over to a report of the recent speaking and organizing tour of Dr. B. O. Aylesworth in the state, and our president will have something to say.

The Table Rock ladies have arranged for a Memorial Service in honor of Mrs. Marble, to be held at the Christian church on Friday, June 24, at three o'clock. All friends of the departed are invited to be present.

MARY H. WILLIAMS, Corresponding Secretary.

KENESAW, NEBRASKA

THE HUMBOLDT LEADER PRINT

Some Reasons For Granting School Suffrage to Kentucky Women

The Results of Male Domination; Comparisons With the States Having Full Suffrage For Women Are Odious To Kentucky.

I.

Perhaps the strongest argument for admitting women in Kentucky to school suffrage is the result obtained by seventy-one years of practically unadulterated male management of the public schools. According to one table of illiteracy, Kentucky stands fourth from the bottom in the list of States and territories. By every table, whether it deal with illiterates between the ages of ten and twenty—the coming generation, with adult illiterates, or with the whole population, Kentucky stands always disgracefully far down the line.

What It Does.

When the fifty States and territories are ranked by per cent of illiteracy in the native white population ten years of age and over, of the first fourteen States having less than one per cent of illiteracy, all but one have school suffrage for women; of the last twelve having over 10 per cent of illiteracy, not one has school suffrage for women. In the latter group is Kentucky; she stands forty-third in the column with over twelve per cent of illiteracy.

When Kentucky is compared with any of the twenty-eight States in which school suffrage has been granted to women the comparison must make her hang her head in shame. If we estimate school conditions by certain salient facts as to length of term, attendance at the term, comparison of attendance of children of school age, salaries of teachers or amount spent per capita for the education of the young, we find always the same story. Michigan, for instance, spends $23.50 per capita of the average school attendance where Kentucky spends $8.50. The average length of term in Minnesota is one hundred and sixty-five days, while it is one hundred days in Kentucky. The average monthly salary paid to teachers in Kentucky is $39.18 to women and $50.90 to men, while in Massachusetts it is $57.22 to women and $149.05 to men.

Are Men Fit For Suffrage?

It seems that the thing to be argued in Kentucky is not whether women are fit for school suffrage but whether men are fit for it. If their right to participate in school affairs is shown by their interest we should be obliged to admit the negative of the proposition. Under our old district law it was estimated that about two-thirds of the district trustees had to be appointed by county superintendents because no elections were held; the men simply did not take sufficient interest to go to the polls and vote on school affairs. Under the new law there has been an improvement, but many of the trustees still have to be appointed.

Existing Conditions.

And what sort of schools have we gotten as a result of male management. There are in the State over seven hundred log school houses, many of them with no desks, with benches without backs, devoid of maps, pictures, libraries, or the necessary equipment for teaching.

And what of the teachers inside these schools? For with General Garfield, who said that if Mark Hopkins were on one end of a log and a student on the other there would be a university, we have always felt that the material condition of school houses was a very small matter as compared with the teachers within the school houses. There were in the State of Kentucky—and we venture to say there are now—teachers whose education is so limited that they might justly be classed as illiterate. There were—and are, we feel sure—teachers whose certificates have been obtained by fraud. There were and are, unfortunately, teachers whose moral character in more ways than this is reprehensible.

These conditions are being somewhat improved, but they are by no means remedied as yet. The last report of our State Superintendent of Public Instruction states that approximately three hundred thousand children are in regular attendance in the schools, while more than four hundred thousand children of school age in the State are not in any school.

Have men shown by their record their sole fitness to control the school system of Kentucky?

M. McD. BRECKINRIDGE.

May, 1910.

Another Reason for Granting School Suffrage to Kentucky Women

Natural Laws Stronger Than Artificial Enactments That Attempt to Write Women Out of Any Share In the Management of Public Schools.

II

In spite of man-made laws in Kentucky that attempt to write women out of any share in the management of the public schools, the women of Kentucky have some way and some how gotten in. Whom God hath joined together for the nurture and rearing of children, it has proven impossible for men to put asunder.

On the Inside.

Though fifty years ago a woman teacher was looked upon askance, at present over 75 per cent of all teachers in our public schools are women. A former State Superintendent adds that it is well, since women are as a rule better teachers than men. The law of the survival of the fittest has worked and women are doing their natural task.

A large number of county superintendents are women, though the laws did not originally contemplate that the office should be filled by a woman.

On the Outside; The Mother.

As for the women on the outside of the schoolhouses, it may be stated that mothers as a rule are not as much, but more interested in the education of their children than are fathers. This condition existed even before the recent revival of interest in school affairs inaugurated by the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs. It existed before the act of the last Legislature which made Kentucky mothers for the first time part owners of their own children.

Where education is begun at home it is usually the mother and not the father who teaches the child to read and write. This educational sympathy in mothers follows the child into the schoolroom. The mother as a rule knows better what the child is doing. what he is missing and needing in school and what sort of a person his teacher is than does the father.

On the Outside: Organization.

In 1906 the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs became aroused over the deplorable conditions in the State as shown by the reports of the United States Commissioner of Education. Though the men of Kentucky might be content to have their State bring up the rear in the educational march of the States and territories, the women were not. They determined to "put the facts before the people until the people altered the facts." Organization of School Improvement Leagues was decided upon as the best means of increasing local interest in the schools and bettering their condition. County leagues have been organized in over 100 of the 119 counties; hundreds of district leagues have done invaluable work. As a result of the work of these leagues thousands of dollars have been raised; schoolhouses have been cleaned and repaired, yards planted and beautified; pictures, books and book cases, and in some instances, desks for teachers or pupils, manual training tools, equipment for domestic science, school gaadens and playrgounds have been added. But the best result and the one consciously aimed at by the Federation has been the arousing of public sentiment for better public schools in every nook and corner of the State —a public sentiment that demands good school laws of legislatures, and compels their enforcement, a public sentiment that is rapidly curing the worst fault of our old system, the absence of local taxation for schools.

The Prize School.

The Federation offered a prize of $800 to the rural school that would do the most to make itself a model school; consolidation of districts, a graded school, manual training and domestic science, school gardens and a playground were suggested as desiderata. The school in Owsley county winning the prize fulfilled all these conditions; the impetus of the contest has been felt in many counties. A member of the Education Committee of the Federation helped to draw the County School Board Law under which we are now acting, and the Federation did its part to secure the passage of the bill. As a recognition of the part of the Federation in the improvement of the schools the Legislature of 1908 in creating a State Educational Commission ordered that a representative of the Federation be appointed on the commission.

A Question of Support.

A schoolboy was asked by his teacher who, according to Greek mythology, supported the world on his shoulders. "Atlas," answered the boy, promptly. "And who," added the teacher, seeking to trip him," supported Atlas." "I don't know," answered the boy, meditatively, "but I reckon it was his wife."

According to the law the Kentucky school system is maintained and supported by the men of Kentucky, but somebody is supporting them. If we could tomorrow suddenly withdraw from the public schools all the women who as teachers and county superintendents are upholding the school system from within the school walls, and all the women who on the outside by their interest, their knowledge of conditions, their enthusiasm, their influence, their practical work, are upholding it, the public school system of Kentucky would come to the ground with a sudden crash.

Men of Kentucky, are you satisfied with the attitude of your school laws toward women?

M. McD. BRECKINRIDGE.

May, 1910.

Another Reason for Granting School Suffrage to Kentucky Women

In the Rearing and Education of Children Women Have a Special Aptitude—A Joint Duty of Parents.

IV.

Children are not the exclusive creatures or possessions of men. Even in Kentucky they are not, since the action of the last Legislature in passing the co-guardianship bill.

Of all the ridiculous political disabilities yet put upon women by men the most ridiculous is to say to them on the one hand, "Women it is your glorious privilege to bear and to rear children," and on the other, "But at the age of six years these children must be taken from you and put into the public schools of the State. There you may not follow them. It is no business of yours how these schools are managed, or what conditions likely to affect the health or the morals as well as the education of the children are there, existent. This is a matter for fathers, not mothers."

As a matter of fact, it is particularly the prerogative and the duty of mothers to follow and watch closely the education of their children. In many families it is a necessity that this function be left to the mother while the father earns the bread. The laws which deny women a share in the management of the public schools were made at a time when conditions were very different from the present. In those days most children were taught at their mother's knee. Those mothers who could afford it supplied private governesses for their children; the others gave their children such education as they themselves had.

This condition no longer exists. Children are now being educated, not at home by their mothers, but in public schools, and it is as much the privilege and the duty of the mother to carefully watch and oversee that education in the public schools as ever it was to guide it in the pioneer homes.

A Sex Duty.

Nor is it alone the duty of the woman who has children in the public schools to interest themselves in the conduct of these schools. There is a sex duty upon all women; the education of children is peculiarly a part of woman's work. There is upon all women a sort of race responsibility to see that the next generation is set a step forward in the slow struggle toward civilization. The mother who can afford to keep her own children in a private school should be willing to give at least a portion of her time to insure the fact that the school to which the working woman, the woman without leisure for public service, must send her children, is in essential points at least comparable to that to which her own children go. Even more is it the duty of the unmarried woman, or the childless married woman, to discharge, by service rendered the public schools of her community, a part of the race obligation which other women are discharging to a large extent by the nurture and rearing of their own children.

In or Out of Politics. Which?

It has been said that the effort to obtain school suffrage for Kentucky women was an effort to put women into politics. On the contrary, it was an effort to take the schools out of politics. It was opposed by representatives of the cities who desired to leave the schools a political asset. It is unfortunate that "politics" should have come to have the meaning that it has. The word is now associated with corrupt elections, violence, graft, ward politcs—something that would be contaminating to women. It is high time that school elections at least should be rescued from such association; and there is no better way to do it than by an infusion of women voters.

We must come to a higher conception of politics. The word means really the carrying on of that public business on which private life depends in civilized society. "Politics," says Bernard Shaw, "is not something apart from home and the babies. It is home and the babies." Women have long since gotten into politics in Kentucky in the sense that they have labored for the passage and enforcement of legislation in the interest of the public health, for the protection of childhood, for the betterment of schools—for the preservation, in short, of home and the babies.

If Kentucky men want the children of Kentucky educated instead of illiterate it behooves them not to oppose the entrance of mothers into school affairs, not to oppose the working of a natural law that binds fathers and mothers to a joint duty toward their children. The violation of the motto of Kentucky—United We Stand; Divided We Fall—explains the low place to which Kentucky has dropped in the educational column.

M. McD. BRECKINRIDGE.

May, 1910.

Another Reason for Granting School Suffrage to Kentucky Women

And the Reason That It Is Not Granted to Them: Inertia of the Average Man Active Opposition From a Small Class, Whose Interests Are Not Wholly Unselfish; Honest Doubt on the Part of a Few.

V.

In conclusion: A number of reasons have been adduced why Kentucky women should have school suffrage. The arguments are irrefutable. But the fact remains that they have not got it. Then why are we still arguing the case

Largely because "inertia is the strongest force in human affairs." Women can only get the school suffrage by the votes of men. Therefore the attitude of the men of Kentucky is the practical consideration. Leaving out of account those men who espouse the cause of school suffrage—men whose names are written high in the memories of women—we have to consider three classes of men: The small group who actively oppose the grant; the large group who are indifferent; and another group who are honestly doubtful of the consequences.

The Active Opposition.

The first group has defeated the bills presented at the two last legislatures. The first year the bill never emerged from committee; the second year it was "smoked out." In the two sessions history repeated itself in rather an interesting way. After a hearing granted the women at the first session by the House Committee, a motion was made to report the bill favorably; the chairman at once adjourned the committee. After a hearing by the House Committee at the second session, a motion was made to report the bill without comment. The author of the motion knew that a favorable report could not be had from this committee, he also knew that, including a proxy which he had in his pocket, the votes were there for a non-committal report. The chairman at once adjourned the committee. The bill was defeated each time by the active opposition of fewer persons than can be counted on the fingers of one hand. These persons came from the cities and were leaders of the liquor party. In the two houses votes were cast for the measure, 58 against it. A change of five votes in the House would have granted school suffrage to Kentucky women. Louisville. Newport and Covington, Lexington cannot defeat the State of Kentucky indefinitely. The liquor interests fear the advent of women into public affairs; the city politicans desire to keep control of the public schools as a political asset. Neither of these interests are much concerned with the real purpose of the public school system, the welfare of the children; they are selfish interests.

The Strength of Inertia.

But these interests could not control the situation except for the inertia of the body of Kentucky men. The same thing that has brought us forty-seventh in the list of States and trritories ranked by per cent of literacy, is preventing the extension of school suffrage to women—sloth, indifference, inertia of the average Kentucky man to the value of education. If these Kentuckians could realize the close connection between illiteracy, poverty and crime, they might be aroused. Two-thirds of the convicts in our penitentiaries are illiterate. The slothful Kentuckian, no matter how slothful, who pays taxes, is himself carrying the burden of the pauper and the criminal. Arouse yourself, oh average Kentuckian, and put into women's hands the weapon they need to help you war against illiteracy.

The Doubting Thomas.

In spite of the handicap of the inert mass of Kentucky men, the active opponents of school suffrage could not have defeated the measure, so few additional adherents were needed, except for the few honestly doubting Thomases. With these men it is quite worth while to argue.

They fear that the mass of women in Kentucky are also indifferent to educational affairs and will not come out to school elections. Granting this for the sake of argument—though women as a class in Kentucky are more aroused on the school question than are men—it is still true that when school elections are held the indifferent women will simply stay at home and will in no wise affect the election: while the women who are keenly interested in the welfare of the schools will go to the elections and will probably hold the balance of power. This has been the case in the twenty-eight other States having school suffrage for women. State superintendents testify from all parts of the Union that a better class of persons are elected to school boards and as school trustees because of the women's vote; that bond issues for much-needed school buildings are carried because of the women's interest, that could not be carried before their advent into school elections, etc., etc. They also testify that the "bad and ignorant" women, of whom we hear so much from the politicians, are a perfectly negligible quantity.

There is absolutely no danger from such a class in the country districts. In the cities the patronage and other assets from the administration of the schools sometimes tempt the politicians to bring out this class in order to control elections. The danger is not in the women, but in the politicians. The male electorate contains the same possible element of danger. The remedy, of course, is not to deprive the best men or the best women of the State of school suffrage, but in the passage and enforcement of laws making the buying of registration certificates illegal, establishing a virtual educational qualification in school elections and otherwise tending to curb political corruption.

Tried and Found Wanting (?).

Again, these timid men are deterred by the rumor that school suffrage for women has been tried in Kentucky and has proven a failure. The "trial" given was a grant of six years to women of second class cities only, of which there were at that time but three. The trial of school suffrage to men in Kentucky has now lasted about three-quarters of a century, and in that time they have succeeded in bringing Kentucky almost to the foot of every educational table yet compiled. But women are not asking that this suffrage to men be repealed; they are willing to give them a still further trial. Have Kentucky men given Kentucky women a fair trial?

But the rumors of failure of the "trial" come principally from the city of Lexington. It is said that the negro women voted and the intelligent white women did not vote. The negro women did vote in Lexington. And though the new law asked for by the women contains an *educational qualification*—the women ask the privilege of suffrage for themselves on a more exacting basis than men have granted it to themselves—some negro women will still vote in Lexington, and over the State of Kentucky. The men of Kentucky must simply decide whether because a small number of negro women will vote in school elections they desire to deny the intelligent white women of the State that's privilege now and forever.

The answer to the second charge is simply that the intelligent white women of Lexington did vote in appreciable numbers, even in the last election held under the "trial," when every means known to the politician was used to discourage them. The school boards elected under the "trial" were of a high type. The names of but two women who served, Mrs. A. M. Harrison and Mrs. R. N. Roark, are so well known over the State that to cite them is sufficient refutation to the claim of failure. During their too brief term of service the boards, on which the women were, put into effect changes from which the schools of Lexington have ever since profited. For the first time the salaries of the teachers were classified, and a just system adopted which is still adhered to. Other things could be cited, if space permitted. Expenditures were adjusted to revenue, as neither before nor since.

Are Kentucky Women Inferior?

Finally, it would have been impossible for Kentucky to prove by a grant of six years to a small number of women that school suffrage for women was a failure when twenty-eight States of the Union, in an experience covering more than forty years, have proven it a success.

Men of Kentucky, ye who honestly doubt and whose support we women want, does it not convince you that experience elsewhere, as testified to by the men best qualified to know, those at the head of educational affairs, has proven the advantage of an admixture of women in school affairs? Do you believe that Kentucky women are inferior, are less competent, less intelligent and less dutiful than women of other States?

M. McD. BRECKINRIDGE.

May, 1910.

[1910]

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UNION LABEL

[1910]

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS.

Send 10c to National Woman Suffrage Headquarters, Warren, Ohio, for a sample set of Political Equality Leaflets. Then order in quantities any you may want for distribution at 15c per 100. The series includes:

The Bible for Woman Suffrage, by Bishop J. W. Bashford.

Mrs. Decker on Equal Suffrage.

Judge Lindsey on Suffrage.

Equal Suffrage in Australia, by Lady Holder.

When Gamblers "Pray" and Mothers Can Demand, by Kate E. N. Feltham.

Woman Suffrage and Prosperity, by Gail Laughlin.

Mrs. Livermore on Suffrage.

Roosevelt for Equal Rights.

Miss Woolley on Woman's Ballot.

Miss Thomas on Woman's Ballot.

More Testimony from Colorado, by Prof. Harry E. Kelly.

The Ballot and the Schools, by Helen L. Grenfell.

Persuasion or Responsibility and Woman Suffrage in Relation to Working Women and Children, by Florence Kelley.

Suffrage in New Zealand, by Charles Edward Russell.

Captivated Calves, by Lida Calvert Obenchain.

Alice Freeman Palmer on Women's Duties. (This leaflet also has the poem "Ma Can't Vote.")

The Ballot and the Telephone, by Anne Fitzhugh Miller.

The Wage Earner and the Ballot, by Maud Nathan.

Women's Vote in Australia, by Prof. R. E. Macnaghten.

Two Workings of a Bad Law, by Lora La Mance.

Family Suffrage in New Zealand, by Hon. Hugh H. Lusk.

New Zealand's Experience, by Sir Joseph George Ward.

Testimony from Wyoming.

Gen. Hale on Colorado Women's Vote.

Margaret Long on Colorado.

Women in the Home. and What is a Democracy? by Susan W. Fitzgerald.

Women and the Vote, by Mary Kenney O'Sullivan.

Woman in the State, by U. S. Senator George F. Hoar.

Frederic C. Howe on Suffrage.

Dorothy Dix on Woman's Ballot.

Some Reasons Why, by Anna C. Etz.

The "Unanswerable Argument," by Lida Calvert Obenchain.

A Few Leading Questions.

Woman Suffrage Endorsed.

Women and Ancient Custom.
By Mrs. Judith H. Douglas.

The Direct Way, by Prof. Frances Squire Potter.

Mr. and Mrs. Sapsea, by Israel Zangwill.

Some Colorado Incidents, by Ellis Meredith.

Fruits of Equal Suffrage I and II, Why Women Should Vote, The Progress of Equal Suffrage, The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women, The Division of Labor, Do Teachers Need the Ballot? all by Alice Stone Blackwell.

c1910

SHALL MEN HAVE THE BALLOT?

Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, Evanston's Justice of the Peace, at a dinner of the Forty Club when that organization of literary lights gave its annual ladies' night banquet at the Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, Tuesday evening, responded to the toast, "Shall Men Have the Ballot? "

She said:

"For many years we women have patiently beseeched legislators to let us vote. Now to have the tables turned so that we women may decide whether men shall be allowed to vote, is a great responsibility. We will see how you like it to have your requests for the ballot treated as ours have been. In the first place, we women will assure you that in due course of time and when the matter is reached on our calendars we will give the question of man suffrage our most respectful consideration.

"I suppose you men want a little further extension of your present limited school suffrage privileges. What! Not the whole suffrage? Not the suffrage for *all* men. Why not take things more gradually. This is so sudden! Be satisfied to take small steps at the beginning of your suffrage career.

"Really Mr. Chairman, I have my doubts whether your sex as a whole has the intellectual strength necessary for voting. I once saw a man idiot. That, however, is not a universal condition. But taking your sex as a whole you never produced a Frances E. Willard, a Susan B. Anthony, a Jane Addams, an Ellen Terry, a Carrie Nation, a Madam Qui Vive or a Hetty Green. When you do this, it will be time for you to be begging the ballot.

"Do you object to being taxed without representation? Why, we women represent you. When I vote, I represent my brother, my father-in-law, my four brothers-in-law, my three sons and my one husband. Do you claim that men's interests will be neglected if women alone vote? Just trust us to legislate better for you than you could for yourselves. Think how we let you vote now, for trustee of the state university. That is nice.

"Then you gentlemen of the Forty club must remember that you are not authorized to speak for all your sex. There is only a mere handful of you here demanding the ballot. Wait until all men everywhere unitedly and constantly, day and night, clamor for it. We should not forcibly enfranchise the whole male sex while many are indifferent. Not indifferent, do you say? Let me prove it to you. Where the ballot has been granted to men they do not appreciate it and do not unanimously use it. In the far-famed city of Chicago at an ordinary election only about one-half of the men entitled to register and vote do so, and this in spite of the fact that the newspapers patriotically sandwich all their articles with brief reminders, the fervid orator begs the voter to go to the polls, the billboards notify him with gay posters, my old schoolmate, Mr. Campbell, carries him many an exhorting letter from anxious candidates and the brass band tries to charm him. But most of this is thrown away. One-half the men generally stay at home. At the time of judicial elections it is even worse, when three-fourths of the men neglect to vote.

"In the other famous city of the world, the home of Mr. Nesbit, Mr. Kiser, Mr. Mahin, Mr. J. C. Shaffer, Mr. J. Mack Glenn of your club, and various persons who are in Who's Who, in that world-renowned city of literature and education, where 4,500 men are entitled to vote, at the high school election two weeks ago the total vote was only 129. Do those residents deserve to vote? Should we not punish all men, even those who do vote, because of the neglect of the indifferent?

"Then, Mr. Chairman, a really great obstacle to men voting is that they are too emotional. I have observed it at football games and political conventions. I have seen men of otherwise good character forget it all at a Democratic state convention. Just because they were unseated by the Hopkins, Sullivan, O'Mally crowd they howled like demons. Then remember how, at the last national Republican convention, men cheered for 53 3-5 minutes at the name of a famous man of letters, an editorial writer on the Outlook.

"The Democrats, to go them one better, kept their lungs at work whooping, cheering and howling for the 'Peerless Leader' 1 hour, 21 minutes, 5 2-5 seconds or thereabouts.

"No woman's convention ever acted thus and I have just returned from looking in at the D. A. Rs., and they are earnest, and I was several days in session with the N. A. W. S. A. and they are not meek. But neither crowd of women was as emotional as men.

When men can control their enthusiasm and their disgusts and act like perfect ladies then let them ask to vote.

"To let men vote would more than double the ignorant vote, for fewer men than women in Illinois can read and write. It would treble the foreign vote, for twice as many men as women come here from other lands and it would quadruple the criminal vote, yes, quintuple, sextuple and decentuple it, for there are more criminals among men than among women.

"Here is a sad objection. Man suffrage might make family trouble and cause divorces if a husband would not vote for his wife's party. Better let the women do all the voting and stop the strife. Or it would double the vote with double expense and no change in results, for every husband would vote as his wife directed. What would be the use? You say that this is inconsistent with the last objection, about spouses voting different tickets?

"Oh, well, who cares for consistency when opposing extensions of suffrage?

"There are a great many pairs of objections to man suffrage utterly inconsistent;but they are so time-honored in the case of women we must not neglect them.

"For example, men would pass blue laws and interfere with women's pet vices—gum chewing and hat pin wearing, and men would let women go their own evil way unmolested.

"Here is another pair: Men now, without the ballot, have the greatest power over women through their sweet influence on us women, and men deserve no power, because the order of creation was in the ascending scale and the last created creatures were the most perfect and should rule over those first created. Woman was created last.

"Here is another pair: Men are now so absorbed in business and family cares they would have no time to vote and its opposite—men would become so frantic about voting and so crazy for office they would forget their families and race suicide would result.

"Then we fear for men's health if they undertake the heavy labor of voting. 106 boy babies are born to 100 girl babies, but so few of the boys survive, that of centenarians there are only 70 men to 100 women. The sex which does all the heavy housework of the world and the bearing and rearing of children can do this serious labor of voting for you. Be content in your man's sphere with your newspapers, banks, etc., and do not bother your handsome heads about voting. You are sweeter and dearer as you are. We women could not respect and love you if you tried to vote and to be womanly. Nature or we women have fixed your God-given sphere just outside of politics.

"Well, I must yield somewhat, and say that if all men were like you who are here tonight—intelligent, refined, law-abiding, and, above all, so handsome—(yes, we women are often flattered about our looks to make us forget our rights)—if other men were as well dressed as you and as attractive to us women who decide this question, we women would let you vote. But we dread the vote of the ignorant man, the Hinky Dink and Bathhouse John crowd, the bad man, and, most horrible, the vote of the man who has no tact and who lacks that indefinable thing, the highest earthly attribute of man that is called charm.

"What are books, clothes, intelligence, morality, manners, family? Nothing to us, if a man lacks charm! So, as you men, or rather the other men, do not all have charm, they should not vote. Better think how you can be charming to us than to fritter your time away voting.

"Do you affirm that all these arguments against men voting are bosh? Well, that's what I have suspected for many years when they were used against me and my sister women. But if they are good enough to disfranchise women, why not to disfranchise men?

"But now, I will be serious. Do not feel so deeply grieved, dear men; I was only teasing you. Come now, let us reason together. Men can not be legislated for as wisely by women alone, as by men and women together. If only a few public-spirited men want to vote, those few ought to have the chance. You should not be reproached with having produced no Harriet Beecher Stowe or Florence Nightingale. You have had a Shakespeare, a John L. Sullivan and a Rockefeller, each eminent in his line. Even if you cannot be identical with woman and perform her every duty, you can at least be made politically equal. Identity and equality are not the same thing.

"You should not be governed without your consent, you should have a jury of your peers, not all women, and you should be represented if you are taxed. Then, when you men can vote as well as we women, we will have a government 'of the people, for the people and by the people.'

"So in spite of all my foolish objections at first, I shall answer your question, 'Shall men vote?' by saying emphatically, 'Yes!'"

[Oct 26, 1910]

The Wage-Earning Woman and the State.

A COMPARISON OF THE LAWS FOR HER PROTECTION IN VARIOUS STATES OF THE UNION.

By MINNIE BRONSON,

Formerly Special Agent, Bureau of Labor, Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C.

One of the most forcible arguments advanced by the advocates of woman suffrage is that it would lead to a fairer treatment of women in industry and to better laws for their protection. The claim is made that the laws on our statute books are unjust to the wage-earning woman, and that her only redress from this discrimination is in the ballot.

So often has this view been urged that it has come to be accepted by many wage-earning women, who have for this reason become advocates of a cause otherwise distasteful to them. A study of the laws of the various States of the United States will show that this conclusion is as fallacious as the premises are untrue.

Fallacious Arguments from the Shirt Waist Strike.

During the shirt waist strike in New York, in the winter of 1909–10, a noted suffragist, addressing the women strikers at a street meeting, declared that if the women engaged in this industry had had the ballot, such a strike as theirs would have been unnecessary. The speaker doubtless believed what she said, and would have been much surprised to learn that 40 per cent. of the strikers were men, 60 per cent. of the remainder were under twenty-one years of age, and 25 per cent. of all the women workers of voting age had not been in this country long enough to gain a residence. Such statements, unrefuted, go far to impress a credulous people, too busy or too indifferent to investigate their truth.

Laws for the Protection of the Wage-Earning Woman.

Reference to the laws governing the labor of women shows that our law makers, far from enacting laws which discriminate against the wage-earning woman, are constantly enacting new and better laws for her protection; that these laws are constantly improved, not because women have the ballot, or want it, but because women are entering more and more into the industrial life of our country. And, because of her great function to society, because of her physical disadvantage, and, above all, because she is not herself a law maker, public opinion demands that her rights and her interests shall be doubly conserved and safeguarded from any probable injustice by man, and that she shall be given the opportunity to become whatever her abilities, natural or acquired, permit. And in obedience to this demand, the laws enacted for the protection of wage-earning women are more beneficent and far-reaching than the laws for the protection of wage-earning men.

Laws enacted for protection of wage-earning *women* more far-reaching than laws for protection of wage-earning *men*.

Comparison of Laws in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States.

In all but three States, one of which is a suffrage State,[1] laws have been passed for the protection of the women who earn, which laws are distinct from and in addition to the laws protecting all wage-earners, men and women alike; that is to say, *in forty-five States and three Territories the laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning women are better and more comprehensive than the laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning men. Moreover, a comparison of the labor laws of the various States shows that there are more and better laws for the protection of women wage-earners in the non-suffrage States than in States where women have the ballot;* the inference being that, possessing

[1] Women vote on equal terms with men in Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming.

the ballot, a woman who works must stand on a level with the male worker, and ask no favors; must accept the conditions imposed by the law of supply and demand, and give as many hours of toil per day as he, although no increase in physical vitality will respond to this demand of the "equal privilege."

Limitation of hours of labor.

In twenty-five States of the United States laws have been passed limiting the number of hours of labor in which a woman may be employed, and applicable to all wage-earning women. None of the four suffrage States, with the exception of Colorado, has any such law, and in Colorado the law applies only to women who must stand while at work. For all other women workers the hours of labor are not restricted in Colorado.

Seats for female employees.

Thirty-six States compel employers in stores, factories, shops, etc., to provide seats for female employees. Twelve States have no such laws, and one of the twelve States is a suffrage State.

Earnings of a married woman.

In thirty-nine States, three Territories and the District of Columbia, the earnings of a married woman are secured to her absolutely, and cannot be required by law, as can the earnings of a married man, for the support of the family, nor are they liable for her husband's debts. Nine States do not so provide, and one is a suffrage State.

Prohibition of employment at night.

Thirteen States prohibit the employment of women at night, and specifically state the hours between which women may not be employed. Women do not vote in any of these States.

Restriction of hours of labor to secure day of rest.

Eighteen States, none of which is a suffrage State, restrict the number of hours during which a woman may be employed, both by the day and by the week, thus ensuring one day of rest in seven; while Colorado, the only suffrage State regulating the hours of labor for women, restricts the number of hours out of each twenty-four to eight hours, without prohibiting night work and without placing any limit upon the hours per week, thus making possible the employment of women for eight

hours at night and for every night in the week, including Sunday; this slight protection is given only to women who must stand at their occupation.

Comparison of Laws Affecting Wage-Earning Women in Suffrage and Western Non-Suffrage States.

If we eliminate from this comparison the manufacturing States of the East, which, for obvious reasons, have the most and perhaps the best remedial laws for wage-earning women, and consider only those States which have practically similar conditions, we are able to determine more definitely what woman suffrage has accomplished for wage-earning women in the States where women have the franchise.

Three of the four suffrage States place no restriction upon the number of hours a woman may be employed, while the neighboring States of Oklahoma, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, as well as Oregon and Washington, regulate the hours by law. As before stated, the law limiting the hours of labor in Colorado applies only to women in standing occupations, and renders them helpless against a seven-day or a seven-night week. But Nebraska, on the east, prohibits the employment of women at night in all manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishments and in hotels and restaurants, and limits the numbers of hours per week, thereby ensuring one day of rest.

The clause in the Colorado law restricting its operation to women who must stand at their work renders it practically ineffective in the factories of that State, where the manufacturing is largely in what is termed "seated" trades, — ready-made clothing, dressmaking, millinery and like occupations, and in candy making, box making and cigar making. The great manufacturing establishments, where women must stand at work, like cotton and woollen manufacturing, carpet weaving, etc., are not located in Colorado.

There are a half-dozen laws pertaining to the work of women in two or three States: as, for instance, a law in Massachusetts, prohibiting employers from deducting the wages of women when time is lost because machinery has broken down; or a law in Delaware and Louisiana, exempting the wages of women from execution; or laws in California, Illinois and Washington, providing that no person shall, on account of sex, be disqualified from entering upon or pursuing any lawful business, vocation or profession; but none of these laws are found in either of the suffrage States.

Wages of Teachers.

Suffrage fallacies.

With reference to the wages of teachers, a suffragist writer says: "Woman needs the ballot because it leads to fair treatment of women in public service. In Massachusetts the average pay of a female teacher is only one-third that of a male teacher, and in almost all of the States it is unequal; but in Wyoming and Utah the law provides that they shall receive equal pay for equal work."

This statement is misleading. Where teachers are doing the same grade of work, it will be found that no such percentage as three to one obtains in Massachusetts. It may be that the sum of the salaries of female teachers in the State, divided by the number of such teachers, is only one-third of the average pay of male teachers; but the majority of male teachers are principals, supervisors, superintendents and college presidents or college professors, while the country school teachers, the kindergartners and under teachers, are women.

Among the principals of city schools, like Boston, for example, the women principals receive, in some instances at least, as much as men, and the average pay is not far below that of men. It is customary to pay a stipulated salary to principals of schools having a specified number of rooms, and these salaries are graded by the number of rooms, and not by the sex of the teachers. This is respon-

sible for a great divergence in principals' salaries generally, and this divergence is found in the men's salaries as well as in the salaries of women.

It is true that few women are found in the highest-paid positions of a teaching force, but this is due to other causes than political. In four hundred and seventy-five colleges of various grades and attendance in the United States only eight have women presidents, yet it will scarcely be claimed that this is due to woman's political status.

There seems to be a growing sentiment, not only among fathers, but mothers as well, that their sons, whose training at home is so largely in the hands of the mothers, should be brought under the influence of men in their school life; that, since the grown boy's life of affairs will be spent with men, it should be from men that he learns to meet it and its obligations; that he should not receive his impressions of life entirely from a sex to which he does not belong, and to which, if he is normal, he has no wish to belong.

Law of supply and demand.

It is not denied that female teachers do not in the majority of cases receive the same pay as men for work of equal grade; but here *the law of supply and demand is paramount, and legislation cannot affect it.*

Teachers' Wages in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States.

The States of Wyoming and Utah are confirmatory of this fact, in spite of the law on their statute books to the contrary. The average monthly wage of female teachers in Utah is $53.60, while the average wage of male teachers is $77.32; that is, the average of the female teacher's is a little less than 70 per cent. of the average male teacher's wage. This at first seems very satisfactory, and a partial confirmation of the suffragist argument; but we find that in Maine women teachers receive 75 per cent. of the wages of men; in Virginia, 80 per cent.; in Indiana and Missouri, 90 per cent.; and in New Mexico, 99 per cent. Also, in Wyoming the average monthly wage of men teachers is

$85.26, as compared with $53.05, the average monthly wage of female teachers, or a difference of $32.21 per month, as compared with a difference in Iowa of $21.81; Illinois, $21.36; South Dakota, $20.44; Washington, $16.66; Oregon, $15.48; Ohio, $14.50; Pennsylvania, $14.38; $9.85 in Kansas; in Oklahoma, $8.61; and in North Dakota, $8.24; while in the southern States the difference ranges from $20.22 in Louisiana to $6.16 in Alabama.

Average monthly salary of teachers in all the States compared with suffrage States.

The average monthly salary for all men teachers in the United States is $62.35, and of women teachers $51.61, a difference of $10.74, which is less than one-third the difference found in Wyoming and less than one-half the difference found in Utah.

As a matter of fact, there are twenty-nine States in which the ratio between the salaries of men and women teachers is less than in Wyoming, and twenty-five States in which it is less than in Utah; twenty-seven States in which it is less than in Idaho, and twenty-one States in which it is less than in Colorado.

Eleven States, California, Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, Illinois, Colorado, Montana, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Washington and Indiana, in the order named, pay higher monthly wages to women than Wyoming and Utah, the excess over Wyoming running from $24 in California to $2.75 in Indiana.[1]

Labor Legislation Shows Constant Improvement.

The history of labor legislation shows conclusively that laws for the wage-earning woman are constantly improving, in accord with her increasing employment in the industrial world; that her rights and interests are best safeguarded in those States where her numbers and opportunities for work are greatest; and that each year sees new and better

[1] Statistics taken from chapter XVI of the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1909.

laws enacted by legislators who are bitterly denounced, by the advocates for woman suffrage, as unjustly discriminating against the wage-earning women.

Record of Thirty-two States (Non-Suffrage) in Legislation for Working Women, 1908–1910.

The years 1908–10 show the most remarkable improvement in laws affecting the wage-earning woman. Fifty-four laws were enacted by the Legislatures of thirty-two States, affecting the employment of women and children.

Night work. Restriction of hours of labor.

Chief among them were the laws restricting or prohibiting night work by women; and the numerous laws which were enacted or amended regulating the hours of her labor show a marked tendency to their continued reduction.

In most of these cases existing laws were simply amended, but in many States entirely new legislation was enacted. Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Virginia enacted laws superseding former laws; while Mississippi, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Missouri and Washington enacted initial laws. A Minnesota law of 1909 prescribes a fifty-eight-hour week for women employed in stores, shops and factories; Missouri reaches a high-water mark in remedial legislation by enacting a law prohibiting night work for women, and limiting the hours of labor by the week to fifty-four in *all* manufacturing and mercantile establishments, laundries and restaurants; and Oregon strikes out a proviso of the previous law allowing women to work twelve hours per day during the week preceding Christmas.

These thirty-two States are non-suffrage States, and it cannot be claimed that the *votes* of the women have influ-

Women factory inspectors.

enced the result. The only legislation enacted during these years affecting wage-earning women and accredited to a suffrage State is a law creating a separate department of factory inspection in Colorado, and providing that one inspector must be a woman. The first provision of this

law has been in effect in twenty-seven non-suffrage States for years, including the western states of Minnesota, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Wisconsin, Iowa, Montana, Oregon and Washington; while Delaware, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania enacted laws providing for women factory inspectors twelve years before Colorado's law appeared. Minnesota, Michigan and Ohio also provided for women factory inspectors in 1909. Several other States in the east, west and south have women factory inspectors, though nothing in the law of those States make such an appointment obligatory.

Present Standard of Remedial Legislation has been Reached without the Vote of Women.

These are facts which cannot be controverted either by assertion or argument. Such misleading statements have been made in reference to the subject that the wage-earning woman is led to believe that existing laws were framed not for her protection, but for her extinction. And yet the history of legislation of all past time shows no such improvement in humane laws as that enacted in the last decade for the protection and safeguarding of the women and children who work.

If so much has been accomplished without the votes of women, and so little has been done with this vote, it would seem to behoove the wage-earning woman to inquire carefully into the specious promises of the advocates for equal suffrage. Such inquiry will show her that the variation in the wage paid to male and female workers is due to the operation of the law of supply and demand, and that neither the wage paid to woman nor remedial legislation in her behalf depends upon her political status.

It is hardly conceivable that equal suffrage would reverse the remedial legislation already enacted, but further progress in that line could scarcely be expected; and the constantly reiterated demand that woman shall be allowed

to stand on exactly the same footing as man may render ineffective much of the law which now gives her an advantage.

Issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

Pamphlets and leaflets may be obtained from the Secretary,

Room 615,
Kensington Building,
687 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

SEPTEMBER, 1910.

UNITED FRONTIER TRADES UNION LABOR COUNCIL BOSTON 12

SOUVENIR

OF THE

Kentucky State Federation of Women's Clubs of 1913

TO OUR MOUNTAIN KIN

Lo! the mist upon the mountains,
Lo! the light upon the plain,
Look, dear Heart, O look and linger.
Be convinced life is not vain.

Hear the redbird sweetly calling
To his mate off in the wood,
All the feathered things a singing:
"God is good, yes God is good."

Here the white pine lifts it spire
To the blue clouds overhead,
Here the yellow creek goes winding
Like a Sinuous amber thread.

Here the white oak and the maple,
Here the beech and mountain fir
Rustle in the evening breezes,
With a soft and soothing whir.

Here our tall, true-hearted brother
With the firmness of his hills
Holds to truth, to honor, virtue,
Holds so close, that rending kills.

Hands outreached and latch string hanging
For the oft, or one-time guest,
Surely never heart beat truer,
With more staunch and steady zest.

We, the starvlings of the city,
Hedged in by encroaching walls,
Feel the charm, list to the wooing
Of sweet nature as she calls.

Ah, dear Heart, you should have seen it—
That strange purple of the hills,
Gilded with the sun's last glory,
As a flood the valley fills.

Printed on my heart forever
Was the beauty of the scene,
We'll bear back the mountain laurel
In our hearts and hands, I ween.

Mrs. Arch Pool.

Summing up the Case for Woman Suffrage
An Anti-Suffrage Speech. Rev. Marie Jennay
Eli Whitehead Takes Political Equality Prize Essay
Chronology of the Woman's Rights Movement in Illinois
Woman Suffrage in Relation to Working Women and Children
Catholic Opinoins on Woman Suffrage
(Published Illinois Equal Suffrage Ass'n.)
Subscriptions will be taken for the Woman's Journal.....$1.00 per year
The Western Woman Voter..... 1.00 " "
The Woman Voter..... .50 " "

BOOKLETS

Objections Answered ..... 2 for 5c
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[Feb 21, 1912

Literature List of Illinois Equal Suffrage Association

The following may be purchased from the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, 938 Fine Arts Bldg., Chicago, Ill. We will also send to any part of the United States by mail or express, as directed.

Your orders are solicited.

ANNA E. BLOUNT, Chairman Lit. Dept.

SUFFRAGE BOOKS

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The following Leaflets may be had for 15 cents per hundred—or will be sent out in sample sets of 20 for 10 cents.

Sincerity in Social Life	Fruits of Equal Suffrage No. 1
Listen Brothers	Fruits of Equal Suffrage No. 2
Mrs. Howe's Census	Dr. Gunsaulus—Leaflet
Woman Suffrage in New Zealand	Ward Organization
Family Suffrage in New Zealand	It is Constitutional
The Housekeeper and the Ballot	The Reason Why
Margaret Long on Colorado	Julia Ward Howe on Suffrage
Mrs. Decker on Equal Suffrage	Denmark's Woman Voters
Prize Essays	A Success in Norway
Judge Lindsay on Equal Suffrage	Norwegian's First Vote
The Wage Earner and the Ballot	Illinois Songs
Why Women Should Vote	Shall Men Have the Ballot?
Progress of Equal Suffrage	A Chicago Fable
Equal Suffrage in Australia	Why Illinois Women Should Vote
More Testimony from Colorado	Where Does Illinois Stand?

MRS. ANDREW D. WHITE UPBRAIDS SUFFRAGISTS AND DECLINES TO GIVE BECAUSE THEY CONDONE OUTRAGES

Mrs. Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, upbraids the woman suffrage leaders in the following communication:

"To the Treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

"Dear Madam—I have received four appeals for contributions to the funds of the association.

I was brought up in the camp of woman suffrage. I am a member of the Society of Friends, and so naturally believe in equal opportunity for the sexes in every direction. The Friends, with great advantage to their women, and no less to their men, have preached and practised this from the time of George Fox, who, three centuries ago, dismissed the matter in a few words, as a simple axiom. Although in later years I have come to doubt the present expediency of political enfranchisement for my whole sex for exactly the same reasons that I doubt that of universal suffrage in the form in which we have it—I have been inclined to think that having gone so far, we might as safely, perhaps even more safely, make the experiment complete.

"I have not failed to reflect upon the foolishness of my sex, as displayed in their shoes, in their hats, in their want of pockets, in the daily increasing absurdity of their dress generally—in their card playing at all hours, in their complete abandonment of all effort to control or train their daughters in mind, in manners, or even in morals—witness the present style of dancing—and the futility of most of the training of private schools for girls. This reflects, of course, the incompetence or indifference of parents generally. I also believe that the high prices now prevailing are largely due to the neglect of the great body of women to study or practice economy, or to teach it to their daughters. Neither in school nor in college do I find that any considerable number of young girls are taught, or required to keep, any kind of accounts. No dressmaker or milliner, of the slightest pretensions to elegance, seems to have encountered the notion of economy, in respect to price, durability, or in any other particular, in her whole experience. Any woman fairly well off, who regards the subject of dress from this point of view, feels that she is very much the exception.

"I have been always disposed, however, to excuse much of this feminine incompetence and folly, and the obsession with dress, which seems to become every day more marked among American women of all conditions, on the ground that the foolishness of men has always been largely responsible for that of women, and that if women were given better things to think of they would surely rise to a higher intellectual plane and a lower angle of heel. (I say 'rise' for both advisedly.) And I never until lately admitted to myself the possibility of our essential inferiority—such as that, in matters of government, we could without outrage be classed with children, with idiots and insane, and with criminals.

"But now that I see our own kinswomen across the sea sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind—sowing seeds of lawlessness which we may see in our own day, I greatly fear, blossoming in an anarchism more terrible than anything yet known to history—and when I see our own women protesting feebly or not at all, and even, to some extent encouraging, I have not a cent to contribute nor a word of sympathy for any association of women which does not publicly and earnestly protest against such a line of procedure. It resembles the kicking and biting of spoiled children, the raving and gibbering of insane and idiots—and the unbridled license of the most abandoned criminals. All these classes think solely of what they want, and self-constitute themselves arbiters of what they should have. What it may cost other human beings, innocent though they be, for them to grasp at the objects of their desire by whatever means may come to hand, does not touch their minds; and so it would seem to be with those women of England; and so, also, with those of our own women who condone their offenses—who would condone such action in any cause.

"Believe me, Madam, sincerely and respectfully yours.

"HELEN MAGILL WHITE.

"Ithaca, N. Y., April 11, 1913."

[Aug. 1913]

FOUR MILITANT BIBLE WOMEN

> How many can imagine those beautiful, shy women of the Bible, Mary of Bethany, Mary the mother of our Lord, Ruth or Rebecca, hiking from New York to Washington or doing barefoot dances on the steps of the capitol?—Rev. William Byron Forbush, anti-suffragist.

One often wonders whether the modern preachers read the Bible at all. The few glimpses the Scriptures give us of Mary present her as going on bold and dangerous journeys incited by devotion or political necessity—such as her visit to Elizabeth, her perilous venture to Bethlehem, for a tax registration, and her coming to the Temple.

Mary of Bethany is a confused figure, but she attached herself to the following of Jesus with boldness, and heard the words of the Master even though Martha pleaded that "a woman's place is in the kitchen," or words to that effect.

As for Rebecca and Ruth, they are likewise bold and venturous travelers, not so "shy" as the boldest militant. Rebecca first drew water for the 10 camels of a traveling servant, and then went boldly with him from Mesopotamia to Palestine through lands of shepherds and raiders. And Ruth's wonderful story begins when she and Naomi, unattended, walked from Moab to Bethlehem, in the land of Judah.

Dr. Forbush could hardly have selected four women more full of the moral courage, womanly boldness, the faith in justice and right, which is the ideal of the American suffragist. And these are only four of the Bible roster of women both bold and womanly, women who neglected no home duties, yet appreciated their larger public opportunities: from Pharaoh's pagan daughter to Pilate's pagan wife, from Deborah the judge to Priscilla the theologian, from Esther the politician to Tabitha the charity-worker.

It is very hard to imagine any of these women living today and opposing universal suffrage.

From Detroit Journal, March 29, 1913.

MICHIGAN EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Room 21, Grand Circus Building 26 **DETROIT, MICHIGAN**

[Apr 5, 1913]

From Detroit Journal March 31.

Ex-President Roosevelt on Equal Suffrage

Former President Roosevelt, addressing a mass meeting of 3,500 persons in the armory Saturday night, appealed to the people of Michigan to pass the woman suffrage amendment on April 7th, and bluntly charged that the suffragists were defrauded out of their victory on November 5th. Here is a stenographic report of the colonel's references to the subject:

"A great many good people think it was by downright mishandling of the ballots that the women of Michigan were cheated out of their right to vote. (Cheers.) They know that the opposition to them came from sources which make it incumbent on all good citizens to see to it that the forces of righteousness are strengthened by giving to the women of Michigan their vote. (Cheers.)

"I favor an amendment to give the right to send women as well as men to the constitutional convention which probably will be held in New York. (Cheers.) I do that not only as a matter of abstract right, but because of actual experience, especially through the past year. I have found that among the most valuable and efficient friends of good government, workers for social and industrial justice are certain women I know. This year in New York we have been pressing certain labor legislation. The best and wisest work in preparing that labor legislation has been done by Miss Dreier. If we have a constitution convention we would have to have Mary Dreier out in the lobby to help us with the labor phases of the constitution. Well, if she is fit to advise us what we are to put into the constitution from outside she is fit to sit in that convention. (Cheers.)

"We wish to deal seriously with the immigrants who come here not knowing our language and apt to fall a prey to wicked and designing men. Prominent among the men and women of New York who have worked to protect these people is Miss Frances Keller. If we had such a convention we would have to be appealing to Miss Keller to tell us what kind of clauses to insert so that we could do the best for the poor immigrant. If she is fit to tell us that privately in the lobby, she is fit to tell us that sitting in the convention.

"One of the things of which I am proudest is my acquaintance with Jane Addams. (Cheers.) If we had a constitutional convention I will be shot if I know a man I had rather have in that convention than Jane Addams.

"I am asking in New York that we be given the chance to send women to the constitutional convention not for their sakes but for ours. They can benefit the men, women and children of New York if they are in that convention.

"I want to strengthen the forces for righteousness. I want to see Michigan take the lead east of the Mississippi. California, Washington and other states have tried woman suffrage and it has worked well. I want to see the east not lag too far behind the west. (Cheers.)

"Let me deal with some of the arguments advanced by the anti-suffragists. They say, 'Woman's place is in the home.' Certainly. She can use 15 minutes in voting and she will still have 364 days, 23 hours and 45 minutes for the home. And I notice that the average man who most loudly proclaims that he cannot consent to have suffrage given to women because their place is in the home is himself a creature who does not grace that home much. (Cheers) (Laughter).

"Of course the prime duty of the woman in the majority of cases must be taking care of the home, just as the prime duty of the man is to make the home, and if he can vote without too much interruption to his duty of making the home she can vote without too much interruption to her duty of keeping the home (Cheers).

"Friends, I am making this plea and I think I have a right to have it listened to all the more attentively because I am speaking only after long and careful study of the question. I always was for woman suffrage, but I was for it tepidly until the arguments of the antis made me warm in its favor. I am interested primarily in dutes rather than in rights. I never have advocated any right for any people, men or women, unless I felt that they were willing to accept the responsibility that went with that right, to do the duty that is corelative to that right. After the vote has been given the prime duties of woman will remain what they now are and have been through recorded time. The same thing has been found true of man, who did not vote when the decalogue was written. There was no universal suffrage when the New Testament was written, and yet votes for men had not altered the duties that men have to perform in the world if they are to lead their lives aright. The same thing is true of women. Giving the woman the vote is doing our duty by her, is giving her the chance to do more than she now does in helping the men make this great commonwealth a better place for both the man and the woman to live in and to bring up their children in. (Cheers.)

"I ask you for your own sakes and for the sake of the nation to take the lead and to keep the lead in this great movement for the rights of mankind, the rights of humanity and for social and industrial justice. I ask you when you cast your vote at the spring election to see that women hereafter have the same right of suffrage that the men now have."

Vote "YES" on April 7th on Equal Suffrage Constitutional Amendment.

Favored by Men of all Parties

Gov. Ferris on Woman Suffrage

When Woman has the Right of Suffrage.

What will woman do when she has the right to vote? The answer to this question is not difficult. Woman appeared on the earth about the time man arrived. Man has had abundant opportunity to get acquainted with her. Her conduct in all the ordinary affairs of life is familiar to man. Her mental constitution does not differ widely from man's. Her wants are quite like those of man. Under oppression, whether industrial or political, she has behaved as man behaves under like conditions. If woman had the right of suffrage and man were deprived of it, he would behave after the manner of woman. When both have the right of suffrage, the conditions for both change. When woman votes we shall not have the millenium, because man won't permit it; he isn't used to it. Woman having some of the weaknesses and jealousies of man wouldn't hurry the dawn of the new day. It would take a little time for woman to adjust herself to new conditions made possible by a new privilege. Woman, knowing the needs of the home, would not, with the privilege of suffrage, love the home less, but would on the contrary love the home more. The mother would be more solicitous for the welfare of her children because of her increased power and responsibility. The home is the corner stone of the nation. Reform the home and you reform society. Whatever adds to the sacredness of the home adds to the nobility and welfare of man. Man and woman are not mutual enemies, they should be co-workers, but they cannot be co-workers when one is the ruler and the other the subject. Woman's closer contact with infancy, childhood and youth, gives her a keener sense of social justice than man possesses. Her new privilege will enable her to supplement the best civic efforts of man.

Woman will not rush pell mell into the political arena, hoping thereby to secure office. In all these years that man has had this privilege, he has regarded office holding incidental to his larger ambitions. For man office holding is a duty. Woman would behave after the manner of man, and in this new age adjust herself to those offices for which she is especially fitted. In doing this, democracy realizes its highest functions and ideals. In a democracy it is not a question as to whether man and woman **want** to vote. Voting is a sacred duty. Today, woman is quite as well informed as to fundamental principles of social and civic duties as man. She is not yet familiar with the political machinery because she has not been allowed to use it. Woman has never had, in this country, the freedom that Lincoln advocated. The right of woman to govern herself means a higher type of womanhood, a higher type of womanhood means better homes, better villages, better cities, better counties, better states and a better nation. This change will not come in a day, in a month nor in a year. So far as human intelligence can discover, no man has a right to govern another man without the other man's consent. Co-operation is the watchword of the hour. Man and woman equal in fundamental privileges, means a higher type of manhood and womanhood, means real and abiding brotherhood.

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS.

President Taft, in a speech at Toledo, spoke in favor of woman suffrage in these words:

"The best government, in the sense of the one most certain to provide for and protect the rights and governmental needs of every class, is that one in which every class has a voice. In recognition of this the tendency from earliest times has been the enlargement of the electorate to include as many as possible of those governed; but even today the government is by a majority of one-fourth. This is the nearest to a government of the whole people that we have ever had. But woman suffrage will change this and it is doubtless coming as soon as the electorate can be certain that most women desire it and will assume its burdens and responsibilities."

The Socialist party has always stood for and endorsed the principles of Equal Suffrage.—Eugene V. Debs.

VOTE "YES" APRIL 7th

On Equal Suffrage Constitutional Amendment

MICHIGAN EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Room 27 Grand Circus Bldg. Detroit, Mich.

UNION PRINTED TRADES LABOR COUNCIL DETROIT, MICH. 78

c1912]

CALIFORNIA ANSWERS

FROM THE NORTHERN CALIFORNIA BRANCH OF THE COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

Are women interested in civic matters?

In Los Angeles, of a total registration of 175,000, there were 80,000 women registered during the first ten days after the suffrage amendment passed. All over the State women who had been indifferent or opposed to the suffrage registered as a matter of course and were among the first to organize for civic education and work.

Were women represented before they had the suffrage?

In one precinct of California which gave 139 votes against suffrage to 88 for suffrage, there were 628 women who voted, to 549 men, in the first city election after the passing of the Suffrage Amendment. In another precinct that went against suffrage (169 against to 113 for), at the city election following there were 962 votes cast by women to 843 by men. Is it not strange to insist that women were already represented by men when 169 men had voted to deny suffrage to women in a precinct where 962 women afterwards voted at the very first opportunity?

Do women vote?

Of the women who registered for the very first election in Los Angeles 95 per cent voted. In some precincts in San Diego 100 per cent actually voted. In local elections throughout the State the average has been about 90 per cent.

Are women contaminated by the surroundings of the polls?

Women do not have to vote in objectionable places in California. The polls are now located in tents in the open streets, in schools and churches and in other innocuous places, vide the following postal card from one newly-enfranchised citizen to another:

"Voted at sun-up in a millinery shop!
Came forth unsullied, with my interest in
the home undiminished and my 'woman-
liness' intact! What about you?"

In many precincts women served all day long at the polls as clerks of election, even those women who had formerly been anti-suffragists.

Are women neglecting their home duties in order to vote?

Precincts are small and polling places are always in one's home neighborhood, so that frequently the housewife needs only to cross the street or go round the corner, taking not more than five or ten minutes out of her busy day. The children play about the booths, and husband or neighbor cares for the baby while the mother votes.

Does the "bad woman" vote swamp the good woman vote?

The registration of "bad women" in California has amounted to practically nothing; for instance, in one city precinct frequented by such women, there were but two women's names registered. In none of such precincts in the same city were there more than ten women registered, all of whom may have been respectable wives of working-men who lived in those districts.

(OVER)

Is woman's "influence" better than her vote?

In San Francisco the Inspector of Buildings says that now he can say to the builders, when they violate the law about air, light and space, "There is one organization of voters (the San Francisco Civic Center, 220 Post Street), numbering over a thousand public-spirited women, who are going to see whether you violate the law. A dozen of these women are out measuring up your new tenements, and if you don't put up the right sort of buildings you will have all these voters to reckon with."

In California there is now a comparatively free leisure class able to look into the enforcement of the law. Pressure is put upon every city official to see that he does his work better. Officials are waked up to a sense of duty by fearless and watchful public opinion and are giving better service since women have voted.

Do men treat women with less respect?

Since the granting of suffrage to women the men of California, in the minor courtesies of life, are no less chivalrous than they were before, while in public life woman's advice is found to be valuable, and it is impossible to over-estimate the added dignity and respect with which she is now regarded. Many men who had opposed woman's suffrage, after the recent elections honestly stated their mistake and said: "We are heartily ashamed that we voted against woman's enfranchisement, for we find women as keen of judgment and as thoroughly alive to public interests as any man."

At a special session of the State Legislature, called immediately after the Suffrage Amendment was carried, a law not asked for or lobbied for by any woman, was passed exempting all voters from giving their ages at registration, because it was feared some women would hesitate to do so.

Do women make intelligent citizens?

All over the State, irrespective of occupation, color or race, the "new voters" (1) have organized clubs for the study of public questions, (2) have introduced civic sections into existing clubs, (3) and have transformed hitherto moribund or aimless associations into live centers for civic study.

The Northern California branch of the College Equal Suffrage League alone has organized 23 such centers with a membership of nearly 3000. There are several other State leagues for civic study as well as many smaller local associations and informal unattached clubs. "Study and service" is the motto of the California Civic League. Normal classes have been formed to train teachers for the education of civic workers, and study lists and bulletins have been sent broadcast, on Registration, on Voting, on Primary Election-laws and on other subjects of particular interest to women.

The College Equal Suffrage League (Northern California branch) is responsible for the above statements, and its publication committee will be glad at any time to afford further information or to answer questions as to woman suffrage in California.

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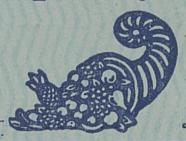

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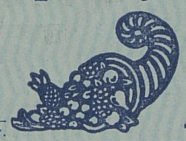

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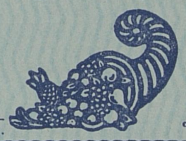

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AN APPEAL TO PATRIOTIC AMERICANS

The PROGRESSIVE PARTY is fighting for the people's rights and must be supported by the people. If you have not responded to the PROGRESSIVE PARTY'S appeal for campaign funds, DO IT NOW. Show your loyalty and patriotism toward a Nobler America by sending your donation. Send as much as you can—anything from $1.00 up.

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Talk, Work, Contribute, Vote and "Pass Prosperity Around."

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Women! Do Something!

If you believe your city and county need your services—**give them.**
If you believe women and children in industry need protection—**do something.**
If you believe in political work—**join the Progressives.**
If you believe in educational work—**write for suggestions.**
If you don't find the kind of work you can do in the suggestions below—find out what your neighbors are doing. Write us about it.

What to Do in the Party

WORKERS:

Enroll as members of the Party. Do not form auxiliaries or separate clubs, and thereby lose the training and advantages of party work.

Have a working representative in each precinct and election district and ward who will use good judgment on local issues.

Find out who your district leader is and ask him what there is you can do. Work with the district committee.

Write and see your county, senatorial, judiciary and assembly chairmen and ask to have qualified women put on the committees to represent you.

Have a woman's department opened at headquarters, with women in charge. Have all matters affecting women go through this department.

Write or see your State chairman and ask to have your most representative women put on the State committee. Have them call meetings of the women representatives and formulate plans for State work. Exchange reports and ideas and have organization and education proceed along uniform lines in the county and State. Organize with the men or along the same lines.

Canvass your neighborhood or district by postal card or otherwise, and set Progressive women at work distributing literature, raising money, interesting their friends and talking the Progressive platform.

Hold meetings, attend meetings and send good women speakers to meetings. Reach the women who will not go to public meetings by social functions and parlor meetings.

Make the platform, especially the social and industrial justice, health and suffrage planks, the basis of your speeches, your work and your pledge.

Don't think some one else is doing your work. Work as though success depended on you. Personal work is most effective.

Don't be afraid to report to National and State headquarters what is going on in your district. Report what is being done or said either by the Progressives or their opponents. In this way weak districts may be strengthened and strong districts held.

A weekly report of what you and others are doing is a very good thing.

Get the members of your suffrage organization to join the Progressive Party. Get the association to work against all candidates in other parties that do not favor suffrage. Tell them who they are.

As fast as Progressive candidates are nominated for the Legislature, write them or ask them for their attitude on suffrage and on the protection of women and children workers.

Circularize your club members with requests for help or send them educational material.

Where the sentiment of the party is not ripe for representation by women within the party, form Progressive Leagues and work for them, doing campaign work as well.

SPEAKERS:

Send to headquarters for material for speeches.

Speak if you can; if you can't, send to headquarters for speakers; attend meetings; if there are none, ask for them.

Be direct. Use facts. Talk suffrage, social justice, health and the other planks of interest to women and the home.

Use existing conditions and the platform as the basis of your speech.

Talk party, politics and principles and not candidates.

Do not attack the other parties except on suffrage.

Courtesy is a prime essential to successful campaign work.

Make your part in the campaign educational.

What to Do Outside the Party

If you do not join the party, lend a hand in the educational campaign among and for women. Send for material and suggestions.

Send for information concerning the various welfare activities now being carried on in which you can help.

Have your club include in its programme civic welfare work, and discuss industrial conditions.

What can be done for babies? Is the milk supply pure? Are the streets safe playgrounds? What becomes of the working mother's child while she is at work?

Is there anything you can do to lower the cost of living? How about the markets and middlemen and cost of delivery?

Do the working men receive a living wage, and what is the bare cost of living in your county?

Ascertain what is going on in your own locality and send in facts about the conditions of women and children which will help legislators to make wise and adequate laws.

It is every woman's task to open her mind to the conditions, to gather the facts and then DO SOMETHING.

Political and non-political workers desiring information, suggestions, outlines of work, address requests and reports to

JANE ADDAMS,
FRANCES A. KELLOR,
ISABELLA W. BLANEY,
National Committeemen.

NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE HEADQUARTERS,
HOTEL MANHATTAN,
NEW YORK CITY.

LABEL ASSIGNED 296 TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY

Program for Women's Organization Within the Progressive Party in Non-Suffrage States

1. That in each zone where there is a woman member of the National Committee, she be attached to the headquarters located therein, and work from that headquarters in organizing her work, submitting reports, etc.

2. That all campaign literature be approved by the publicity committee and be issued and distributed under its direction unless otherwise agreed upon by such committee.

3. That in the states in which suffrage is to be voted on this fall, especial emphasis be placed upon suffrage and that state organizations and campaign managers be so informed. Those are the states of Nevada, Kansas, Oregon, Michigan, Wisconsin and Ohio.

4. That so far as possible the women's work be established on a uniform state plan, along the following lines:

STATE ORGANIZATION

1. There should be at least one, and advisedly more than one woman member of each state or central committee and of each county committee, attached to the state and county headquarters, respectively, who shall meet with such committees and work with them. Such committee members from the state and one from each county shall constitute a sub-committee of which the chairman shall be ex-officio chairman. This committee shall deal with the general matters of the activities and organization of the work of women within the state. It shall employ such officers as may be necessary. This plan shall be followed wherever feasible in each state.

2. Women should be asked to work in the election districts with existing committees, to get out the suffrage workers and to enlist women in the work.

3. Women delegates should be sent to primary meetings and conventions, and the educational work should be taken up with the women generally to get their interest and support.

4. It is recommended that Progressive Leagues, consisting of both men and women, be formed, for the following purposes:

(1.) Through its membership to show to the people of the county, city and state, and of the nation at large, that the representative business, professional and labor men and women are in hearty accord with a movement that means so much for the welfare of the nation.

(2.) Through its Executive Committee to advise the state and county chairmen of the Progressive Party as to matters of policy that may arise and be proper for it to consider.

(3.) Through its Finance Committee to aid the state and county chairman to secure the funds that are necessary to properly put before the people the aims of the party and to acquaint them with its candidates.

(4.) Otherwise to aid in furthering the success of the Progressive Party of the state and county.

Progressive Party Method to Secure Rule of the People

Direct primaries.
Preferential primaries for candidates for the presidency.
Direct election of United States senators.
Policy of the short ballot.
Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

Progressive Party Program to Secure Social and Industrial Justice

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in State and Nation for:

Prohibition of child labor.
Minimum wage for working women.
Prohibition of night work for women.
An eight hour day for women and young persons.
One day's rest in seven for all wage earners.
An eight hour day in continuous twenty-four hour industries.
Abolition of convict contract labor, except for governmental consumption, and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families.
Publicity as to wages, hours and conditions of labor.
Reports on industrial accidents and diseases.
Public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures, and all check systems on labor products.
Standards of compensation for death by industrial accident, injury and trade diseases.
Pensions for sickness, irregular employment and old age.
Establishment of continuation schools for industrial education under public control.
Establishment of industrial research laboratories.
Organization of the workers—men and women—as a means of protecting their interests and promoting their progress.
The establishment of a department of labor.
Prohibition of the issuance of injunctions when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes exist.
The right to trial by jury for contempt in labor disputes.
Minimum safety and health standards in industry.
Prevention of industrial accidents, of occupational diseases, overwork and involuntary unemployment.

Equal Suffrage

The Progressive Party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

Write for information about plan of campaign to

FRANCES A. KELLOR
Hotel Manhattan, New York City
JANE ADDAMS
Hotel La Salle, Chicago, Ill.
National Committeemen

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To the Women Voters of the United States from the Women in Political Bondage

Vote the Progressive Ticket and Make Us Free

WE, the women of the Progressive party, appeal to you to vote for the candidates of the Progressive party, because we believe that through their election the Nation will secure most quickly those humanitarian measures, for which women in their clubs and associations and trade unions have worked for so many years.

In some States, such legislation has been partially secured; in many others it has utterly failed. Now, for the first time in the history of our country, a great party has assembled these measures and is urging a program of social and industrial legislation for which women have so long been striving.

The Progressive party is the only party that has pledged itself to work for suffrage, so that for the first time, the women of the six equal suffrage states have an opportunity to vote for candidates who are committed to extend suffrage to women throughout the Nation.

It is the only party that is instructing its candidates to make suffrage an issue in the campaign states.

It is the only party that has given women a voice in party organization and management and direct representation on National, State and County committees before they have the vote.

May we not depend upon the voting women, in a sense representing those women who are not yet enfranchised, to prove at the polls that American women have been genuine in their long endeavor for social righteousness? The disfranchised women therefore appeal to you for the direct help which you are able to give. They appeal to you for the rights of citizenship which you now enjoy, and as nobly as you have done for the overthrow of political corruption, to vote for the betterment of industrial conditions and the protection of the home.

SIGNED

Mrs. Isabella W. Blaney	**California**	**M. Evelyn Fritzenger**	**Michigan**
Josephine Roche	**Colorado**	**Mrs. Celeste P. Armstrong**	**New York**
Jane Addams	**Illinois**	**Mrs. Anna C. Brown**	**New York**
Mrs. Mary H. Wilmarth	**Illinois**	**Mary E. Dreier**	**New York**
Alice Carpenter	**Massachusetts**	**Frances A. Kellor**	**New York**
Mrs. Elizabeth S. Child	**Massachusetts**	**Mrs. Bertha Elder**	**New York**
Helen Temple Cook	**Massachusetts**	**Clara B. Morrison**	**New York**
Mrs. Grace A. Johnson	**Massachusetts**	**Clara Shuler**	**New York**
Mrs. Elizabeth Towne	**Massachusetts**	**Hannah M. Povey**	**Oregon**

SPEECH OF JANE ADDAMS

Seconding the Nomination of Theodore Roosevelt

I rise to second the nomination, stirred by the splendid platform adopted by this Convention.

Measures of industrial amelioration, demands for social justice, long discussed by small groups in charity conferences and economic associations, have here been considered in a great convention, and are at last thrust into the stern arena of political action. A great party has pledged itself to the protection of children, to the care of the aged, to the relief of overworked girls, to the safeguarding of burdened men. Committed to these humane undertakings it is inevitable that such a party should appeal to women, should seek to draw upon the great reservoir of their normal energy so long undesired and unutilized in practical politics—one is the corollary of the other; a programme of human welfare, the participation of women in political life.

We ratify this platform, not only because it represents our earnest convictions and formulates our high hopes, but because it pulls upon our faculties and calls us to definite action. * * * The new party has become the American exponent of a world-wide movement towards juster social conditions, a movement which the United States, lagging behind other great nations, has been unaccountably slow to embody in political action.

I second the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt because he is one of the few men in our public life who has responded to the social appeal, who has caught the significance of the modern movement. Because of that, because the programme will require a leader of invincible courage, of open mind, of democratic sympathies, one endowed with power to interpret the common man and to identify himself with the common lot, I heartily second the nomination.

Theodore Roosevelt to Jane Addams

CLEVELAND, August 8, 1912.

DEAR MISS ADDAMS:—I wished to see you in person to thank you for seconding me. I do it now instead.

I prized your action, not only because of what you are and stand for, but because of what it symbolized for the new movement. In this great national convention, starting the new party, women have thereby been shown to have their place to fill precisely as men have, and on an absolute equality. It is idle now to argue whether women can play their part in politics because in this convention we saw the accomplished fact, and moreover the women who have actively participated in this work of launching the new party, represent all that we are most proud to associate with American womanhood. Without qualification or equivocation, I am for woman suffrage, the Progressive party is for woman suffrage and I believe within half a dozen years we shall have no one in the United States against it.

My earnest hope is to see the Progressive party movement in all its state and local divisions recognize this fact precisely as it has been recognized at the National convention. Our party stands for social and industrial justice and we have a right to expect that women and men will work within the party for the cause with the same high sincerity of purpose and with like efficiency. I therefore earnestly hope that in the campaign now opened we shall see women active members of the various State and County committees. Four women are to be put on the National Committee and I trust that there will be a full representation of them on every State and County Committee.

While I am now addressing you I desire that this shall be taken as the expression of my personal hope and desire by all members of such State and County Committees, and I believe that I express the feelings of the great majority of Progressives in making this request. I have Judge Hotchkiss' assurance that it will be done in the State of New York and I very much hope that it will be done in the other states. With great esteem, I am faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Because women, as much as men, are a part of our economic and social life, women, as much as men, should have the voting power to solve all economic and social problems. Votes for women are theirs as a matter of natural rights alone; votes for women should be theirs as a matter of political wisdom also. As wage earners, they should help to solve the labor problem; as property owners they should help to solve the tax problem; as wives and mothers they should help to solve all the problems that concern the home. And that means all national problems; for the Nation abides at the fireside.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE,
Chairman National Progressive Convention.

Chicago, August 5, 1912.

"Pass Prosperity Around"

Vote Under This Emblem



X

The National Progressive Party Believes—

I—THAT the high cost of living is due largely to artificial prices commanded by monopolies and trusts; Therefore—

It pledges itself to national control of monopolies and trusts with full publicity concerning methods, profits, and wages.

II—THAT the workers of our country should be protected in their conditions of labor, hours and wages; Therefore—

It pledges itself to the establishment of a National Department of Labor, which shall have power to prevent industrial exploitation.

III—THAT the newly arrived immigrant is a national responsibility; Therefore—

It pledges itself to the establishment of industrial standards for the protection of the immigrant from those who exploit him for their own ends.

IV—THAT our laborers should be protected against the exigencies of sickness, irregular employment, and old age; Therefore—

It pledges itself to the establishment of a pension system for the protection of the working man.

V—THAT since women are forced into the industrial world to work side by side with men, the conditions of their work should be so regulated as to insure their physical well being; Therefore—

It pledges itself to an eight hour day, prohibition of night labor, and a minimum wage for working women.

VI—THAT our children are the nation's most important asset, and their development, moral and physical, the nation's chief responsibility; Therefore—

It pledges itself to the task of prohibiting child labor.

VII—THAT no people can rightly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex; Therefore—

It pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION APPLY TO

Progressive Party Headquarters, 16 East 28th Street, New York

Telephone, Madison Square 10,000

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Plank on Social and Industrial Justice

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in state and nation for:

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An eight hour day in continuous twenty-four hour industries.
Abolition of convict contract labor, except for governmental consumption, and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families.
Publicity as to wages, hours and conditions of labor.
Reports on industrial accidents and diseases.
Public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures, and all check systems on labor products.
Standards of compensation for death by industrial accident, injury and trade diseases.
Pensions for sickness, irregular employment and old age.
Establishment of continuation schools for industrial education under public control.
Establishment of industrial research laboratories.
Organization of the workers—men and women—as a means of protecting their interests and promoting their progress.
The establishment of a department of labor.
Prohibition of the issuance of injunctions when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes exist.
The right to trial by jury for contempt in labor disputes.
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Preferential primaries for candidates for the presidency.
Direct election of United States senators.
Policy of the short ballot.
Initiative, Referendum and Recall.
Equal Suffrage.

Write for information about plan of campaign to

FRANCES A. KELLOR, National Committeeman
PROGRESSIVE HEADQUARTERS
Manhattan Hotel, New York City

From the Women Delegates to the National Convention of The Progressive Party

To the Women of the United States

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ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE
Chairman National Progressive Convention

Chicago, August 5, 1912

SIGNED	**Mrs. Isabella W. Blaney**	**California**
	Josephine Roach	**Colorado**
	Jane Addams	**Illinois**
	Mrs. Mary H. Wilmarth	**Illinois**
	Alice Carpenter	**Massachusetts**
	Mrs. Richard W. Childe	**Massachusetts**
	Helen Temple Cook	**Massachusetts**
	Mrs. Grace A. Johnson	**Massachusetts**
	Mrs. Elizabeth Towne	**Massachusetts**
	Mrs. M. Evelyn Fritzenger	**Michigan**
	Mrs. David Armstrong	**New York**
	Mrs. William Grant Brown	**New York**
	Mary E. Dreier	**New York**
	Frances A. Kellor	**New York**
	Mrs. Bertha Elder	**New York**
	Clara B. Morrison	**New York**
	Clara Shuler	**New York**
	Hannah M. Povey	**Oregon**

SPEECH OF JANE ADDAMS

Seconding the Nomination of Theodore Roosevelt

I rise to second the nomination, stirred by the splendid platform adopted by this Convention.

Measures of industrial amelioration, demands for social justice, long discussed by small groups in charity conferences and economic associations, have here been considered in a great convention, and are at last thrust into the stern arena of political action. A great party has pledged itself to the protection of children, to the care of the aged, to the relief of overworked girls, to the safeguarding of burdened men. Committed to these humane undertakings it is inevitable that such a party should appeal to women, should seek to draw upon the great reservoir of their normal energy so long undesired and unutilized in practical politics—one is the corollary of the other; a programme of human welfare, the participation of women in political life.

We ratify this platform, not only because it represents our earnest convictions and formulates our high hopes, but because it pulls upon our faculties and calls us to definite action. * * * The new party has become the American exponent of a world-wide movement towards juster social conditions, a movement which the United States, lagging behind other great nations, has been unaccountably slow to embody in political action.

I second the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt because he is one of the few men in our public life who has responded to the social appeal, who has caught the significance of the modern movement. Because of that, because the programme will require a leader of invincible courage, of open mind, of democratic sympathies, one endowed with power to interpret the common man and to identify himself with the common lot, I heartily second the nomination.

Theodore Roosevelt to Jane Addams

CLEVELAND, August 8, 1912.

DEAR MISS ADDAMS:—I wished to see you in person to thank you for seconding me. I do it now instead.

I prized your action, not only because of what you are and stand for, but because of what it symbolized for the new movement. In this great national convention, starting the new party, women have thereby been shown to have their place to fill precisely as men have, and on an absolute equality. It is idle now to argue whether women can play their part in politics because in this convention we saw the accomplished fact, and moreover the women who have actively participated in this work of launching the new party represent all that we are most proud to associate with American womanhood. Without qualification or equivocation, I am for woman suffrage, the Progressive party is for woman suffrage and I believe within half a dozen years we shall have no one in the United States against it.

My earnest hope is to see the Progressive party movement in all its state and local divisions recognize this fact precisely as it has been recognized at the National convention. Our party stands for social and industrial justice and we have a right to expect that women and men will work within the party for the cause with the same high sincerity of purpose and with like efficiency. I therefore earnestly hope that in the campaign now opened we shall see women active members of the various State and County committees. Four women are to be put on the National Committee and I trust that there will be a full representation of them on every State and County Committee.

While I am now addressing you I desire that this shall be taken as the expression of my personal hope and desire by all members of such State and County Committees, and I believe that I express the feelings of the great majority of Progressives in making this request. I have Judge Hotchkiss' assurance that it will be done in the State of New York and I very much hope that it will be done in the other states. With great esteem, I am faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Plank on Equal Suffrage

The Progressive Party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

June 20, 1912

Votes for Women!

The Suffragist's Alphabet

A is for Antis who sneer at us all.
B is for Ballot we'll win in the Fall.
C is for "Con-Con" which passed The Great Clause.
D is for Duty we owe to our Cause.
E is for Effort we women must make.
F is for Faith which we know it will take.
G is for Good we believe we can do.
H is for Home to which we'll be true.
I is for Ideals we need in our land.
J is Justice which we NOW demand.
K is for Knowledge our Leaftets will spread.
L is for the Light on our problems they shed.
M is for Men we hope to persuade.
N is for Numbers that swell the parade.
O is for Obstructions men place in our way.
P is for Precinct we're polling today.
Q is for Queries we answer with ease.
R is for Reason---as much as you please.
S is for SUFFRAGE for ALL of THE NATION.
T is for Taxes WITH Representation.
U is the Union we take for our text.
V VOTES FOR WOMEN! **OHIO THE NEXT!**
W is for Women---for Wages---for Work.
X the Xample we set to the shirk.
Y is for Youth who our Banner will bear.
Z is the Zest in which we all share.

OHIO WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, President
WARREN, OHIO

Press Comments on Mr. Eastman's Lectures:

Nothing finer or more inspiring has been said than Max Eastman's plea for a universal franchise.—*Boston Globe.*

Mr. Eastman spoke convincingly and without mincing words and phrases. He based his arguments on the broad and comprehensive appeal of a man who has lived a full life and seen the interplay of the forces of industry and psychology and learned to recognize what the democracy of the future is bound to bring.—*Springfield Republican*, Feb. 20, 1913.

Except the new president of the Chamber, and the toastmaster, the only other speaker of the evening in addition to Governor Wilson was Prof. Max Eastman of New York, formerly of Columbia University. He gave a humorous talk which brought forth a great deal of applause and laughter.
—*Post-Standard*, Syracuse, N. Y., Apr. 9, 1912.

Mr. Eastman is a delightful speaker. He is highly original in style and he has a message to deliver which gains much of its charm from the manner of his delivery. He had his audience laughing almost from the outset. ***** That his ready, eloquent tongue and his original manner of delivery pleased his audience was demonstrated by the applause with which his remarks were frequently interrupted.—*Buffalo Express*, Nov. 31, 1909.

Mr. Eastman was not only an interesting speaker, but he was entertaining, as the laughter of the whole audience amply testified. His arguments were logically drawn and clearly rendered, so that he was applauded frequently.
—*Brooklyn Eagle*, Feb. 12, 1912.

He wins his hearers at once by the charm of his manner and he holds them by the breadth of his reasoning and the keenness of his insight.
—Utica, (N. Y.) *Herald Dispatch*, May 10, 1913.

Comments on Mr. Eastman's Books:

"I should like to announce from the housetops of the nation a book that will add a keen delight to the insight and the outlook of any reader. This book (nail its name in your memory) is Max Eastman's *Enjoyment of Poetry*. Save only one volume, Leigh Hunt's *Imagination and Fancy*, I do not know any other discussion that will so naturally, so alluringly, put the reader "next" to the real meaning of Poetry."—Edwin Markham in *Hearst's Magazine*.

"The idea of the woman of the future is best expressed by Max Eastman in his very beautiful poem, *Child of the Amazons*."
—Inez Milholland in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*.

"The echoes of that 'large utterance of the early gods', which Keats caught in *Hyperion*, sound through the fine lines describing Penthesilea, the queen of the Amazons."—*Vida D. Scudder*.

"A splendid presentation of the poet's care—as full of common sense as it is of delicacy and distinction. It would be hard to find elsewhere in literature a finer insight into matters that elude ordinary terms and dissection."
—*Jack London.*



PRESIDENT WILSON said: "His talk on humor was the most brilliant combination of thought and humor I have ever listened to."

"His book is a masterpiece, if spontaneous keenness of perception, alert appreciation of beauty, nice discriminations in significance, and the quality of being alive to its last letter—atingle with enthusiasm and radiating suggestion—warrant such a designation."—*Life.*

DIRECTION OF
WILLIAM B. FEAKINS
[Successor to CIVIC FORUM LECTURE BUREAU]
19 West 44th Street
New York

MAX EASTMAN was born in Canandaigua, N. Y., 1883. His mother was an eloquent preacher and lecturer, for many years the joint pastor, with his father, of Thomas K. Beecher's Church at Elmira.

He was graduated from Williams College in 1905, studied philosophy and psychology, while teaching logic, at Columbia University for four years. He was made Associate in Philosophy in 1911 and gave a course of lectures on the Psychology of Beauty.

He organized in 1910, in New York State, the first Men's League for Woman Suffrage in the country, and lectured on Woman Suffrage throughout the East and Middle West, promoting the organization of similar leagues.

Mr. Eastman has contributed essays and poems to the more popular magazines, besides the technical journals of Philosophy.

His first book was a volume, entitled "Child of the Amazons and Other Poems"* of which Vida D. Scudder says in *The Survey* (July 5, 1913):

"It is a refreshment to the lovers of letters as well as to the lovers of freedom . . . Escaping from the prison of conventional life into the open, he finds there endless delights; the fine delights of language and the rythmic surge in which it renders the experience the poet receives; delight in the exulting freedom of nature; delight in the great heritage of the past; and delight in the greater hope of the future. All these are here recorded for us in these vital and eager poems, in this criticism—keen, independent, penetrating, firm. We rise from reading, emancipate and adventurous."

His second volume (published the same year) was "Enjoyment of Poetry,"† a book which has been widely and enthusiastically commented on.

William Marion Reedy says:

"Poetry is not dead . . . but if it were, Max Eastman's book would bring it back to life again. Here is a book that should go on the same shelf with Shelley's 'Defense' and Sidney Lanier . . . . a glorious book."

---

* Mitchell Kennerly, 1913. † Scribners, April, 1913

In November, 1912, twenty well-known writers and artists, in New York, started a magazine called *The Masses*—a magazine which should belong to them, and in which they could express themselves without the dictation of proprietors, whose business is to make money. Mr. Eastman is the Editor-in-chief of *The Masses*. It has made a sensation in the magazine world, both for the radical and vital quality of its drawings and poetry, and for the vigorous freedom with which it champions the cause of the working-class. Some people denounce *The Masses*, and some people praise it, but they all agree that it is "a new thing in the magazine world."

LECTURE SUBJECTS

The Poetry of Everyday

A discussion of the poetic moments that appear in ordinary life and conversation, showing them to be essentially the same thing as the poetry of books.

What is Humor and Why?

First delivered as "A Humorous Talk" at the annual banquet of the Chamber of Commerce, at Syracuse, N. Y. President Wilson said on that occasion that it was "the most delightful combination of thought and humor he had ever listened to."

The New Philosophy

A popular explanation of the tendencies in modern thought that go by the name of "Pragmatism," showing their meaning and application in everyday matters.

Woman Suffrage and After

What Socialism Really Is

[Mar 3, 1911]

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Join the National Campaign for 50,000 New Subscribers to THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL by JUNE 30, 1911

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(3) By subscribing for at least one other person besides yourself.

(4) By helping us to get subscription workers among Suffragists, among young people earning their way through college, and among others who are or may be interested.

(5) By interesting the Woman's Club to which you belong.

(6) By urging your Suffrage League members to subscribe.

(7) By arousing interest in THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL in all organizations to which you belong.

(8) By urging every Suffrage audience you address to take THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL.

(9) By sending THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL weekly to your dentist's waiting-room, your doctor's waiting-room, your dressmaker's waiting-room, and to the waiting-room of your railway station.

(10) By sending a Journal subscription blank in every letter you mail.

(11) By putting up Journal posters at public meetings.

(12) By selling THE JOURNAL on the streets.

(13) By paying for an advertisement of THE JOURNAL in your local paper, or raising the money to do so.

Suffragists in every state in the Union are rallying to our assistance with enthusiasm. What can you do to help, either as an individual or as an officer in a league or club or organization of any kind?

We can make THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL *mighty in the interests of justice and humanity, and we can make it a powerful and successful paper under The National Association if we all try. We have set ourselves a difficult task. Will you help us accomplish it?*

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A MEMORIAL

FROM

MRS. JAMES BENNETT

To the Honorable Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

GENTLEMEN:

Women constitute about one-half of the adult people of the United States who are governed by our laws. And the women of this country have a *moral* right to vote at all of our public elections upon equal terms with its men. Because our government is founded upon the doctrine that all governments derive their *just* powers from the *consent* of the governed, and our laws require that this consent shall be given by votes.

I therefore most respectfully petition you gentlemen to protect women equally with men in voting for Members of the United States Senate, when you adopt a resolution as you now propose to do, for an Amendment of our Federal Constitution that will confer a *legal* right to vote for United States Senators upon such of the people of our several States as possess certain qualifications.

MRS. JAMES BENNETT.

RICHMOND, KENTUCKY, May 29th 1911.

Status of this Memorial June I4th, I9II
Presented in the House by Hon. Harvey Helm, of Kentucky, on June I0th. In the Senate, presented by Senator Bradley, of Kentucky.

The Resolution for Popular Election of U.S. Senators was amended in the Senate on June I2th, an and thus goes back to the House.

UNION BAND

Working Men and Working Women!

UNION CHORUS

DO YOU KNOW WHY

Organized Labor Demands Votes for Women?

YOU CAN LEARN AT THE

Labor Suffrage Mass Meeting

CARNEGIE HALL

Fifty-Seventh Street and Seventh Avenue

Wednesday, March 22, 1911

At 8 P. M.

SPEAKERS

PETER J. BRADY, *Chairman*

ALBERT ABRAHAMS
HUGH FRAYNE
MEYER LONDON
CLARA LEMLICH
MAMIE MURPHY
LEONORA O'REILLY

HONORARY VICE-CHAIRMEN

SAMUEL GOMPERS - President American Federation of Labor
DANIEL HARRIS - - - President State Federation of Labor
EDWARD BATES - - - Secretary State Federation of Labor
CHARLES REED - - - President Central Federated Union
ERNEST BOHM - - - Secretary Central Federated Union
MAURICE DEYOUNG - - - President Central Labor Union
OTTO NICHOLS - - - - Secretary Central Labor Union
B. WEINSTEIN - - - Secretary United Hebrew Trades
MARY DREIER - - President Women's Trade Union League
HELEN MAROT - Secretary Women's Trade Union League
JAMES TOLE - - - President Typographical Union No. 6
MAURICE BRAUN - - - - President Cigar Makers' Union
JOHN WOLFF - - - - - President Bronx Labor Council
A. TOBY - - - - - - - Secretary Bronx Labor Council

WILLIAM MAILLY
JOSEPH BEERE
JOHN MITCHELL
THOMAS ROCK

BOXES: ***Lower Tier, $10***
Upper Tier, $5

Single Box Seats, $1

Seats free for labor delegations on application at 43 East 22d Street, N. Y.

Oct 11, 1910

Vote for the Woman Suffrage Amendment

State Federations That Have Endorsed Woman Suffrage

Arizona
California
Connecticut
Colorado
District of Columbia
Iowa
Illinois
Indiana
Kansas
Maine
Massachusetts
Michigan
Maryland
Minnesota
New Hampshire
New York
Ohio
Oklahoma
Oregon
Pennsylvania
Tennessee
Washington
West Virginia

Instructions to Voters

Vote for the Woman Suffrage Amendment

This is State Question No. 8 and is placed

LAST

on the list of Amendments to be voted for November 8th, 1910.

There are four Amendments on the printed list. The LAST one refers to giving the ballot to women of our State and reads as follows:

State Question No. 8 Initiative Petition No. 3

BALLOT TITLE

The purpose of this amendment is to authorize women to vote under the same circumstances and conditions as men may now do so under the laws of this state, and this purpose is effected by striking out the word "MALE" wherever it exists as a limitation in Section One (1) of Article Three (3) of the Constitution of the State.

Shall the Bill be Adopted?

YES ☒

NO ☐

Vote YES to this Amendment, State Question No. 8.

"I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.

"It is unfair that women should be governed by laws in the making of which they have no voice.

"MEN would feel that they were used badly if they did not have the right, and WOMEN naturally feel the same." SAMUEL GOMPERS.

"I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has endorsed the demand that woman be given the right to vote.

"I personally believe that it would be for the good of US ALL for women to be enfranchised."

"I have always stood for the SQUARE DEAL, and that's the only square thing on the woman suffrage question as I see it." JOHN MITCHELL.

"I would advise all the Workers of America to work for Woman Suffrage.

"My message to them is COURAGE.

"I never made a speech on any subject without bringing in Woman Suffrage." KEIR HARDIE.

AN INITIATIVE PETITION has been filed, asking that Oklahoma women be given the vote. This petition signed by more than 38,000 men who believe in justice to women. Please vote for this Amendment when it comes before the people at the polls. The vote is the great protection for the WOMAN WHO TOILS.

There are 6,000,000 Working Women in the United States. Will not a vote be worth as much to them as to working men?

Resolution for Woman Suffrage

The Resolution Committee of the Oklahoma Federation of Labor, at Convention in Chickasha 1910, recommended the following which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas,—The Oklahoma Federation of Labor stands for equality and justice, and therefore at its Annual Conventions has endorsed the question of the ballot for women, and

Whereas,—The chief protection of the working man is the ballot, and the woman who toils equally needs this protection in order to secure the legislation which affects her hours of labor and the conditions under which she must earn her livelihood, and,

Whereas,—The Oklahoma Federation of Labor believes that a square deal for every man should be accompanied by a square deal for every woman, we therefore pledge ourselves to work for the ballot for the women of Oklahoma, as a measure of justice and as an essential step toward the IMPROVEMENT OF LABOR CONDITIONS. Therefore be it

RESOLVED:—That we earnestly pledge our support to the Woman Suffrage Amendment now pending, and heartily urge our fellow-laborers to work and vote for the said Amendment when it shall be submitted at the polls.

Men and Women laborers you stand together in Work and in Hardships; stand together at the Ballot Box to protect your Interests and your Jobs.

423 Lee Huckins OKLAHOMA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION HEADQUARTERS Oklahoma City

ORIGINAL IN SAFE

Letter From the Mother of Two Little Girls in the Home

may 22 1912

miss may stone Hindman Ky my dear miss stone i must write and tell you how much i thank you all for the good done to my little girls an thank you and miss pettit and all the women that was there a thousand times more than i can write and my love will always be with you all and i remember you all in my prayers and do put all my trust in the dear lord who has made such dear promises to the poor for i think if i was to put my trust in anyone else that i could not keep bread for my little ones so i try to keep as near my lord as i can as i no that i am poor as people get yet i am the child of a king and since my little girls has come home and told me so much about you all i do wish i could come and bring all my little ones and stay with you all where they could be raised up in the fear and admonition of the lord for i haf to work so hard tnat i cant get time to teach them any thing at all and o if you could take the i would just do any thing that you said to help wait on them or do any thing that was necessary to be a help to you in any way the little girls like to stay at Hindman so well that they want to come back now and not wait till school begins they talk a good deal of all the women and children at Hindman so if it is possible i would be very proud if you would take some more or all of my little children for i am to poor to raise them and i dont no of a place in the world that i like as well as i do yours and that i would be satisfied to send them for i no how they are when they are with you so do please take some or all of them and if you can i will come and do all i can to help you for there isnt any thing here for me but trouble and hard work so waiting to receive an ancer and an invitation to come with all my little ones and stay i remain very truly,

M. J. C.

Letter From a Girl Now in the Home

May 14th, 1912.

Dear Miss Stone:

I asked you some time ago if my little sister could come to stay in the school. I am very anxious that she shall come this year for several reasons. One is the Christian training she will get; another, the training and great help she will get under Miss Beazley, which she could not get otherwise.

I know I can't make you know how very much I do want her to come there to stay. She is just now nine, the right age to begin school there. I do hope you will make it possible for her to come. I know the standard of the school and that is why I am so very anxious for her to be in school there now. She is so young that the impressions made now will be apt to stick. She is a very sweet and obedient girl and she is so anxious to come. If she can come I would like to know early as possible. I will bring her over if you want to see her. If she comes we will not think of taking her away until she graduates.

I have enjoyed this year in the W. C. T. U. very much indeed. I can never thank you and Miss Pettit enough for what you have done. The only thing I know to do to show my gratitude to you all is to try to live up to the school's ideals. I hope some time to be able to pay some boy or girl's scholarship there.

Lovingly,

L. ——

Extract From a Letter of a Girl Who Has Been in the Home, and Who is Now Studying at an Eastern School

I miss you and all the teachers so much. I wish all the boys and girls could only see what the school really means to them. I know they would put their very best into it and then they would get all it offers. I realize this fact, after it is too late, in a way. I never knew that I was losing so much as the days and years went by, but I can see it all too plainly now. Still I have a great deal to be thankful for.

We need 100 scholarships of $100.00 each. Send all money to the Treasurer, Mrs. Norah B. Taylor, 723 Central Avenue, Lexington, Ky.

MISS MAY STONE,
MISS RUTH HUNTINGTON,
Committee in Charge



Applicants for Scholarships in
W. C. T. U. SETTLEMENT SCHOOL
Hindman, Ky.



Little Girls Who Have Scholarships

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DOES A MAN SUPPORT HIS WIFE?

Discussion by

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE, of London,

and

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN, of New York.

Also

WHO SUPPORTS THE CHILDREN?

by

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

Price, per copy, 5 cents

For sale by the
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1911

119
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"SUPPORTED" BY HER HUSBAND.



"A man works from sun to sun,
A woman's work is never done."

Does A Man Support His Wife?

By EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

From *"Votes for Women"*, by permission

Many of the customs and laws of this country are founded upon the popular conception that a married woman is supported by her wage-earning husband. The latest example of legislation is the Insurance Bill, which assumes that, while the State has a direct responsibility to the wage-earner, it has no direct responsibility to the married woman on the ground that she is maintained by her husband and falls into the category of his "dependents."

That this theory is one of the grossest economic fallacies ever uttered will be realized as soon as men and women see the necessity of clear thinking on this subject. We shall find as we investigate this matter that the present economic system in this country and in other civilized countries is built up on the unpaid and grossly exploited labour of married women, who effect, as a matter of actual fact, a gigantic saving of the wealth both of the employer and of the State. We shall realize that the very first charge upon a National Invalidity Insurance Bill by every law of justice should be the married women and widows of the nation. However generously they were dealt with, such insurance in sickness would be but an instalment of the vast debt which the employer and the State actually owe to married women who work without a wage.

Such a statement will be challenged. The idea that married women are supporting the community is startlingly new. It is necessary to examine the position.

The wage-earning man works a limited number of hours, and receives a cash return from his employer for his labour. The wife of the wage-earning man works an unlimited number of hours, and receives no cash return from anybody. Her work consists of manual labor of the most arduous and exacting nature. But when all the manual tasks are duly performed her service is not fulfilled. For hers is a position of great and many-sided responsibility, and her vocation as a mother is the most fundamentally serious and sacred to which a human being can be called. Upon the fulfilment of that vocation entailing physical risk and suffering and great sacrifice, the welfare of the nation depends.

As an unmarried girl she was self-supporting (although unless she severed herself from her family much of her energy and strength went in the unpaid labour of the home always done by women). If she entered domestic service she received an economic return for her household labour in wages.

Today a domestic servant earns from £15 to £40 per annum, according to her abilities, exclusive of board and lodg-

ing, which middle-class housekeepers in drawing up their household budget estimate roughly at 10s. a week. Upon her marriage she relinquishes this cash symbol of her economic value in the home. She transfers her service from the home of her employer to the home of a labourer or an artisan. Much that she would have refused to do in the service of an employer she cheerfully performs in the service of the family. She scrubs, cleans, stands over the wash-tub, makes and mends and cooks. More than all she bears the long strain and the sharp ordeal of childbirth, and becomes the sole minister to the manifold needs of her infant children. Should sickness fall upon her husband or any member of the family she becomes the sick nurse, performing every kind of personal service in attendance day and night upon the patient. By her labor, the life and well-being of the family is maintained, and upon the life and well-being of the family depend the life and well-being of the State.

There is recreation, there is rest for the wage-earner when the contract with the employer has been fulfilled, but for the pivot of the home, the mother, there can be and there is no holiday, for her task cannot be laid aside.

Where is the value gone of the gross £30, £40, £50, and £60 per annum which she earned as a domestic servant? She is not less skilled, she has gained new powers and new capabilities from deep experience and great responsibility. She works longer and harder. How, then, has it happened that she who once maintained herself is now maintained by her husband; that she who was once a self-supporting woman is now a "dependent"?

The truth is that this woman, once a self-supporter, has become the supporter not only of herself but of her husband and her children. Or, let us say, the man and the woman who, unmarried, supported themselves, have now become joint supporters of each other and of a growing family of children.

The wife of a working man supports her home and family by the same means as does the wage-earning man—by her labour. The fact that the labour is unpaid does not destroy its

real economic value, though it deprives the woman of labour's due reward, and implies an unpaid debt on the part of those who benefit by the cash value of her work.

A married working man without children lives in far greater comfort than an unmarried working man earning the same wage. It would be impossible for an unmarried working man, earning, say, 25s. to 30s. a week, to maintain four or five young children and keep them in a sanitary condition, decently clothed, and reasonably well fed upon this wage. Yet hundreds of thousands of married working men accomplish this miracle!

But let the wife and mother be taken away from the family, and see what happens. Every social worker knows the pitiable condition of the widower with 25s. to 30s. a week left with several young children on his hands. He cannot afford to pay for the labour performed by his wife. He is bound to marry again almost immediately, and if in the interim he did not find some woman relation or neighbor ready to step into the breach with her ministry of unpaid labour his case would be desperate, and the State would have to step in on the children's behalf, and extricate him from his difficulties. He nearly always does find such a woman. "The poor are good to one another." Yes, but it is the women upon whom the burden of generosity falls in almost every case.

Neither the wage-earning husband, nor the employer, nor the nation has given due consideration to the economic value of this vast contribution of the married woman's unpaid labour.

The theory that capital maintained labour once found popular acceptance in this country. That error has been exploded. It is now almost universally recognised that capital and labour are mutually dependent. They support each other. And the State recognises direct responsibility towards both. The theory that the married working man supports his wife is an error equally great. Husband and wife are mutually dependent upon each other for support, and together they maintain their dependents, the young children of the family. Both are of economic value to the State, and the State has a direct

economic responsibility towards both. While the fact that the economic contribution of the married working woman is not requited by a money wage should make her claim for insurance the stronger.

The present Invalidity Insurance Bill is founded upon an economic falsity, namely, that the wife of the wage-earner is supported by her husband, and if it is carried in its present form will inflict gross injustice upon married women, whose labor has been too long exploited, and defrauded of its due recognition and reward.

WHO SUPPORTS THE CHILDREN?

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

From *"Votes for Women"*, by permission

A fortnight ago an article was published in Votes for Women dealing with the question, "Does a Man Support his Wife?" As writer of that article I challenged the theory, almost universally accepted, that the wife of a wage-earner is to be classed with his children in the catagory of his dependents. I pointed out, also, that upon this theory (which I showed to be a misleading fallacy), many laws affecting the home and the family, and many laws affecting also the social and economic position of women are based, and that new laws are being made at the present time which are unjust to women, because they are founded on the same misconception.

As a case in point I cited the "National" Insurance Bill, which inflicts great hardship on women, particularly on married women, who are not themselves wage-earners, and upon widows. This Bill, as it is drafted at present, is the result of the failure on the part of our law-makers to understand or appreciate the economic value to the community of the unpaid labour of the wives of wage-earners.

To say that a wage-earner keeps his wife is as true as to say that an employer keeps his wage-earners. Wage-earners are in a sense dependent upon their employer, but the employ-

er is also dependent upon them. A man supports his wife, yes. But a wife supports her husband also. That is to say, husband and wife support each other by precisely the same means—by their labour. But the man's contribution goes through one more process than the woman's. The man first sells his labour to an employer and gets in exchange for it money which supplies certain of his own needs and the needs of his wife. The woman does not sell her labour, but applies it directly for the supply of certain other needs both of her husband and herself. Thus, as far as mutual dependence goes, they are quits.

But the money produced by the man's labour does more than enable him to supply his own and his wife's board, lodging, clothing and the necessary commodities of their existence. It enables him to take part in supporting his children, who are incapable for many years of giving him any economic return whatever, either in labour or in cash. In precisely the same way a married woman's labour avails for more than her husband and herself and is absorbed in ministry to a number of entirely helpless dependents. The man sells his labour and receives cash, which he applies to his children's maintenance. The woman applies her direct labour for the children's maintenance without effecting first an exchange of labour for money. The paid labour of the father and the unpaid labour of the mother are equally essential to the well-being of their dependents, and both parents are equally indispensable to the welfare of the family. And if anyone asks, therefore, "Who supports the children?" the answer must be, "The mother equally with the father, and the father equally with the mother." And herein, therefore, is the answer found to the question put in my former article as to where the value of the wages earned by the domestic servant goes when she marries. It goes in part to her husband, in part to the maintenance of her children.

But the children do not belong solely and entirely to the father and the mother. They belong also to the State. They are the potential wealth of the nation. This is nowadays so generally accepted that it is unnecessary to support it by argument. Therefore the father and the mother who in addition to

supporting themselves and each other, support also a family of dependent children, are performing a task on behalf of the State, and are servants and supporters of the community.

When a child reaches a certain age the community insists on bringing in the additional services of the teacher, to help the father and mother in equipping the child for taking its future share in the nation's life. The State does not expect the labour of the teacher to be given without direct and material acknowledgment and recompense, and the State gives the teacher an exchange value in money in return for the teacher's service to the child.

The State recognizes also the service of the father. It does not pay him cash, but it secures to him a firm legal status, accords him rights and privileges in regard to the guardianship of his children, and admits, as the present Insurance Bill proves, its direct responsibility to him as a wage-earner in sickness. It is only the mother's service to the community that goes wholly unacknowledged and unrewarded by the State. She is expected to give all her labour to the ministry of dependent children without pay and without acknowledgment. The State admits no direct responsibility to her in sickness except under the semi-penal provisions of the Poor-law, denies her the free medical attendance which it assures to her partner, excludes her from the National Sanatoria that are to be erected, and on the death of her husband insists that she shall forfeit all claim to the sum that has been amassed week by week by the joint labour of wage-earner and wife, and that has been paid into the national treasury out of the family purse in the form of an insurance premium.

So far we have considered only the equal tribute paid in manual and mental labour by the husband and wife for the support of their children. But there is a unique and special service rendered by the mother which has no counterpart anywhere else, unless it be on the nation's battlefield. The wife of the wage-earner not only helps to support her children; she, like every mother in the world, risks her health and even her life to give them being. Now, the mother who having con-

formed to all the dictates of the law of the community faces death upon that battlefield where life is given performs a service to her country equal to that of the soldier, who, having donned the uniform of his Sovereign in token of his obedience to military law, faces death upon that battlefield where, in defence of his nation, life is destroyed. And she is entitled to the same consideration and the same honour. The soldier is decorated. The labourer in the industrial field is rewarded by money, which is the symbol of power. Yet the woman is dishonoured and loaded with disabilities by the laws of the community she serves; and she who is a contributor to the nation's wealth is refused even succour in sickness on the insulting plea that she is a dependent.

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"Does A Man Support His Wife?"

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

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From *"The Forerunner"*, by permission

In "Votes for Women," that satisfying paper so efficiently voicing the needs not only of many English women, but of women the world over, in the issue of July 21, 1911, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence has a leading article with the above title.

It is a clear, strong presentation of one view of the economic position of married women; claiming for them not only that they support themselves by their labors in the home, but even more—that they support the community by those labors.

The application of this article to the Invalidity Insurance bill I do not touch upon, but only its main position.

This special problem in socio-economic relation is one which looks delusively simple, as being so universally before our eyes, and of such unbroken historic continuity; but it is in fact complicated most confusingly.

We have first the complication of sex, causing us to judge an economic relation between man and woman as we would never judge the same relation between two men, or between two women.

Second, we have the complication of different stages of economic development going on together in the same period.

Third, we have the complication of service performed and not paid for.

And fourth, we have the complication of that uncertain question as to how much "service" is of economic value.

In a large sociological sense no civilized human being is "self-supporting." We are all interdependent; living not by virtue of our own exertions, but by virtue of the exertions of many other persons; those before us and those beside us, whose combined labors make up human life.

In an individual sense a man may be called "self-supporting" who contributes to the world more in labor value than he takes out. If it costs other persons three hundred dollars

worth of food, clothing and shelter to keep a man alive, he must give three hundred dollars worth of labor to be "self-supporting." If it costs other persons three thousand or three million dollars worth a year to maintain a man, he must give that amount of labor to be "self-supporting."

If, in a lifetime, one puts into the world more than one takes out, there need be no sense of obligation. Yet our economic ideas are so confused that we speak of a man who lives on inherited money, doing absolutely no productive work, and consuming all he possibly can, as being "independent;" and on the other hand consider those by whose generous, ill paid labor we live from day to day, as "dependents," to whom we have to "furnish employment."

Viewed from this side the life-long labors of the average married woman certainly should be considered as more than equal to all she receives in life, and, in that single sense, she may be academically considered as "self-supporting."

This is, however, but a metaphysical satisfaction; and in no way alters the glaring fact that the income of a married woman is by no means relative to her own economic exertions; but (a), to her husband's economic exertions, and (b), to his good pleasure.

Metaphysically she may solace her soul with the thought that her services are of sufficient value to entitle her to a large salary. Actually, her salary, wage, or income, even if guaranteed to her by law, could be no more than what was left of her husband's income after the house-hold was provided for, even if he kept none at all! If he kept half, as the most modest of men might feel was right, there is the measure of her "support;" board wages, mere food, shelter and warmth, as we must give even to draught animals, or slaves; and beyond that half of the surplus, if there is any.

If the husband's economic efforts are valuable, the wife's "support" improves. If they are of a low value, so is her "support." What she gets out of life is not proportioned to her labors, but to his.

In this painfully practical view the wife *is* supported by her husband. He must give to other persons enough labor to

receive a return of food, shelter and clothing for the family. If his powers are great, and he finds a market for them, he can "support" the family well. If his powers are small, or find no market, he cannot. If he is altogether unable to work, or is dead, the woman must learn to work for other persons in order to "support" the family.

Put it vividly in a single case.

Here is Mrs. Jones, working industriously all day in her house. She sweeps and dusts, scrubs and scours, washes and irons, cooks and clears away, sews, mends, makes beds, for twelve hours a day.

Her husband meanwhile works in a mill for ten hours a day, and brings home as an equivalent of his labors, money, which means rent, coal, food, clothes.

She works as long as he, and at more intricate tasks; and does not feel that he "supports" her.

Now Mr. Jones dies. She remains in the home and goes on as before, performing those intricate tasks.

Then comes the rent bill, the coal bill, the bread bill, the meat bill—all the bills.

Her labors are no equivalent. No one will give her a house, a fire, clothing and food, for doing housework for herself—or for her children; and she has lost her former employer.

This is the actual economic position of a working housewife. She is a servant, on board wages. If her husband is so poor that he cannot afford to even feed a servant, then she has to work for other people—support herself—perhaps support him!

We may now change our question a little and say "does a man support his servant?"

Here is Mr. Smith, who earns enough to enable him to keep a "man." The "man" toils incessantly for his master. He is industry and care personified. He labors and thinks and devotes his life to the service of his master. He certainly earns his wages. But if his master grows too poor to pay those wages, too poor even to pay for food for two, then

must the "man" find another employer; his first one can no longer "keep," i. e., "support" a servant.

This shows that a human being may labor steadily and yet be "supported" at the same time. To support another person does not imply that the other person does not deserve it, has not earned it; but it does imply that the supporter is the employer and that the employer depends on him.

This is the position of the married woman; she is privately employed by her husband, at house service.

Let us distinguish carefully between this, their economic relation, and their physiological, legal, emotional, or other relations. She is his wedded wife, and entitled by law, arbitrarily to "support," even if she is sick and can do no work. She is his mate; they are co-partners in parentage.

They love each other, much or little as the case may be. They have mutual affection, respect, esteem; the pleasantness or unpleasantness of long habituation between them. All these have nothing whatever to do with their economic relation.

Industrially considered she is his housekeeper, or house-servant, on board wages.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence speaks of these unpaid labors of the housewife in the highest terms; not only as noble and beautiful in themselves, but as "a gigantic saving of the wealth both of the employer and the State."

She seeks to establish a higher claim for the dignity and honor of the housewife's position, and for its economic value in particular.

This theory, while bravely and clearly set forth, is not only untenable, but of the gravest injury to the very cause it champions. What women need is not to be soothed and kept content in their economic position by any sweeping claims of its world-value, but to learn once and for all that their position is one injurious and degrading, not only to themselves, but to the world.

It may be safely said that as long as woman, who constitute half the world, are content to live as private servants to the other half, our civilization must remain arrested and incongruous as we see it now.

A later culture, accustomed to the economic equality of men and women, will find it difficult to understand the peculiar anchylosis of ideas which has for so long maintained this paradoxical position.

That the basic reverence of the male for the female has survived at all, through these ages of servile womanhood; that any legal justice has been accorded to a universally servile class; that a social equality even as superficial as ours can be maintained; these anomalies are poofs of the strength of biological and sociological forces, as against temporary artificial conditions.

The early relation of men and women, wherein the father hunted, and the mother carried, skinned and cooked the game, was a fair enough partnership. The late stage, as among the Pueblos of our own Southwest, where the men own the fields and the women the houses, is a fair enough partnership. But since manufacture and exchange began, the whole range of progress, world progress, has been in the hands of men; and all its splendid rewards have been theirs.

The economic status of a nation lies in its "land and labor"; in its natural resources, and the quantity and quality of intelligence applied to them. As that intelligence grows, as new arts, new sciences, new inventions, are given to the world, the world grows rich and strong. Economic progress lies in the long path between that savage, hunting for himself and his family, and the present international distribution of the world's goods.

Here is where the economic position of woman is so misunderstood, for lack of sociological knowledge. Evidently the present visible woman is here, in the same century with the automobile, the air-ship, the International Postal Union. Yet her economic status is that of the squaw. She stays at home and cooks. She has the advantage of utensils and supplies developed by advancing civilization, but her *status*, in regard to getting a living is just what it was then. He gets it—she cooks it.

When they began they were even. He got it, alone. She cooked it, alone.

Now he gets it by the highly developed complex interchange of specialized, organized modern industry. She still cooks it, alone.

This labor is honestly believed to be a saving; to the family and to the state.

It is not a saving; it is an unbearable expense.

The least efficient, most wasteful labor, is that of every man for himself. The next lowest is that of every woman for her man. Every man, to the poorest, thinks he must have one whole woman to cook for him; and they both think it is "economical"!

If they were not women, these innumerable cooks, this fifty per cent. of the human race deliberately set aside to cook for the other fifty, no sane economist could bear the thought of such a colossal waste of labor.

If each man did for himself the work he expects of his woman, there would be no wealth in the world; only millions and millions of poor tired men, sweeping, dusting, scrubbing, cleaning, sewing, mending, cooking, washing, ironing—and dying for lack of food.

Fine words butter no parsnips—neither does housework. Some one has to raise the parsnips.

Suppose there were no women in the world. Would each man think he must have a whole other man to cook for him? Would the other man do it—on board and wages, so reducing the wealth of the world by half—and getting very little of that?

Men have passed that stage of labor, in civilized countries. Some of them, it is true, are still servants; but neither they nor anyone else have any delusions as to their work being a saving, either to the family which can afford to "keep a man," or to the state.

The question of how much personal service is of economic value may be clearly answered: as much as increases the economic value of the person served.

Consider first the case of one person, waiting on himself. His income depends wholly on the amount of time, strength, and intelligence he puts into productive labor. The amount of time,

strength, and intelligence he can afford to spend on the setting of tables, the blacking of boots and mending of clothes, the making of cakes and pies and ironing of table linen for himself, must be measured by its effects on his productive labor. Let us suppose that one hour a day spent in cooking is absolutely necessary to him, leaving nine for his productive labor.

If spending two hours a day in housework enables him to earn as much, or more, in the remaining eight, then he can afford that. If spending three hours a day in housework enables him to earn as much or more in the remaining seven, then he can afford that. But it can be readily seen that if he spent all his time doing housework for himself he would have nothing to eat; and that the limit of justifiable expense for him, in the time devoted to housework, is the amount absolutely necessary to maintain his best efficiency.

Then consider the case of a group of men working together on one economic base; as fifty lumber men in a forest. Their economic product is cut wood: their income depends on how much wood they cut. If each man works ten hours a day, and his labor is worth ten cents an hour, this would represent a dollar a day for each, fifty dollars a day for the group, and one hour's labor of the group is worth five dollars.

Now suppose each of these fifty men makes a fire, three times a day, and cooks his own meals, allowing for this two hours' time. This would equal ten dollars a day, sixty dollars a week, paid for service. Each man earns but one dollar a day, yet they are paying, collectively, ten for their cooking; to say nothing of the waste of the fifty fires and the fifty sets of cooking utensils. No set of men, working collectively, would be so foolish.

Neither do they settle the matter by dividing themselves into two economic classes, the one twenty-five cutting wood and the other twenty-five devoting all their time to cooking for and otherwise serving the woodcutters. If this were done there would be twenty-five men earning a dollar a day, and each paying that dollar to his cook—in which case he would have nothing, and the cook would have to buy the food out of his wages.

If the twenty-five woodcutters devised the brilliant idea of not paying the twenty-five cooks, and the twenty-five cooks, for

some mysterious reason, acquiesced, there would still be but twenty-five dollars a day earned, where there had been fifty, and just as many persons to feed as before. The expenses of running that lumber camp would remain the same; the income would be reduced by half.

The twenty-five cooks might conceivably suppose that they were doing a service to the twenty-five woodcutters; might solace themselves for their lack of wages by imagining how much their services were worth; might add all manner of profuse attention to the really necessary cooking; might sit up all night to frost cake and whip syllabubs—thus endearing themselves to their employers: but the painful economic fact remains that half the labor of that group was wasted.

"No, not half. Somebody has to cook!" protests the woodcutter, swinging his axe proudly; "you don't expect *me* to do it, I hope."

Yes, somebody has to cook. It is very bad economics for each one to do it himself—that cost ten dollars a day. The twenty-five cooks would cost twenty-five dollars a day if they were paid; but as they are not paid, the deluded woodcutters think they cost nothing.

What they cost is the money they do not earn.

And who should do the cooking?

As many cooks as are necessary to do the cooking for fifty men. One can do it, having nothing else to do. If our woodcutters were a little luxurious, and willing to pay, they might have two. Two, at a dollar a day, like the others.

Now we have forty-eight at productive labor, and two at what we might call conducive labor, indirectly productive; and no waste.

The expense of feeding the fifty would be alike, whether they all cut wood or all cooked. As a mere question of economics, for half the world to abstain from productive industry and become servants to the other half, is a waste of nearly 50 per cent. of human efficiency.

Then arises the question of sex, which is the main element of confusion in the case. The social value to the world of rearing human beings, and the psychic value to the husband of the affec-

tion of his wife, together with other "values" which need not be obtrusively mentioned, are confused with economic values, naturally enough.

To clear up this confusion, let us now treat of women alone, as we have been treating of men.

Let us suppose one woman, Mary Smith, self-supporting, a dressmaker. Her economic outfit consists of skilled labor. She manufactures garments for purchasers. They pay her for the garments.

She lives alone, "does" for herself, and earns two dollars a day.

Now this woman marries; her husband promptly dies, and she has posthumous twins. She now in due course "bears the long strain and sharp ordeal of childbirth, and becomes the sole minister to the manifold needs of her infant children." I quote from the article under discussion.

What is the effect of this experience on her economic position?

She must still live. As she does not raise food, she must buy it. She must give labor to others that they may give food to her. This she does by dressmaking as before. But now some of her energy has gone into bearing the children; some energy and some time must go into caring for the children: her economic output is decreased by that much.

It is no use asking the children to pay, though many parents literally do this—in later years; and we cannot sell the children nowadays; they are not marketable commodities.

Motherhood is not an economic function. It is physiological, but it is not economically productive. On the contrary, it is economically expensive.

While the children are under the age when they can rightly produce, they merely consume. To provide for them, more must be earned.

This woman, alone, would not expect to see her income raised because she was a mother. Her income depends on how many dresses she makes; not on how many children she has. Let us suppose that she gives half her time to the care of her children and the home, five hours a day. In this case she would earn one

dollar a day instead of two, and have three to maintain on that sum.

Now apears Jane Jones, forewoman in a large shop, also earning two dollars a day, and conceives a violent affection for Mary. Moved by this affection, which is reciprocated, they become close friends. Then Jane says to Mary, "I have to pay half my money for board and lodging; why not pay it to you? Then we can live together in peace and amity, and you will be the richer, while I am no poorer."

This is agreed upon. To give room and board and service to this friend does not take all the money she pays, and does not add materially to the hours spent in housework. The arrangement is a profitable one to Mary, and no new expense to Jane. Mary's income is again two dollars a day, twelve dollars a week, to feed and shelter four, while the beneficent Jane still has six dollars a week to spend on her own clothing and pleasure.

Now comes the great change; the change from a dignified, workable economic arrangement to that now commonly held by women. Jane becomes so ardent in her affection for Mary that she says, "Wilt thou be mine?"

"Why, I am yours," says Mary; "I love you dearly."

"Yes, but I cannot bear to think of your working at dressmaking for strangers! Give it up and work for me! All I have is yours! I will take care of you!"

Mary, under some delusion of greater respectability and deeper affection, rapturously accepts the proposition, and becomes Jane's.

Jane's what?

Jane's housekeeper and servant. Jane is delighted. Mary has more time to make fancy dishes for her, and to decorate the house, Jane's house. It is Jane's house because she pays the rent.

Her salary has not been raised. Out of her twelve dollars she has to pay all that Mary paid for hers—which has disappeared. Now Jane must have carfares, clothes, lunch and tobacco, to say nothing of a little beer; and these leave her less than twelve dollars for their combined expenses. They meet this loss with equinimity, for are they not "together"?

As a matter of fact they are no more together than they were before, but Jane prefers it. Jane likes to think that Mary is "hers," and works only for her. She likes to think that the house is "hers" and not Mary's. She did not like to board in Mary's house; she prefers to support Mary. And she does support her; very poorly, to be sure, but every bit that Mary eats, drinks, wears, in any way consumes, is paid for out of Jane's wages.

Jane is much poorer, of course, but bears it nobly—is she not sacrificing herself to support Mary?

And Mary, poor dear, is quite happy; for she loves Jane, and loves her children, and works from morning to night to care for and please them.

But can she claim that her position is a saving to anybody?

An economic relation is the same, wether between two men, two women, or a man and a woman. Women should not delude themselves with the idea that because they work so hard they are therefore in some mysterious way producing wealth, or even saving it.

They should learn that their economic position is one of gross waste; as that of the twenty-five cooks for the twenty-five wood-cutters. Waste of time, waste of srength, waste of fuel, waste of utensils, waste of houseroom, waste of food; all this added to the enormous loss of what they might have produced. Not only is this a heavy loss in our economic wealth, but the preservation of this primitive status of labor in a world otherwise industrially advanced is a grave social injury.

It is the largest deterrent to the social evolution of women, tending to keep them over-personal and narrow-minded; and has a reactionary influence on the men, so lapped in personal service; and on the children who are reared in the atmosphere of servile womanhood.

The value of motherhood to the state is quite another matter, and so is the relation of the state to its young citizens. Whatever arrangements are made about that should be made by free women, in congress assembled. It is their affair.

But the whole difficulty lies in that one small phrase of the grasping male—"Wilt thou be mine?"

Why should she be "His"?

Mutual love, legalized marriage, happy parenthood; these are worlds removed from this last dragging remnant ancient savagery, the squaw-status, the slave status, of women.

Is not legal possession with enforced labor and no pay slavery?

And is slave labor economically advantageous?

When women are wise enough to be free, and free enough to be wise, they will learn to dissociate the joys of love, the status of marriage, the blessings and cares of motherhood, from the plain trade of cooking, and the labors of personal service.

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It begins with a birds-eye view of the situation of women in political life in civilized countries, with the conclusions drawn from the investigation and the recommendations made to the French Parliament by the official Commission on Universal Suffrage.

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French Chamber of Deputies

Session of 1910

Official Report of the Commission on Universal Suffrage on the Proposition to give Women the Right to Vote

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THE EXTENT AND WORKING OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

FRANCE.

In ancient France the right to vote was not given to a **person,** but was the inherent right of **property**, to be exercised by the person of either sex, who administered that property.

The revolution of 1789, which preached the Rights of Man, brought the first demand from women for equality of sex. This was received by the men with silent disdain.

The republic of '48, which proclaimed universal suffrage, instead of adding to the freedom of women, deprived them of the right of organization of any kind, and came near to denying them the right of petition, as being "against public and parliamentary decency."

With the third Republic there came a transformation in both the education and work of women. Public schools for girls were opened, extending from the primary grades to the universities. They were admitted to the liberal professions, and naturally, and almost without opposition, they were given certain franchise rights.

The revolution which has taken place in commerce and industry must give to women, sooner or later, a consciousness of her rights. According to the census of 1896, there are

6,400,000 women in France in professional life, 42% of all women over thirty years of age are at work, and 34% of all the working world are women. In Paris 55% of the working people are female.

The representation of this important part of the laboring class in the Councils du Travail and Commerce, however just and right it might appear to the majority of citizens, aroused serious opposition in Parliament, but in spite of this, woman today vote, and are eligible the same as men, for Councils du Travail, Higher Councils du Travail, Councils des Prud'hommes. They have the right to vote for, but are not eligible to, Tribunes of Commerce, Chambers of Commerce, and Consulting Chambers of Art and Manufacturing, and Superior Councils of Mutual Life Insurance.

If the elections of the Universities are open to the women students, the elections of Chambers of Commerce open to women merchants, the elections of labor unions open to female laborers, how can we refuse to the women who contribute to the municipal and national budget corresponding electoral rights?

ENGLAND

In England as in France, the agitation for Woman Suffrage has been part of the same movement, encountered the same obstacles, resulted in the same change of opinion and is bound to meet with the same success, as the agitation for every other form of liberty which women have succeeded in obtaining.

Before 1832 the right of franchise was not one of sex, but of property. The Reform Bill of 1832 expressly barred out women, by qualifying the word person by male.

In 1835 another law deprived a widow of her legal right to a third of the property of her husband and gave him the right to dispose of all of his property.

In 1869, women were given the right to vote in municipal elections on the same terms with men. The following year a bill giving them the Parliamentary vote passed the House of

Commons by a majority of 33, but was killed by Mr. Gladstone, representing the government. The same Parliament made them eligible to School Boards.

In 1880 the **Isle of Man** granted woman suffrage. The same year, at Mr. Gladstone's urging, a householder and lodger's franchise added the votes of a large number of working men, many of whom were totally illiterate.

In 1880 the women of **Scotland** were given the municipal vote. In 1888 in **England** and **Wales** they became eligible to County Councils and in 1894 a local Government Bill made them eligible as Poor Law Guardians. In 1906 their eligibility to county and borough councils, as aldermen, presidents or mayors was confirmed both in **England** and **Scotland.**

Every year since 1865 one or more member of the House of Commons has introduced resolutions in favor of Parliamentary suffrage for women; 23 of them have been discussed and voted upon, but have been stifled before they could be enacted. Is it astonishing that some of the great army of women working for equal suffrage, tired of depending on constitutional methods always in vain, should try other tactics, to accomplish a reform which they have begged for and expected so long?

John Bright said in 1867, "If meetings are without effect, if a pointed and almost universal expression of opinion has no influence on the administration and Parliament, it is inevitable that people will search for other means of obtaining those rights which are so haughtily denied them."

Whatever may be one's opinion of the Suffragette movement, it must be admitted that it has had the indisputable result of forcing to the front the question of Woman Suffrage, so that it is now known and discussed, not only all over England, but in the most distant and backward countries.

THE UNITED STATES.

It is but natural that it should be in the United States that the full right of franchise should have been granted to

women. As James Bryce said, "No country owes more to its women than America."

It is easy to understand their indignation, when at the close of the Civil War they saw the negroes, absolutely ignorant, of a different race, entirely incapable of assuming any responsibility, called to take part in the government of the country, and they themselves, who had worked with all their hearts for the emancipation of the slaves and taken so large a share of the risks of war, continue to be shut out from all political life.

From this time they began to appeal to the various states.

The first franchise right given, was the vote in school-elections in Kentucky in 1838 to widows with children. The school vote is now granted in a large number of states, also the vote on bond issues to tax-paying women in several of them.

Four states have accorded women complete rights. (*The State of Washington makes five. Ed.*)

Wyoming, while still a territory, in 1869 was the first. When it was admitted as a state in 1899, woman suffrage was written in the constitution. The women have every political right that men have, and according to state figures 90% of them vote. They vote for presidential electors, and are often chosen to sit as jurors and serve as justices of the peace.

Here is an interesting testimonial to their judicial sense given by Judge Kingman of the United States Supreme Court in 1873: "The presence of women has enabled the courts to prosecute and convict many crimes which until now have gone unpunished. When only men compose a jury, the courts are always impotent to enforce the laws against debauch and disorder in all forms, but several women at each session soon put an end to that state of affairs."

Women are often nominated Superintendent of Schools and even more often City Treasurers. All the governors of Wyoming for forty years have testified to the good results from the woman vote. The House of Representatives in 1893 unanimously passed the following resolution: "The ex-

ercise of the franchise by women has greatly helped to banish crime and pauperism in the state. It has made elections peaceable, helped good government and given us a remarkable degree of civilization and public order. We call attention with pride to the fact that after twenty-five years of woman suffrage there is not a county poor-house in Wyoming, our prisons are nearly empty and crime except as it is committed by strangers, almost unknown." In 1899 the state legislature reiterated this declaration, and added: "The character of our legislation has gained in dignity, the women have awakened to a sense of political responsibility."

Colorado gave full suffrage to women in 1893. The Secretary of State testifies that 80% of the women register and 72% vote. A declaration favorable to woman suffrage was signed by the governor, two ex-governors, the Chief Justice, all the judges of the Supreme Court, the president of the state university, the Attorney-General, all the senators and representatives from Colorado and a long list of leading men and women.

It ended with the statement that the vote of the women was noticeably more conscientious than that of the men.

Utah women voted when Utah was still a territory. In 1884, Congress deprived both men and women who contracted plural marriages of the franchise. In 1887 the entire feminine vote was declared illegal, but the right of women to vote was re-established by the constitution when Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896. Since then a woman has been elected to the State Senate, and several to the House of Representatives. The State Superintendent of Schools is often a woman.

Idaho gave women the franchise in 1896. Several years ago the Chief Justice wrote: "Woman Suffrage has become much more popular since its adoption. The Constitutional Amendment which established it, was passed by a two-thirds vote. If the question were submitted today, we believe that it would pass unanimously."

Kansas women gained municipal suffrage in 1887 and have not only exercised the right in large numbers, but have served in many municipal offices including mayor. (Before 1902 there had been twenty-five women mayors in Kansas cities, since then there have been about twenty). In 1889 the Chief Justice and all the Judges of the Supreme Court signed a statement that, "Woman Suffrage has made our elections more orderly and fair. Officials of superior quality are chosen. We have a municipal government more moral and forceful."

The Kansas legislature, which is elected only by men, could at any time have suppressed the municipal vote for women if they had judged it to be desirable. Such a proposition was made some years ago. It was repulsed almost unanimously.

Michigan in 1893 voted to give its women municipal suffrage, but the law was declared unconstitutional.

Washington gave women full suffrage in 1883, as a territory, but when it came into the Union as a State in 1889, the right was withdrawn, not by popular vote, nor by the legislature or even United States Congress, but by a judgment of the Supreme Court, not elected, but appointed. (*This right was regained in* 1910. *Ed.*)

It is difficult at this distance to judge precisely what effect Woman Suffrage has had on American manners and customs, in political, economic and social affairs. Two points, however, are incontestible: That in the places where women vote, the employees of the State, male and female, receive equal pay for equal work, also that in them was born and rapidly developed that humane and just institution, the Children's Court.

BRITISH COLONIES

Australia commenced enfranchising her women in 1877 by giving municipal suffrage to the women of New South Wales, soon followed by the other states.

Women did not show great activity in these purely local affairs, for the School Boards in Australia have few adminis-

trative rights, and the Municipal Councils consider few questions which are particularly interesting to women.

In 1839 the first grant of the full rights of citizenship was made, and in 1902 the federal parliament granted the right of full suffrage to all adult women in Australia and made them eligible to both houses of Parliament.

It is commonly acknowledged now, that there is no opposition to the female vote, and that it is a permanent institution. Even the men who formerly railed at feminine pretensions, now appeal to women's organizations, propose alliances and beg for their support.

The vote of the women has affected very little the proportion of parties, but has had considerable influence on the character of the candidates. Parties have side-tracked candidates whose moral character was too weak to gain the vote of the women.

Equal pay for equal work is the rule. In response to the request of a female political organization, the government has promised to present a federal law regulating marriage and divorce.

In legislation, the women's influence is evident in the following laws:

1. Increasing the protection of married women, whose husbands are guilty of cruelty to them or their children, or are unfaithful, or desert them, or neglect to provide for their families.
2. Supressing indecent advertising.
3. Making children legitimate, whose parents are married after they are born.
4. Raising the age of consent to the marriage age.
5. Protecting children against immoral literature.
6. Improvements in the care of abandoned children.
7. Regulating the hours of work for children.
8. Prohibiting the sale of opium.
9. Measures against men who exploit prostitution.
10. Nominating women for inspectors of public establishments.

11. Increasing the payment that fathers of illigitimate children are obliged to make, to $50, for the confinement and other expenses which he occasions the mother.

12. Protection of young girls without work and newly arrived in the country.

13. Instituting Children's Courts.

New Zealand instituted Woman Suffrage by a chance combination of circumstances, rather than in response to a popular demand. The women had had the municipal and school vote since 1866 and 1877. In 1893 several of the political parties thought that the women would be excellent auxiliaries. The Labor Party and the Prohibitionists each saw an advantage to themselves in the woman vote, and the government. without strong convictions either way, let the bill pass, confident that the Upper House would stop its final passage. To the astonishment of every one the bill passed, and more than 100,000 women found themselves in possession of a vote. Three months later 78% of the women registered, and of these 85% voted. Moreover since the women vote, the percentage of masculine vote has greatly increased. Before Woman Suffrage it was seldom that more than 60% of the men registered, voted, in 1899 this had incrased to 79%.

It is often argued that women will vote as dictated by their pastors or priests. In New Zealand, both the Catholic Church and the Church of England have long been desirous of obtaining state support for their denominational schools. For fifteen years women have voted, five times in general elections, yet public education in New Zealand is still liberal and secular. Would this be the case if the women voted under the control of the clergy?

The broader life occasioned by the vote gave an extraordinary stimulus to feminine energy. The women quickly learned the advantage of organization. A large number set themselves to work on definite programs. Many meetings were organized, principally for instruction, and laws were discussed touching the social walfare of the community. Un-

doubtedly there was much support for many of these reforms among male electors, but the accesion of the woman vote gave a splendid impetus to humane legislation, their persistent efforts have kept social questions in the order of the day, their votes have constrained members of Parliament to pay attention to this kind of legislation for which many of them have but little sympathy.

Canada. If Woman Suffrage has not made the same progres in Canada, as in the other British Colonies, it is due to the mingling of the French and English races, and the intellectual traditions which divide them; partly to the considerable distance between the principal centres of population, and finally to the differences in electoral legislation in the different provinces.

The school vote has been given to the women of all the provinces, and the municipal vote to widows and single women paying certain taxes, in several of them.

South Africa. The suffrage movement here is particularly complex on account of the diversity of races, Anglo-Saxon, Boers and negroes. The agitation for suffrage dates from the conquest of Transvaal by England, but the women, realizing that the first important work was the unification of South Africa, put aside their own desires, to help form the union. This union when complete, and ratified by the British Parliament, adopted a constitution giving the right of suffrage only to adult males, and even shut out the women from certain rights that they had possessed until then, a voice in local affairs to tax-paying women.

British India. Native women advocates have a right to appear in court, a right not permitted to English women in England.

SWEDEN.

In Sweden there was not as in France, in England and New Jersey, that sudden transformation, which, in order to establish male democracy, deprived women of rights, which, while

limited, they had possessed for a long time. Swedish women have long exercised the right of suffrage in matters of education, and in local councils. Since 1862 women of twenty-one years of age who paid certain taxes have had the municipal vote; this was later extended to include eligibility to municipal offices. That the parliamentary vote has been delayed so long, has been due to the fact that the question has been complicated by that of the extension of male suffrage.

Everything points to Swedish women gaining the parliamentary vote before very long.

NORWAY.

The women of Norway obtained the parliamentary vote and eligibility to hold office in 1909. Norwegian women are not only admitted to the universities, but also to all the professions, and even appear at the bar. They serve on juries and in many official positions.

By taking part in public life, the interest of women in all that concerns society and its welfare has been augmented. She has introduced certain improvements in school questions, in the labor of women, and in the assistance given to the poor.

DENMARK.

Since 1895 there has been a gradual letting down of the bars to women, beginning with making them inspectors of children in orphan asylums, then admitting to school boards widows with children in school. In 1898 a bill supported by the government, gave them the municipal vote on exactly the same terms as men. At the first election in Copenhagen, 35 men were elected to the City Council and 7 women.

ICELAND.

The Woman Suffrage movement here dates back to 1870, although as early as 1850 a law was passed giving boys and girls equal inheritance—a measure of justice for which the

women of England are still striving. In 1908 women were given the municipal vote, and made eligible to the municipal councils. (*Since then full rights have been gained. Ed.*)

FINLAND.

Although women in Finland vote on exactly the same terms as men and are eligible to all offices, the political situation of the country is such as to greatly diminish the importance of the parliamentary regime, the Czar exercising autocratic powers over it. The Parliament of 1907 contained 19 women; that of 1908, 25 women, and 1909, 21 women.

The laws they have introduced have related to the position of women, and the protection of children, but the short duration of Parliament prevented most of them from being enacted.

RUSSIA.

In ancient Russia the administrator of a property, either male or female, had the right of representation in local affairs. In 1864 this right was confined to women property owners who could give their vote to some man voter to deposit for them. The constitution of 1905 restricted this proxy to the husband, and those who had no husbands lost the right.

There is, however, a feminine movement developing, which has for its object the winning of municipal and legislative rights on the same terms as men. In 1908 a congress of 800 women met in St. Petersburg and discussed a most advanced program.

GERMANY.

Until May 1908 women were forbidden to form political organizations, or to take part in public meetings in many of the German States, particularly Prussian and Bavaria. At that time the Reichstag, at the instigation of the National Council for Woman Suffrage, withdrew the interdict throughout the Empire. At the same time new regulations were published

relative to the matriculation of girls in the Universities, and their entry into the professions.

These reforms, however modest they may appear, have contributed to the development of liberal ideas, but the granting of the parliamentary franchise is peculiarly difficult in Germany, owing to the variety of electoral laws in the different states.

HOLLAND.

In 1907 the Constitutional Committee published a report in which six of its seven members declared for Woman Suffrage. Article 80 of the Constitution relating to the parliamentary suffrage, was left to a decision of the Cabinet, which contented itself with a serious recommendation of the right of women to the vote. On the occasion of the budget four of the seven parties represented in Parliament declared for Woman Suffrage.

It is evident that the obtaining of the vote for the women of Holland is only a question of a very short time.

BELGIUM.

Belgium has one of the most strongly developed Woman Suffrage movements in western Europe. The National Council for Women Suffrage succeeded in obtaining in 1908 the right for women to vote for, and eligibility to serve on Councils des Prud'hommes.

Liberals and Socialists are divided on the subject of Woman Suffrage, some of them fearing the conservative influence of the woman vote, some fearing the influence of the clergy, and some strongly advocating it.

ITALY.

In certain provinces of Italy, women possessed certain franchise rights before the 19th Century. The right of property to representation without distinction of sex, was lost when Italy became unified under the French Code. This was recognized by political leaders as a backward step, and since 1867

there have been a dozen attempts made in the Chamber of Deputies to give women the franchise in provincial and local elections. Since 1890 they have been eligible to Boards of Charity, and since 1893 vote for and serve on Councils des Prud'hommes.

AUSTRIA.

When the agitation for universal suffrage for men took a new start in 1905, a movement was organized to make the new electoral law included both sexes. It was hindered by the fact that women, as well as minors and strangers, are forbidden to belong to political organizations.

Each province of the Empire has its own Diet and electorial laws.

In **Bohemia** women not only have the right to vote for, but are eligible to the Diet. These rights had been regarded with indifference until 1908, when two women were presented as candidates, and while not elected, received about 20% of the total vote cast. Since then a new election law has been presented to the Diet to deprive women of these rights.

In **Galicia** women of the privileged classes may cast a vote through the intermediary of a man.

In **Hungary** there is a Parliamentary League for Woman Suffrage of about 150 of the Deputies.

CONCLUSIONS DRAWN.

After this brief review of the legislation of different countries, it would be an anachronism to take up today the general principles and theories of Woman Suffrage as laid down by its early advocates, Cordorcet, John Stuart Mills and others. What was to them a high moral and social philosophy, has been substantiated by indisputable facts. That, which a half century or so ago was a question of theory and speculation, has become a matter of history.

It is true that only a small number of countries have adopted universal female suffrage and these only since a few years, but if one considers all the countries that have given some form of suffrage to women, it will be found to include nearly all of Europe, as well as Canada, Australia, South Africa and the United States. Even those countries which remain under the authority (not to say superstition) of the Roman Law, although refusing women municipal suffrage, have commenced to give them small concessions in making them electors and eligibles to a series of special jurisdiction, economic, pedagogic and philanthropic, which are part of the municipal power.

Those who stand alone today are not the Suffragists, but the Anti-suffragists. It is France that lags in the rear. The great majority of the civilized world today has decidedly passed us. The laugh is not on our side. We stand alone with Spain and Turkey.

No one dreams of revoking these electorial rights: of female instructors in the Universities, of woman workers in Trade Councils, of woman merchants in Chambers of Commerce, of woman artists in salon prizes, why then not give women who have an interest in the affairs of a community, a voice in municipal elections?

The general characteristics of feminine influence on morals, in the life of the family, in the workshop, in the school,

have always been to give comfort, to advocate justice, to bring consolation. We believe that the result of woman electors in countries where they now vote and where they are sure to vote ultimately, will be of the same character as the role she plays in society.

Whatever the point of view, it is certain that at the foundation of the debate, there is only one question, that of equality of sex.

HOW SHALL WE ADOPT IT?

It would be possible to give suffrage to women as it was given to men in the Republic of 1848—immediate universal suffrage without any restriction, but we would not propose in the calm of parliamentary deliberation, to copy that which was done in the heat of enthusiasm for the new Republic. We would approach the problem gradually, and solve it in the surest, most practical and efficacious way.

We do not dispute that it will be necessary to acclimatize Woman Suffrage in France, that the country must be led gradually toward the electoral change. That which is at stake is the participation of the woman in the life of the nation, and she should commence with that part of it which touches her most directly.

We advocate confidence in the new recuits to universal suffrage, loyal aid in their political education, making them contribute as much as possible, and as soon as possible, to the service of the Republic, which means the welfare of the nation.

Your committee advocates as most simple and complete, the addition of the words "both sexes" to the electoral law.

The two paragraphs of Article 14:

1. "Municipal councils are elected by direct universal suffrage."

2. "The electors shall be all Frenchmen, **of both sexes,** over 21 years of age, and not otherwise incapaciated by the law."

This would prevent any possible controversy as to the extent of the civil rights thus conferred on the woman. No other change would be necessary in other legislative texts, as the definition of electors which is written at the beginning of the electoral code, applies equally to all classes. Where the word "electors" or "Frenchmen" is used—the feminine would always be included. It would insure that the differences of sex would not mean any longer a difference in civil rights in any part of municipal law.

Then when the day arrives when it will be deemed wise to make no difference between municipal and parliamentary rights, we will only need to extend the municipal electorate to the parliamentary one.

Further, women who are electors and eligible to the municipal councils and consequently to the Councils d'Aronndisement and General Councils would also be eligible as senatorial delegates.

We submit the following law:

That the second paragraph of Article 14 of the law of the 5th of April 1884 be modified as follows:

"Electors shall be all Frenchmen **of both sexes,** over twenty-one years of age, who are not otherwise incapaciated by law."

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THE WORLD MOVEMENT for WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1904 to 1911

Being the Presidential Address delivered at Stockholm to the Sixth Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, on Tuesday, June 13th, 1911, by



Mrs. CHAPMAN CATT

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IS WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROGRESSING?

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

By Carrie Chapman Catt.

In the debate upon the Woman Suffrage Bill in the Swedish Parliament, a few weeks ago, a University Professor said, in a tone of eloquent finality: "The Woman Suffrage movement has reached and passed its climax; the suffrage wave is now rapidly receding." To those who heard the tone of voice and saw the manner with which he spoke, there was no room for doubt that he believed what he said. "Men believe for the most part that which they wish," wrote Julius Cæsar. With patronising air, more droll than he could know, the gentleman added: "We have permitted this movement to come thus far, but we shall allow it to go no further." Thus another fly resting upon the proverbial wheel of progress has commanded it to turn no more. This man engages our attention because he is a representative of a type to be found in all our lands: wise men on the wrong side of a great question—modern Joshuas who command the sun to stand still and believe that it will obey.

Long centuries before the birth of Darwin an old-time Hindoo wrote: "I stand on a river's bank. I know not from whence the waters come or whither they go. So deep and silent is its current that I know not whether it flows north or south; all is mystery to me; but when I climb yon summit the river becomes a silver thread weaving its length in and out among the hills and over the plains. I see it all from its source in yonder mountains to its outlet in yonder sea. There is no more mystery." So these university professors buried in school books, these near-sighted politicians, fail to note the meaning of passing events. To them, the woman movement is an inexplicable mystery, an irritating excrescence upon the harmonious development of society. But to us, standing upon the summit of international union, where we may observe every manifestation of this movement in all parts of the world, there is no mystery. From its source, ages ago, amid the protests which we now know barbaric women must have made against the cruel wrongs done their sex, we clearly trace the course of this movement through the centuries, moving slowly but majestically onward,

gathering momentum with each century, each generation; until just before us lies the golden sea of woman's full liberty. Others may theorise about the woman movement but to us has been vouchsafed positive knowledge. Once, this movement represented the scattered and disconnected protests of individual women. In that period women as a whole were blinded by ignorance, because society denied them education; they were compelled to silence, for society forbade them to speak. They struggled against their wrongs singly and alone, for society forbade them to organise; they dwelt in poverty, for the law denied them the control of property and even the collection of wages. Under such conditions of sexual serfdom, what wonder that their cries for justice were stifled, and that their protests never reached the ears of the men who wrote the history of those times? Happily those days are past; and out of that incoherent and seemingly futile agitation, which extended over many centuries, there has emerged a present-day movement possessing a clear understanding and a definite, positive purpose.

This modern movement demands political rights for women. It demands a direct influence for women upon the legislation which concerns the common welfare of all the people. It recognises the vote as the only dignified and honourable means of securing recognition of their needs and aspirations.

It pins its faith to the fact that in the long run man is logical. There may be a generation, or even a century, between premise and conclusion, but when the premise is once stated clearly and truthfully, the conclusion follows as certainly as the night the day. Our premise has been stated. The world has jeered at it, stormed at it, debated it; and now what is its attitude toward it? In the secret councils of every political party and every Parliament in the civilised world, this question is recognised as a problem which sooner or later must be solved; and the discussion is no longer upon the justice of our claims, but how to avert final action. Our opponents may not recognise this fact, but we who have watched the progress of this movement for many years, we who are familiar with every symptom of change, have seen the opposing forces abandon, one by one, each and every defence, until nothing remains but pitiable pleas for postponement. Such developments are not signs of a receding wave.

To follow up the advantages already won, there is to-day an army of women, united, patient, invincible. In every land there are trained pens in the hands of women, eloquence and wit on women's lips to defend their common cause. More, there is an allied army of broad-minded, fearless, unyielding

men who champion our reform. The powers of opposition, armed as they are with outworn tradition and sickly sentiment *only*, are as certain to surrender to these irresistible forces as is the sun to rise to-morrow.

These are the things *we know*. That others may share the faith that is ours, permit me to repeat a few familiar facts. A call for the first International Conference was issued nine years ago, and it was held in the City of Washington. At that time the Woman Suffrage agitation had resulted in nationally organised movements in five countries only. In chronological order of organisation these were: The United States, Great Britain, Australia, Norway, the Netherlands. Two years later, in 1904, the organisation of the Alliance was completed in Berlin, and associations in Canada, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden were ready to join. These nine associations comprised the world's organised movement, and there was small prospect of immediate further extensions. To-day, seven years later, however, our Alliance counts 24 auxiliary national associations, and correspondence groups in two additional countries. Are these evidences of a wave rapidly receding? It would be more in accordance with facts should we adopt the proud boast of the British Empire, and say that the sun *now* never sets upon Woman Suffrage activities. More, the subscribing membership in the world has increased seven times in the past seven years, and it has doubled since the London Congress. Even in Great Britain, where the opposition declared at that time very confidently that the campaign had reached its climax, the National Union, our auxiliary, has tripled its individual membership, tripled its auxiliary societies, and doubled its funds since then. A similar increase of members and funds has come to the two militant groups, and twelve independent suffrage societies have been organised in that country. The membership and campaign funds have likewise tripled in the United States, and every president of an auxiliary national society has reported increase in numbers, funds, and activity. This army of Suffragists is augmented by new and enthusiastic converts every month and every week. We welcome to this Congress fraternal delegates from men's leagues of five countries, four of which have been organised within the past two years. The movement grows everywhere by surprising leaps and bounds. Two things are certain: first, Woman Suffrage is not a receding wave—it is a mighty in-coming tide which is sweeping all before it; second, no *human* power, no university professor, no Parliament, no Government, can stay its coming. It is a step in the evolution of society, and the eternal verities are behind it.

Those unfamiliar with our work may ask, what does this

great body of men and women do? They do everything which human ingenuity can devise and human endurance carry out, to set this big, indifferent world to thinking. When John Stuart Mill made his famous speech in the British Parliament, in 1867, he said: "I admit that one practical argument is wanting in the case of women: they do not hold great meetings in Hyde Park nor demonstrations at Islington"; and the Parliament roared with amusement at the droll idea of women doing such things. But John Bull and Uncle Sam, and all the rest of the brotherhood of lawmakers, are slow and stubborn. They have scorned the reasonable appeals of women and have spurned their signed petitions. So demonstrations of numbers and earnestness of demand had to be made in some other form. In consequence, Hyde Park has witnessed many a demonstration for Woman Suffrage, one being larger than any other in the history of England, and on Saturday of this week a procession longer than any which has yet upheld the standard of an aspiring cause will pass through the streets of London. There are no examples among men in their long struggle to secure suffrage rights of such devotion, self-denial, and compelling earnestness as has been shown by the British women. I believe more money has been contributed, more workers enlisted, more meetings held, more demonstrations made in Great Britain alone in behalf of Woman Suffrage than in the entire world's movement for man suffrage. Certainly the man suffrage movement never brought forth such originality of campaign methods, such superb organisation, such masterly alertness. Yet it is said in all countries that women do not want to vote. It is to be devoutly hoped that the obstinacy of no other Government will drive women to such waste of time, energy, and money, to such sacrifice and suffering, as has that of Great Britain.

Nor are demonstrations and unusual activities confined to Great Britain. Two thousand women swarmed to the Parliament of Canada last winter, thousands flocked to the Legislatures of the various capitals in the United States. A procession of the best womanhood in New York a few weeks ago marched through that city's streets in protest against legislative treatment. Sweden has filled the great Circus building in Stockholm to overflowing. Hungary, Germany, France, "demonstrate," and in my opinion no campaign is moved by more self-sacrificing devotion, more passionate fervour, than that in Bohemia. Teachers and other trained women workers are holding meetings night after night, willingly carrying this burden in addition to their daily work that the women of Bohemia may be free. In our combined countries many thousands upon thousands of meetings are held every year, and millions of pages of

leaflets are distributed, carrying our plea for justice into the remotest corners of the globe.

There are doubtless hard encounters ahead, but there are now educated women's brains ready to solve every campaign problem. There are hands willing to undertake every wearisome task; yea, and women's lives ready for any sacrifice. It is because they know the unanswerable logic behind our demands and the irresistible force of our growing army that Suffragists throughout the world repeat in unison those thrilling words of the American leader, Susan B. Anthony, "Failure is impossible."

It is not the growing strength of our campaign forces alone which has filled us with this splendid optimism; there are actual gains which in themselves should tell the world that the goal of this movement is near. Of the nine associations uniting to form this Alliance in 1904, eight have secured a permanent change in the law, which is a step nearer the political suffrage. Of the 24 nations represented in this Congress the women of 15 have won more political rights than they had seven years ago. These gains vary all the way from the repeal of the law which forbade women to form political organisations in Germany; ecclesiastical suffrage in Switzerland, suffrage in Trade Councils in France, Italy, and Belgium, up to municipal suffrage in Denmark, and political suffrage and eligibility in Australia, Finland, Norway, and the State of Washington.

Among our delegates we count women members of Parliament from Finland, a proxy member from Norway, a factory inspector from each of these two countries, and several town councillors from different countries; and to none of these positions were women eligible seven years ago. There are victories, too, quite outside our own line of activities.

A new organisation has arisen in Portugal which has conducted its campaign in novel fashion. Observing that the new constitution did not forbid the vote to women, Carolina Angelo, a doctor of medicine, applied for registration as a voter, and when denied appealed her case to the highest Court. The judge, Dr. Affonso Costa, sustained her demand, and one woman in that country possesses the same political rights as men. This lady has just cast her first vote. She was accompanied by ten ladies and was received with respectful applause by all the men present. This movement developed out of an organisation composed of 1,000 women members whose work was to further the cause of republicanism in Portugal. The suffrage organisation is small and new, but the President of the Republic and three members of the Cabinet are favourable to a further extension of political rights to women, and the new workers are con-

fident of favourable action by the Parliament. It would be curious indeed if the women of Portugal, without a struggle, should be crowned with the political power so long withheld from the long-suffering women of other lands. But justice, like the physical forces of nature, always moves on by the "paths of least resistance," and therefore it is the unexpected which happens. It is with especially affectionate and tender cordiality that we welcome this newly organised and already victorious group into our Alliance. With pride and gratitude we have ordered a Portuguese flag to be added to our international collection, and hope to number Portuguese women in our future Congresses.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, by the new constitution of February 20th, 1910, authorised by the Austrian and Hungarian Empire, four classes of men may qualify to vote. The first is composed of landowners who pay a tax of 140 crowns on their estate, and widows and spinsters are included in this class. They vote by proxy only, but that is a mere detail. The first election took place in May, 1910. Seventy-eight women voted, seventy-six being Mohammedans, one Servian, one Roman Catholic. When it is remembered that this Mohammedan land has so far forgotten the injunctions of the Koran as to extend this small portion of justice to women, this achievement, though seemingly unimportant, becomes a very significant straw which unmistakably shows the way the wind is blowing in this twentieth century.

As the direct result of our organised movement there has been an important triumph to celebrate at each International Congress. The most significant gain of the past year comes from the United States. In point of wealth, population, and political influence, Washington is the most important American State yet won. It will be remembered that in the United States Woman Suffrage must be secured by the vote of a majority of the men voters in each State. The question in Washington was carried by a vote of three to one. The most gratifying factor in this victory was the common testimony that this remarkable vote was due to the influence of men and women who had formerly lived in one of the adjoining suffrage States, notably Idaho and Wyoming, and who met the theoretical opposition advanced upon every side with facts and figures drawn from experience.

Undoubtedly the five full suffrage States of the United States seem insignificant gains to people of other lands. It is true these States are new and the population small. So new are they that when I was a child the greater part of the territory covered by these States was indicated on my geography map as "The Great American Desert." But a

generation has wrought wonderful changes. Modern irrigation has transformed the desert into fertile land, and its delicious fruits have found their way into the markets of the world. Bread made from its grain may be eaten upon the tables of any land. Its mines send gold and silver to the mints of the world; its mountains supply semi-precious stones to all countries; its coal and iron give thousands of factories work and enterprise. Masts from the great forests of Washington are found upon all seas, and a network of railways covers the territory and carries its vast produce to the ocean, where one of the largest and deepest harbours in the world receives it. All the elements which in other lands have contributed to the up-building of cities and the support of great populations are to be found there. Even now the total number of voting women in these sparsely settled States is half the number of women who would receive the Parliamentary vote by the Conciliation Bill in Great Britain! The territory of these five States is equal to that of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and half of the Netherlands. So unlimited are its resources that time will surely bring a population as large as that found in these older countries. Remember that the vote is guaranteed to all those generations of unborn women, and realise that these victories are of mighty significance.

It is impossible to think of that far-off future without bringing to mind an antipodal empire, that island continent, our best beloved suffrage achievement—Australia. Old monarchies may scoff at its newness, but look to its future. Its territory is nearly as large as that of all Europe; its resources are as varied and rich. Mankind, ever restless, and ever seeking fresh fields with easier undertakings in its struggle for existence, will not fail to supply a population as large. Asia held the cradle of civilisation; Europe was the teacher and guide of its youth; but its manhood is here. It looks no longer to Europe *alone* for guidance. The newest developments come from new lands, where traditions and long-established custom have least influence. As Europe supplanted Asia, so it is not only possible, but quite probable, that Australia, with its new democracy, its equality of rights, its youthful virility, its willingness to experiment, may yet supplant Europe as the leader of civilisation. Look to the future, and remember that over these new lands "the glad spirit of human liberty" will rest for centuries to come; and be convinced that our victories already won are colossal with meaning.

These are the achievements of our cause reached within the past seven years. From history we may turn to prophecy, and ask what are the prospects of our cause? In Great

Britain, the United States, and the four Scandinavian countries further extensions of suffrage to women are sure to come soon. It is not easy to make prophecy concerning the outcome of the Woman Suffrage campaigns on the Continent. Certain it is that the victories which are near in England and Scandinavia will greatly accelerate the rate of progress there, and since the surprising developments in Portugal, prophecy becomes impossible.

As all the world knows, an obstinate and recalcitrant Government alone stands between the women of Great Britain and their enfranchisement. A campaign which will always be conspicuous among the world's movements for human rights for its surpassing fervour, sacrifice, and originality has been maintained without a pause. Ninety towns and county councils, including the chief cities of Great Britain, have petitioned Parliament to pass the Bill, the Lord Mayor of Dublin appearing at the bar of the House of Commons to present the petition in person. Three hundred thousand men during the late elections petitioned Parliament to the same end, and complete evidence has been presented that there is a tremendous public sentiment demanding Parliamentary action. The chief men of Australia and New Zealand have sent their strongest and unreserved approval of the results of Woman Suffrage in their respective countries. The Parliament of Australia has cabled its endorsement to the British Parliament, and now Australian and New Zealand women voters are organising to aid their English sisters. The Government evidently nurses a forlorn hope that by delay it may tire out the workers and destroy the force of the campaign. It little comprehends the virility of the movement. When a just cause reaches its flood-tide, as ours has done in that country, whatever stands in the way must fall before its overwhelming power. Political parties, governments, constitutions must yield to the inevitable or take the consequences of ruin. Which horn of the dilemma the English Government will choose is the only question remaining. Woman Suffrage in Great Britain is inevitable.

In the United States five Legislatures have submitted the question to the voters, and we await the result. One decision will be given this year in October, the others next year.

In Iceland, one Parliament has already passed an amendment to the national constitution, and it now only awaits the action of the next Parliament to become law. In Denmark, there are two suffrage organisations whose combined membership make the suffrage organisation of that country, in proportion to population, the largest in the world. A few weeks ago, I had the pleasure of visiting the Parliament,

and speaking with many men representing all the political parties. The Premier, the speakers of both Chambers, the leaders of parties, and many others, assured me that the Parliamentary vote for women would not be long delayed. It requires three years to amend the constitution in Denmark, and the question is confused with other problems, and we must therefore be patient. The women have voted wisely and well; they are serving with dignity and public spirit in town councils; they are doing womanly and intelligent political work, and the evidence presented by the actual experiment has destroyed nearly all the serious opposition. The final step cannot in reason be long delayed.

It was my pleasure also to visit Norway. I wish every doubting Thomas could see what I saw in Norway. More than all else, I wish the Parliaments of all nations could pay that country a visit. One feels the difference between the enfranchised and unenfranchised countries rather in the spirit of things than in tangible form. That sex antagonism which everywhere exists, whether we like to admit it or not, is gone, and in its place has come a comradeship on a high moral plane. It seems like the peace and relief of mind which is always manifest after the satisfactory adjustment of an irritating difference of opinion. The men have been just to the women, and they are proud of their act; the women have had justice done, and they are grateful. In this state of mutual good feeling, the men promise that they will remove the tax qualification and make the suffrage universal for women as it is for men. The Prime Minister assured me that the four political parties differed widely on many questions, but they were quite of one mind in their approval of Woman Suffrage. Norway presents an ideal example of Woman Suffrage in practice, and is an achievement of which we may boast with no reservation of doubt. Two hundred and ten women sit in its town and county councils and three hundred and seventy-nine serve as alternates for councillors. Everywhere, women as officers, as jurors, as voters are patriotically and intelligently working for the public welfare of their country in dignified and womanly fashion.

I have reserved Sweden, the land of our hostesses, as the last country to be mentioned. Sweden has had a Saint Birgitti, a woman who was canonised because of her goodness and religious work. The guide books tell us that she was the first woman's rights woman in the world, for she was outspoken and emphatic in her demand for Woman's freedom. Later Fredrike Bremer, well known in all lands, advocated rights for women. She was a woman ahead of her times. Her last book, "Herta," published in 1865, set forth the reforms she considered necessary in order to estab-

IMPORTANT

Since this was published, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, and Michigan have extended the franchise to women, the question having been submitted to the voters in the respective states in the election of November 5, 1912.

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lish a correct and fair status for women. Many of these proposed changes have now been made, but so new were these ideas then that the book was received with a storm of disapproval. Her former admirers became critics, and her friends thought she had lost her balance of mind. Two weeks before her death she wrote a friend, "I have lost all my popularity, my countrymen no longer approve of me, my friends are lost, and I am deserted and alone; nevertheless I wrote that book in response to the highest duty I know, and I am glad I did it." It is sad to think of that wonderful woman dying in this enlightened land, with possibly no true companion of her great soul to understand the service she had rendered womankind, or the motive which inspired it. But her "prophecy of yesterday" has "become the history of to-day." Municipal or communal suffrage was granted to taxpaying widows and spinsters in 1862, undoubtedly as the result of her teaching. Later the Fredrike Bremer Association was organised, and cultivated education and independence among women. In 1899 two of its members petitioned the Parliament for an extension of suffrage rights, and when our first international conference was held in Washington, it sent a delegate. Measures concerning women were pending in Parliament, and it was determined to organise an association which should have Woman Suffrage as its sole purpose. That was in 1902, and from that date the movement has made amazing progress. The municipal suffrage has been extended to married women, and eligibility secured. Organisations exist in 170 towns, some of them north of the Polar Circle, and there is a paying membership of 12,000; 1,550 meetings have been held since the London Congress. A member of Parliament tells me it is the most thoroughly organised undertaking in Sweden. Does this history indicate a receding wave? Instead, from the days of St. Birgitta this movement has been marching forward to certain victory. No country has made such progress in so short a time. Two political parties now boldly espouse the cause, and the third merely pleads that the times are not ripe for it. It requires three years to amend the constitution here, as it does in Denmark. The women are intelligent, sympathetic, alert and active; worthy descendants of Birgitta and Fredrike Bremer. They will not desert the cause, nor pause in their campaign. It is not difficult to predict the outcome.

The Suffrage Association is not the only force at work in Sweden for the desired end. It has an interesting ally in the many curious inconsistencies in the law which defines the status of women. These must appeal powerfully to the common sense of the people, and thus hasten the conversion of the country to political suffrage. I shall name a few.

1. Women may vote for town and county councils, and these bodies elect the Upper House of Parliament. Women, therefore, have as much suffrage for the Upper House as most men, but they are accounted wholly unworthy by the House they help to elect to vote for members of the Lower House.

2. Women are eligible to municipal councils, and thirty-seven women are now serving as town councillors. Eleven women are members of Councils which have a direct vote for the Upper House, and these women, therefore, have a higher suffrage right than most men; but these same women may not vote at all for members of the Lower House.

3. A gifted woman who will speak at our Congress has secured the Nobel prize in recognition of her rare endowments. Her name and her quaint stories are known the world over. She may vote for a municipal or county councillor, but with all her genius Selma Lagerlöf is not permitted to vote for a member of Parliament.

4. The President of the Swedish Suffrage Association is a learned lady. By the ancient ceremony at Uppsala she has been crowned with a laurel wreath in acknowledgment of her wisdom. Yet with all her learning she is not considered by her Government intelligent enough to cast a vote for a member of Parliament.

5. In Sweden people possessed of a certain income may qualify to cast many votes, the highest number of votes allowable being forty. There are many women who have 40 votes in the municipal elections, and I have myself met several who started in life with nothing in their pockets, but who, by their own initiative and enterprise, have accumulated enough to entitle them to 40 votes. Yet these same women cannot cast one vote for Parliament. A Parliament which sees nothing amusing in these illogical discriminations has no sense of humour.

The Scandinavian peoples represent a race which does not forget that its ancestors were Vikings, who sailed the seas without chart or compass. There are modern Vikings in all these lands as fearlessly ready to solve modern problems as were those of old. It is unlikely that all the people were bold and courageous in those ancient times. There were undoubtedly pessimistic croakers who declared the ships would never return, that the men would be lost at sea, and that the enterprises were foolhardy and silly. It is the antitype of this class which we find in the university professor, but we recall that it is the Vikings who are remembered to-day.

In order to learn the whole truth concerning our movement I sent a questionnaire to all our presidents. Among the questions was this: "What are the indications that the

woman movement is growing in your country?" Not one president of our 24 countries found signs of backward steps. Instead, such volumes of evidence of onward progress were received that it is quite impossible to give any adequate idea of its far-reaching character. In a number of countries the entire code of laws affecting women are under revision, and liberal measures are proposed to take the places of the old. Denmark will take the oath of obedience out of the marriage ceremony. The Bishop of Iceland has supported a Bill to make women eligible to ecclesiastical offices, and declared St. Paul himself would have favoured the change were he here. In Silesia, where women landowners have the right of a proxy vote in the communal election, which, however, has not been usually exercised, nearly 2,000 women availed themselves of this privilege in the recent elections, to the amazement of the people. Unusual honours have been given women in all lands. Simultaneously women were elected presidents of the National Teachers' Associations in Great Britain and the United States for the first time. Positions heretofore closed have opened their doors to women. Equal pay for equal work has been granted the 13,000 women teachers of New York City after a splendid campaign of several years. The Press is everywhere more friendly. Distinguished people are joining our ranks. The argument has changed ground, and the evidence is complete that women are no longer the forgotten sex. King George, in his accession speech, spoke of his wife as "a helpmate in every endeavour for our people's good." It is believed that no other King in English history has thus publicly acknowledged his Queen Consort as sharing responsibility. I can only say that evidence is overwhelming that the walls of the opposition all along the line are falling down like those of Jericho of old before the blare of our suffrage trumpets.

Some may ask why we are not now content to wait for the processes of reason and evolution to bring the result we want. Why do we disturb ourselves to hasten progress? I answer, because we refuse to sit idly by while other women endure hideous wrongs. Women have suffered enough of martyrdom through the false position they have been forced to occupy for centuries past. We make our protest now hotly and impatiently, perhaps, for we would bequeath to those who come after us a fair chance in life. Modern economic conditions are pushing hundreds of thousands of women out of their homes into the labour market. Crowded into unskilled employments for want of proper training, they are buffeted about like a cork upon a sea. Everywhere paid less than men for equal work, everywhere discriminated against, they are utterly at the mercy of forces

over which they have no control. Law-making bodies, understanding neither women nor the meaning of this woman's invasion of modern industry, are attempting to regulate the wages, the hours, the conditions under which they shall work. Already serious wrong has been done many women because of this ill-advised legislation. Overwhelmed by the odds against them in this struggle for existence, thousands are driven to the streets. There they swell that horrid, unspeakably unclean peril of civilisation, prostitution—augmented by the White Slave Traffic and by the machinations of male parasites who live upon the earnings of women of vice. Inaction is no longer pardonable. Prostitution is no longer a moral outcast to be mentioned with bated breath or treated as a subject too indelicate for discussion. It has become a problem actual with an entirely new significance, and demands immediate attention. It is now well known to be the breeding-ground of dangerous and insidious diseases which are surely and steadily deteriorating the race. They enter the palaces of kings and the hovels of the poor. Something must be done; the race must be preserved, while there is time. In accordance with modern discoveries concerning tuberculosis the nations have organised campaigns against it; we women, armed with ballots, must attack this far more serious foe. These wretched women, designed by nature for the sacrament of motherhood, have been told off by distorted, unnatural conditions and degraded into a class which is slowly destroying the race. We must be merciful, for they are the natural and inevitable consequence of centuries of false reasoning concerning women's place in the world. We may, perhaps, draw the curtain of obscurity over those women who because of inherent evil have voluntarily sought this life, but investigation has proved that at least two-thirds of them have been driven to this last despairing effort to live by economic conditions. Upon these women we have no right to turn our backs. Their wrongs are our wrongs. Their existence is part of our problem. They have been created by the very injustices against which we protest.

It is the helpless cry of these lost women who are the victims of centuries of wrong; it is the unspoken plea of thousands of women now standing on the brink of similar ruin; it is the silent appeal of the army of women in all lands who in shops and factories are demanding fair living and working conditions; it is the need to turn the energies of more favoured women to public service; it is the demand for a complete revision of women's legal, social, educational, and industrial status all along the line, which permits us no delay, no hesitation. The belief that we are defending the highest good of the mothers of our race and the ultimate

welfare of society makes every sacrifice seem trivial, every duty a pleasure. The pressing need spurs us on, the certainty of victory gives us daily inspiration.

We have come upon a new time, which has brought new and strange problems. Old problems have assumed new significance. In the adjustment of the new order of things we women demand an equal voice; we shall accept nothing less. So

> To the wrong that needs resistance,
> To the right that needs assistance,
> To the future in the distance

we give ourselves.

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Woman and Government

Series Number V-H

The Rise of the Woman Suffrage Party

By MARY GRAY PECK

There have been periods, and those uniformly of brilliance and significance, during which women forced themselves into political prominence and took a high hand in the world's doings. But these women were persons of rank or wealth or beauty, individuals, in no sense representative of their sex. The last fifty years will cover the period marked by a definite intention on the part of ever increasing numbers of women of all classes to become politically self-governing. The last five years will cover the period when this intention has become confident, militant, an urgent demand instead of a request.

The struggle for the franchise in this country began more than fifty years ago, captained by wonderful personalities. As these epic figures grew old, they saw younger leaders of power and promise gathering around them, and their long efforts crowned with success in the full enfranchisement of women in four western states,—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. Then came a reaction. Financial depression, industrial disturbances, the Spanish war with its resulting colonial expansion, the rise of gigantic combinations in the world of trade and finance, with the struggle of the people to control them, the appearance of a new social consciousness in many lines of reform,—all these vast and vital issues for a time obscured the fundamental issue of democracy as it affected half the nation.

Then there arose in England in the winter of 1905 a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, the banner unfurled by the women in the House of Commons. It darkened into widespread and organized rebellion. It crossed the Atlantic and rose above our horizon in the likeness of a new political gladiator, trident in hand, flinging his net over the country from New York to San Francisco. Two new organizations of women, one on each side of the Atlantic, have ushered in the new era in the historic movement. The first arose in England five years ago, the second in America is entering on its second year. These organizations are antipodal in theory and opposed in practice. The first is an army, the second is a democracy. The first was called into existence by the genius of a general, the second by the genius of a statesman. The first is administered by a dictator, the second by a chairman. The Women's Social and Political Union of Great Britain is designed to conquer the government. The design behind the Woman Suffrage Party in this country looks beyond the conquest of Congress, beyond the enfranchisement of half the nation, to a future so portentous that it tempts one to leave the field of its brief history for the realm of prophecy. This design did not arise in the mind of any one person; it is as inclusive and as continuous as is the creation of the party itself, as the following sketch will show.

First Precinct Organization in California, 1894.

The idea of organizing suffragists in precincts as our political parties organize their voters, has long been in the mind of our workers. It seems first to have been put in practice by the women of Southern California in a convention of county delegates called by the Los Angeles club to inaugurate legislative work for the impending suffrage amendment, in April, 1894. In the late summer and fall of 1896, the precinct plan of organizing was put into full operation in the suffrage campaign in Idaho and California, by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Chairman of the Committee on Organization in the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Chairman of the California Campaign Committee. The efficiency of such organization was demonstrated especially in the magnificent campaign put through in California, a campaign which had no rival until the recent successful Washington campaign. The plan has since been known as the California plan. Again, about ten years ago, the Era Club of New Orleans in working for municipal improvements, organized its members throughout the voting precincts of the city and successfully carried its measures. In each of these cases, as soon as the immediate emergency for which the women were organized was past, they disbanded without thought of establishing a permanent body. The task of building up, officering and financing a

woman's party was staggering to those who had tried it piecemeal. And yet the ghost of that same party once summoned refused to be laid. For years it haunted the imagination of the chairman of that long since abolished National Committee on Organization which had conjured it in 1896.

Woman Suffrage Party of New York City.

By 1908, it was apparent that a new impulse was being felt in widely separated sections of the country in behalf of suffrage. New recruits were joining the National Suffrage Association, and there were many more who sympathized with the movement, but who were not attracted by the old methods of propaganda. There was some apprehension on the part of the "regulars" that the militant methods of the Social and Political Union might be imported into this country, and it was not thought desirable that we should proceed to violence till we had tried something else which would have the merit of novelty and at the same time remain peaceful. Enterprising women in the different states took to automobile trips and open air meetings and various other ways of advertising the cause. But there was a general feeling that these methods, excellent in themselves, were not focussed on anything. In August of that year, under the leadership of Mrs. Catt, now President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, but who was chairman of that abolished Organization Committee which districted Idaho and California in the campaigns of 1896, the Interurban Suffrage Council of New York City took steps looking to the organizing of the assembly districts of Greater New York for suffrage. The story of the origin of the New York Party is best told in the words of its founder and first chairman. Mrs. Catt writes for the Woman's Journal of February 19th, 1910, as follows:

"We began by the appointment of a trusted, intelligent worker for each of the twenty-two Senatorial Districts. This was done in 1908. Those Senatorial Chairmen, as they were called, were urged to appoint, when possible, a chairman for each Assembly District. They were urged to conduct personal interviews with the senator of their district, and to go with the Assembly Chairman to interview the asesmblyman of each district. This interviewing was done both before and after the election. This year, (1909-10), the work was further developed. The membership lists of all the clubs of Greater New York were classified by districts, and so far as possible, names signed to the national petition were also districted. In October each Assembly District Chairman found a suitable place of meeting, and then issued a summons to all the known suffragists in her district to attend an Assembly District Convention. A temporary chairman was elected, any kind of business pertaining to the work of the district legitimately came before it, and a permanent chairman for the district was elected. These district conventions also appointed delegates to attend a city convention. On October 29th, (1909), this city convention was held, and 804 delegates occupied the entire body of our great Carnegie Hall. The boxes of the first and second balconies were sold to visitors, and the great platform was filled with honorary chairmen. The two upper galleries were free to the public, and the hall was packed from floor to ceiling. It was the largest delegate convention of suffragists ever held. A platform committee had been appointed, of which Mrs. Mackay was the chairman. The platform which was adopted expressed a demand for the submission of an amendment to the state constitution to a popular vote, and authorized a delegation to present that request to the Albany Legislature. It declared in favor of the submission of a national amendment, and authorized a delegation to go to Washington to present that demand. As the city charter is now under revision, local demands were made for the mandatory appointment of women upon the Board of Education and boards of certain hospitals and other institutions. After the convention, a deputation was sent to the charter revision committee to present these proposals.

"When the convention was over, all organizations which had worked for it were invited to discuss the best means of rendering the district convention permanent. As the result of these discussions it was determined to call the new movement a Woman Suffrage Party. There were two reasons for this. *The first is that the organization exactly follows the plan of the regular political parties* in this city. The members pay no dues. No positive obligation is laid upon them, but they have the privilege of being called to the annual district convention and of being notified of the regular district meetings. *The second reason is that the work is to be conducted along political lines, although the Woman*

Suffrage Party is in no sense a competitor of regular parties. Men and women are eligible to membership. On January 15th (1910), the Assembly District Chairmen met to complete the work of the organization.

"New York is composed of five boroughs or counties. The Assembly District leaders united to elect a city committee, composed of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary, and separated into their respective groups to elect a similar board of officers for each of the five boroughs. The Chairman of each borough is a member of the city committee. Each assembly district is composed of thirty election districts or voting precincts. The Assembly District leader will appoint an election district chairman, called captain, for each of these voting districts. Each election district contains about 500 voters. It will be the duty of each captain to form a committee of other known suffragists in his or her district, and to canvass the district thoroughly. In some parts of the city an actual house to house canvass is being made; in other parts where strangers cannot gain entrance to houses or apartment buildings, the canvass is being conducted by return postals or letter. These canvassers list all voters and all women as for, against or indifferent. When they discover a friend of suffrage, that person is asked to sign the national petition to Congress; to enroll as a member of the Woman Suffrage Party; and to attend the next district meeting, and is notified of any general meetings which may occur soon. If the person is indifferent, he is urged to read literature and to attend meetings; and plans are made for further discussion of the question. Those persons sufficiently interested to become active workers are urged to join the district club. This club in the beginning will be composed of the district leaders and their district captains. The members of the district club pay dues and become the working force which will conduct the political campaign in the district. It will be seen that the whole population is thus divided into political sections, and one person is made responsible for the conversion of each portion of our people. In order to win the support of political parties, the Executive Committees of all political parties of all the boroughs have been asked to give hearings to our representatives, and the Democratic and Republican clubs in each district have also been solicited to give hearings in their respective districts.

"With the 6,000,000 of population in this city, we have a task before us much greater than that which has faced the campaign committees of most of our states. We have the most cosmopolitan population in the world, for representatives of every race, nationality, and religion are to be found in our electorate. To meet these diffculties it is our aim to find speakers who can address our foreign citizens in their own languages. The literature which has been provided has been copied from the "rainbow series" of Massachusetts, printed in large type and in extremely simple language, translated into foreign languages and distributed when necessity requires. We have taken an office of four rooms in the Metropolitan Tower, the tallest building in the world. As usual, the officers and chief workers are giving their time without pay. We publish a bulletin through which to announce our plans to our constituency, and we have named it The Woman Voter in honor of the bulletin of the Woman's Political Union of Australia.

"Our first duty is to arouse systematic activity, and to win numbers and sympathy. There has always been one fatal defect in our state campaign. We never have had a sufficient number of trained workers. This plan which calls for 63 assembly district leaders and 2,000 election captains will reveal the capable women and also the kind of work each can do best. This plan of work is that which men have evolved after a century of political experience as the best one for campaign purposes. It is a vain hope that an idea so radical as woman suffrage can be adopted through votes of men by any plan less thoroughgoing. The unknown factor in the situation is how men and women who believe in suffrage will respond to the call for support. Will they overlook the nonessentials in their loyalty to the one essential—a united whole; will they sink personality in service to the great cause? These things time must tell us. Is it possible for a 'machine' to remain operative which has no 'boseses,' no 'graft,' no personal rewards to offer, and whose sole motor power is self-sacrificing, conscientious service to a noble cause? Time must answer. I believe the appointed time has come for New York women. There is room for all the present organizations to do their usual work of propaganda. There is no conflict, no hard and fast rules. Originality, enthusiasm, hard work—these we must have—and we are not likely to have too much of them. The

important thing to be remembered is that the Woman Suffrage Party aims to convert the City of New York. It assigns to each captain a definite task of converting a certain number of men and women. Collectively there will be bolder undertakings, but the individual work will be the basis of all effort."

From the first city convention of October 29th, 1909, to the second convention of October 28th, 1910, the following list of achievements was chronicled. "The enrollment of 20,000 members; over 400 meetings in public halls; over 150 open air meetings; an effort made to reach the delegates of 296 local political conventions by hearings and circulars; the publication of a monthly paper called 'The Woman Voter'; the issue of a successful lantern-slide lecture for the benefit of those who do not understand English; the free distribution of 150,000 leaflets in English, the printing of 80,000 leaflets in Yiddish, 80,000 in Italian, 20,000 in Bohemian; the enlistment of a much larger number of people than has been possible in any other form of suffrage organization; the maintenance of a headquarters of four rooms; the conduct of a campaign of great activity in which 159 different persons addressed public meetings, and the only paid employment has been one Headquarters Secretary, one regular stenographer with an occasional assistant, all other work being done by voluntary contribution; the conduct of a vigorous legislative campaign in which a delegation from each Assembly District in the city was sent to Albany, with the result that several members of the Legislature changed their votes from opposition to support of a referendum on our question; over $6,000 collected and expended."

In December, 1910, the New York Party took out articles of incorporation as The Woman Suffrage Party of New York, a statewide instead of a municipal body. This was done because the title can be used but once in a state charter, and had the organization incorporated as a city party, the use of the word party throughout the state would have been blocked. The incorporators, however, have no intention of monoplizing the title, and give permission to any group to use or vary it to suit themselves with or without affiiliation with the parent body. The result of this open door policy is that Catteraugus, Monroe and Steuben counties have organized county parties, gotten out enrollment slips, and are rapidly enlisting members in their respective Assembly Districts. Other counties like Erie and Ontario are waiting for their spring County Conventions to take a similar step. Meanwhile, the State Suffrage Association has sent out a plan for the reorganization of the old suffrage clubs as a suffrage party, and it is not improbable that the Woman Suffrage Party and the Woman Suffrage Association will form a merger as a Party before many moons. Probably the county parties will ultimately affiliate with the New York Party if no such merger takes place.

Nothing like the phenomenal rise and spread and achievement of the New York organization has been seen in this country. It was inevitable that such a demonstration of power and efficiency should command universal attention. Acordingly, within the year following the first New York convention, state after state, took up Assembly District or ward organizing, until at the present writing every week, almost, sees this youthful patriarch followed by an ever lengthening train of descendants. Hardly to be classed among these descendants, however, is the next organization to be considered. It was but a chance that California was not the patriarch instead of New York.

Women's Assembly District League of California.

In October, 1908, independently and almost contemporaneously with the initial steps in the formation of the New York party, precinct work was undertaken in San Francisco. But the effort was restricted to a limited area, and there was but little systematic organizing done until the spring of 1910. It was at the Washington, D. C., suffrage convention in April, 1910, that the story of the doings of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York was heard and fully appreciated by the California delegates. They returned with a new vision of opportunity, and with the discussion of methods fresh in their minds. Systematic district organizing was entered upon on a large scale. They took the name of The Women's Assembly District League. Their object was to engage actively in legislative work, especially in electing desirable candidates. They have no dues, relying on contributions for financing. The suffrage clubs have no official connection with the district work as yet, although the state association has taken it up. No platform or constitution has been drawn up. Several publications have been put out by the League, among

which are a four page bulletin, The Woman's Herald, appearing October 1st, and selling for one cent—and a valuable sheet of Instructions to Chairmen of Assembly Districts. At the close of the year 1910, the League had organized 45 out of the 80 assembly districts, and by means of canvassing, letters, semi-monthly open air meetings which are widely advertised and attended, had enrolled over 4,000 members. The services of two able and experienced women have been engaged to organize the remaining districts of the state, during the winter of 1911, and it is but a short step to the reorganization of the state association. But one club offered any objection to the new regime, and that was objection to "political methods."

Woman Suffrage Party of San Francisco.

But while the Assembly District League was indefatigable in organizing, it procrastinated in taking the party name which it undoubtedly intended, in time, to assume. This delay gave opportunity to an independent group of more impetuous temper to step in and take it up. This group had been known as The Independent Suffrage League of California. On the morning of January 6th, 1911, it rechristened itself, The Woman Suffrage Party of San Francisco, showing that in this case there is something in a name. Its reorganization is too recent to make more extended notice of the San Francisco Party possible.

In view of the referendum on the suffrage amendment in California in 1912, this widespread and determined concentration of the local suffragists on precinct organization is significant. It was a good weapon in 1896. The women of the state intend that in 1912 it shall be Britomart's enchanted spear.

There is an effect of epic destiny in the view of this twin evolution of a great force in the Atlantic and Pacific gateways of commerce. There is something no less remarkable in the appearance of the same force in conservative Philadelphia, classic Boston, cavalier Baltimore, and that cloudy mistress of the Great Lakes, Chicago, the metropolis of our inland empire.

Ward Equal Suffrage Leagues of Philadelphia.

It was at the suggestion of Rachel Foster Avery, Vice-President of the National Suffrage Association and President of the Pennsylvania State Association, that district work was undertaken in Philadelphia by the local suffragists. It was designed to have a suffrage league in every ward of the city, to be called The Equal Suffrage League of the —— Ward of Philadelphia. The object was "To advance the cause of Equal Suffrage by educational and other propaganda." Dues of fifty cents are asked (as in the County Association) half of which goes to the state and national association treasuries. Members of the County Association are enrolled free. The leagues are closely affiliated with the County Association. A constitution has been drawn up, naming the officers as Chairman, Vice Chairman, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Auditor. Seven out of the 45 city wards have been organized, and it is proposed to cover the rest as fast as possible. There was no opposition to the new methods on the part of the State Association, the Philadelphia movement being in fact preliminary to the reorganization of that body.

Woman Suffrage Party of Pennsylvania.

This reorganization was entered upon in November, 1910, when at its annual convention the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association voted unanimously through its delegates to establish a Woman Suffrage Party in their state, and appointed a committee on organization. Again it was that veteran worker, Rachel Foster Avery, the retiring state president, whose vigorous representations, backed by the Philadelphia leaders, carried the State for the Party.

Woman Suffrage Party of Massachusetts.

After the Washington convention, the Massachusetts delegates went back to Boston fired with enthusiasm by the reports of what had been done in New York City, and immediately began district work. They took the name Woman Suffrage Party of Massachusetts, being the first organization to adopt the name as well as the structure of the older organization. The only object the writer could get from the chairman of the organization committee as engaging the energies of the new party was, "to organize the remaining 24 wards of the city within the next fourteen months." This from the city of isms struck so fresh and businesslike a note, that the historian forebore to seek further and have the simplicity of that aim marred by additions.

No platform or constitution has been drawn up as yet. One ward of the city has been organized with 250 non-dues-paying members. The mass meeting held in that ward drew 1000 women in attendance. The party plan was approved and recommended at the state annual meeting, and little or no opposition has been manifested.

Ward Organization of Baltimore.

As in the preceding cases, it was the discussions at the Washington convention of the New York Suffrage Party methods, which resulted in the taking up by the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore of ward work. This took place in May, 1910. The name adopted was Ward Organization for City Betterment. The objects are municipal, legislative and educational. The relation between the League and the ward organization is close and interdependent. The League numbers 800 members which are districted throughout the city wards, forming ward groups to carry on precinct work. The only dues are those of the League; here as elsewhere the question of financing the new work is a serious one. As the question of the relation of the old suffrage club to the new party is one of the first to be answered under the coming dispensation, it is interesting to note the experience of Baltimore in this connection. Mrs. Ellicott writes: "The ward organizations have grown out of the Equal Suffrage League, and I do not hesitate to say that I regard the club as an indespensable source of strength for ward organization. Women are too inexperienced in co-operative work, too unused to steady responsibility to fall in with plans which are too much localized. We are making efforts to enable the ward centers to be independent, but after six months of steady work with many active workers, the chief success of the ward work lies in its direct connection with our League headquarters and central board, which are able at a moment's notice to send out literature, speakers, advice and plans; while leaving them free to work out their own plans, their success lies in their vital connection with the League."

In other words, the League is the ward organization. A fortnightly bulletin is published called "The New Woman Voter," the first number appearing November, 1910, in which are posted notices of all meetings in the city, both of their own and other leagues, and discussion of candidates for municipal elections. A sheet of questions designed to find out what social or municipal issue citizens are particularly interested in, has been published. This asks all who get a copy to fill out the blanks after the questions, thereby committing themselves to support one or more of the causes mentioned, and the sheets are distributed at meetings. After six months trial, the advantages of the new regime over the old are set down as follows: "A preparation for active political work for the spring municipal elections which would have been impossible with a purely centralized body; the arousing of interest in women for local conditions which affect their own neighborhoods and which would have been impossible had they not been broken up into local bodies; the arousing of a spirit of independence among women and a pride in local achievements; the breaking up of class distinctions and the mixing together of women who live near each other, regardless of social rank; the attraction of new members who come to these meetings because they are in their immediate neighborhood; a decided awakening of civic pride which had not been apparent before." At the close of 1910, five of the 24 wards of the city have been organized, and work is being inaugurated in the remaining 19. The energy, progressiveness, and tact with which the new methods have been adopted in one of the most conservative cities of the south demands unqualified admiration. If all southern women are like the Maryland women, we may be going before long south of Mason and Dixon's line for our leaders and our state-craft. Certainly Baltimore and New Orleans have offered notable examples of success in municipal and state work.

Woman Suffrage Party of Illinois.

The beginning of the Illinois Party differs from that of any of the preceding organizations. It began in Chicago with a constitutional convention, called on October 13th, 1910, by the Political Equality Union and the Political Equality League to form a central suffrage body for Cook County. There were present delegates from 43 organizations. These organizations consisted of suffrage clubs, women's clubs, social settlements, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Trade Union League, one chapter of the Eastern Star Lodge, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and the Anti-Cigarette League. At the second meeting, two weeks

later, the delegates adopted the name, The Woman Suffrage Party of the City of Chicago and the County of Cook. The object as stated by Mrs. Myra Strawn Hartshorn, chairman of the committee on by-laws, read "To secure full suffrage for women and the best possible living and working conditions." Owing probably to the fact that the greater number of the organizations represented were working for something beside suffrage, this section was adopted without a dissenting vote. So, quite naturally, a new intention in the struggle for suffrage was officially enunciated. It is true that from the first the New York Party backed measures looking to the betterment of women's working conditions, and in the magnificent platform adopted at the second convention formally endorsed them. But the Illinois Party was the first to link suffrage with women's industrial well-being in the keystone of its constitution. The older suffragists were bent on keeping clear of "entangling alliances." The new generation boldly assume suffrage as a means to an end, valuable only as related to that end in the mind of every suffragist. As the Party grows throughout the middle west, the idea of striving for "the best possible living and working conditions" captures the imagination of practical women both inside and outside of organizations.

Between the first and second meetings of the delegate body, incorporation papers for the Woman Suffrage Party of Illinois were taken out by an independent group of women, and by the fourth meeting the city and state groups had amalgamated, and the city was being organized under the state charter. The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association remained distinct from the new organization, although it voted at its annual convention to enter upon state-wide district work of its own. Within a month of its official appearance, the Woman Suffrage Party had enrolled members and elected officers in 10 of the 35 wards of the city, and in two counties of the state outside. It had printed its constitution, letterheads, enrollment slips which provided for an enrollment fee of 25 cents, and had sent out over 2,000 reply letters in the systematic collection of money for the striking Garment Workers of Chicago. If there is something grand in the assured power and order of the appearance of the New York Party, there is something startling in the suddenness and swiftness with which the women of Chicago created a complex organization and set it going at full speed without trial—something terrifying as well to political leaders, for demonstrated there they may see political practice, daring, impatience with the delays and formal preliminaries such as leaders generally consider proper, a mind overleaping everything between it and its end, an interest in machinery only as a means to that end, and a consequent dragging of the machine red-hot out of the moulds and putting it smoking at its work. That is what happened in Chicago in November, 1910.

The women of Chicago are accustomed to large working organizations and to civic activity. They have two clubs approximating 1500 members each. The National Women's Trade Union League has its headquarters there, and the social settlement idea was demonstrated there. It is not too much to predict that the Suffrage Party will take on there a more professionally specialized and a less empirical method of procedure than it will elsewhere. At any rate, its precocious origin challenges attention to its subsequent career and promises unusual developments.

Pending Organizations in Other Localities.

Minnesota and Ohio are organizing in the large cities. In Minnesota it is proposed to disband the old clubs and reform them as district clubs. In Minneapolis and St. Paul, a call is to be issued to all organizations numbering women members to unite in forming the Woman Suffrage Party of Minnesota. In Cleveland, Toledo, and Cincinnati parties are organized and the work is being pushed. In Indiana, the women's organizations of Fort Wayne through delegates have voted to form a party in their city. In Connecticut, the state Suffrage Association has gotten out an enrollment slip for Assembly District organization, without taking the party name.

The foregoing sketch, outlines the growth of a political idea, transplanted when the time was ripe from its masculine native heath to a feminine field. Within two years, it has taken root in ten states, and is recognized as the form in which suffrage energy will largely manifest itself in the immediate future. Another idea, destined to accompany the district organization and supply courses of study in practical politics with laboratory training, destined to awaken, educate, and mobilize workers, has arisen contemporaneously with the structural idea. It has the features of a political public school. It will teach good citizenship, and help to eradicate bad. This institution is the organized Political Settlement.

Department Phase of the Movement, or The Political Settlement.

The Political Settlement is designed to work within the party structure. Each voting precinct may be considered such a settlement, and either by itself or in combination with other precincts may have a headquarters, whence the political activities of the neighborhood radiate. In this headquarters are collected data relating to the territory contributory to it, with other information arranged for reference and use, meetings and classes are held, literature is kept, and someone is in charge at stated times to answer inquiries and take enrollments.

The fundamental principle of the political settlement is the department principle evolved by the woman's club. It departments the suffragists of its districts as the woman's club departments its members, according to their choice of line of activity. Several political, industrial and social reform organizations have declared for woman suffrage. On that issue they are united. Therefore, the headquarters of the settlement invites members of these organizations to form a suffrage department and to make use of the settlement headquarters for that purpose. Members of any other organization which has not declared for suffrage may form a department for civic activities. In short the political settlement has a hospitable roof, and invites suffragists of all beliefs to form suffrage groups and become members of the suffrage family. The settlement idea is autonomous and democratic. It insists upon self-government and local support as opposed to patronage. It holds that only by owning and controlling its institutions can any community thrive.

The conception of the political settlement as a working force was first outlined publicly by its originator, Professor Frances Squire Potter of the State University of Minnesota, in a lecture in Los Angeles in May, 1909, and again in an address before the National American Woman Suffrage Association assembled in convention at Seattle, on July second of the same year. The project was adopted by the board of the National association, and Prof. Potter was elected Corresponding Secretary of the Association.

In her speech before the Seattle Convention, Professor Potter said:

"Let us call it a political settlement. This settlement shall be a center whose workers are directly interested in non-partisan local politics. It shall be a center of education for those who have been to college and those who have not. I mean just that kind of education which the pulpit, university, and social settlement to a certain extent have had to keep out of. It shall be the business of workers to know every candidate for political office, his fitness or unfitness. Together, the workers should know every voter and his wife, mapping out the wards of the city among them. If the city is too large for one headquarters, there should be ramifications like nerves from the brain to ward settlements. If we have influence, we should be making it felt in an organized manner; and as soon as we get the vote—which it should be our distinct object to get—we shall be in a position to make it count. These settlements must not be dependent upon rich subscribers or upon any existing political forces in our towns. An organization like an individual never can feel itself in an impregnable position so long as it is dependent, as are so many of our social settlements, upon charity, however comforting may be the palliative philanthropy which it is able to achieve at the sufferance of its silent dictators."

At the Carnegie Hall meeting, November 17th, 1909, Professor Potter said, "The Political Settlement will give opportunity for that passion which in England is expressing itself in a militant method, and it will create an enlightened power to work through the Assembly District machinery so magnificently inaugurated in this hall by the Woman Suffrage Party."

Again at the Washington Convention in April, 1910, the new development in the suffrage movement was outlined as finding "its external expression in the Woman Suffrage Party, which is an organized political machinery aiming to effect a new democracy, and its internal development in the political settlement, which aims to create a trained citizenship to wield that party machinery. The promise of the political settlement may be discerned in many existing institutions; it is obvious in the district club of the Woman Suffrage Party. It will be seen that the woman's club movement and the political movement are inclusive and largely co-ordinating. The larger vision which draws together many energies instead of seeing only one is taking its first view. Hitherto it has been church up-town, labor movement down-town, social settlement on the east side, suffrage in the rural districts. The political

settlement organizes the people into a scheme of life as synthetic as we want our national life to become. It will become a vital part of the national life that is in making."

Two suffrage settlements founded and supported by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont were started in New York City in the winter of 1910, with Miss Podell, and Miss Richepan in charge. They have been successful and popular in their districts and are permanent establishments apparently. The suffrage settlement differs from the political settlement in that it is practically an endowed instead of a self-supporting institution, depending upon its founder. But in its general working, it is modelled upon the plan outlined above and approved by the N. A. W. S. A.

The first organization to form a group of political settlements was the Baltimore Equal Suffrage League. The President of the League, Mrs. William Ellicott, in March, 1910, introduced the proposal to her board, who accepted the idea but not the name. Since then the name has been adopted. The Baltimore centers have proved themselves a powerful aid in educating and interesting public opinion in their localities, and Mrs. Ellicott speaks enthusiastically in praise of their influence. The original character of the civic work done by Mrs. Ellicott and her league has attracted national attention.

In the fall of 1910, in addition to its other committees the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City formed a Committee on Political Settlements, with Ida A. Craft as chairman. The fifth district in Brooklyn has been organized with a headquarters, and steps are being taken towards the organization of three other districts in Brooklyn and several districts in Manhattan. One political settlement is established on Staten Island, and others are in prospect. The committee has issued several pamphlets and leaflets, and has a handsome Woman Suffrage Party letterhead of its own, bearing the slogan, "Democracy must be lived." The following outline of the work contemplated by the committee has been sent out to the New York party members.

"The province of Political Settlement workers shall be to arouse and co-ordinate neighborhood interest and align it with already organized forces for suffrage and civic betterment; to investigate tax appropriations in the district; to keep track of schools and other public institutions; to organize classes in civics, welcoming these non-suffragists as well as suffragists; to furnish literature and information to inquirers."

The Baltimore Settlement workers are occupied along the same lines. A Department of Political Settlements has been formed in the Illinois Party, a Committee on Political Settlements is to be created in the San Francisco Party. A political settlement has been organized in Spokane, one is in process of organization in Minneapolis and another in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Such is the brief story of the rise of the Woman Suffrage Party, and its attending spirit, the Political Settlement. Of all the expanding women's organizations seen by our generation, this is the most significant. For it is not to be thought that the Woman's Party will disband with the gaining of the suffrage. The "best possible living and working conditions" will not come on the morning when women are made full citizens of our country. The convention of the women of the five enfranchised states, called by an ex-Governor of Idaho to co-operate with the women of the unenfranchised states in winning universal suffrage, completes the nation-wide scope of the political and non-partizan organization of women, makes it a full orb instead of a crescent waning with every victory. It should not be strange if in the fullness of time there should come about an affiliation between the Federated clubs and the Woman's Party, for civics and politics are essentially the same, except that politics is a wider realm. The great discovery of our age is the discovery of this new world of politics by women. They see that it is a larger home, neither barren nor inhospitable. Into this new-found continent the last of all the high adventurers are forcing their way, not with the martial glory of a Raleigh seeking Eldorado, but with the vision of founding a free commonwealth. On the ocean beach we have seen them organize their forces and begin the inland march. But even now, while the empire of this new world hangs still unrealized full in view, some "Stout Cortez" of the invaders from the mountain peak is looking off in "wild surmise" over an undreamed of expanse, divining truly the vaster empire which waits beyond.

Geneva, N. Y., February, 1911.

Woman and Government

PLAN OF THE SERIES

Introduction—Woman's Service to the State.

I. Woman's Past Position in Society. (In the United States and foreign countries.)
   - A. In the commercial and industrial world.
   - B. From the point of view of her legal status.
     1. Civil.
     2. Political.
   - C. From the point of view of ethical requirements.
     1. In theory.
     2. In practice.
   - D. From the point of view of education.
     1. Considering women as factors.
     2. Considering women as recipients.
   - E. In the world of science, literature and art.
   - F. In the light of dominant religions.

II. Woman's present position in society. (The outline followed here will be the same as that used in the preceding division.)

III. Successive forms of government. A series of studies of government and the state in their bearing upon the life and work of women.

IV. Fundamental and contributory causes of the evolution of government—with special reference to the effect on government of
   - A. Changes in the economic status of both men and women.
   - B. Changes in the organization of industry.

V. How woman's position in society has come to be what it is.
   - A. Forces in her economic evolution.
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     2. Bargaining in the labor market.
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     4. Organization and direction of industry and transportation.
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     6. Taxation.
        - a. Direct.
        - b. Indirect.
   - B. Over political conditions.
     1. The organization of the state.
     2. The form, purpose and activities of the government.
        - a. Content of the laws.
        - b. Method of making them.
        - c. The administration of law.
        - d. The interpretation of law.
        - e. Character, conduct and qualifications of officials and representatives.
   - C. Over social conditions.
     1. Environment of the home.
     2. Marriage and divorce.
     3. System of education.
     4. Environment of the worker.
     5. Neglect and exploitation of children.
     6. The white slave traffic and prostitution.
     7. Management of defective, delinquent and dependent classes.
     8. Provisions for the criminal class.
   - D. For the sale of realizing ethical ideals.
     1. For the individual.
     2. For society.

VII. Methods and means of obtaining full citizenship.

VIII. Present status of woman suffrage throughout the world.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT WAGE-EARNING WOMEN AND THE STATE

A Reply to Miss Minnie Bronson

The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women has published a pamphlet written by Miss Minnie Bronson to prove two conclusions alleged to be detrimental to the exercise of the suffrage by women. First, that women are more generously protected by law in the states where there is no woman suffrage than in the states where women vote. Second, that in all the states wage-earning women are better protected by law than wage-earning men. If they were based on facts, these arguments would at first sight appear to be effective. Unfortunately for the strength of this position, the statements made in support of them are in many cases misleading or entirely false. The interpretation of the facts is wholly so.

I. ARGUMENT MISLEADING.

Aside from the errors of fact which will be subsequently pointed out, the argument is wholly misleading, because it ignores the fundamental differences in the industrial conditions of the suffrage and non-suffrage states.

Labor laws are enacted to protect women who labor in industry. Where factories are few, there is obviously

less need of protection than where hundreds of thousands of women are employed. No one can deny that factory legislation in the four suffrage states is less complete than in the more developed industrial states. But women voters in these four states are scarcely open to criticism for not having secured such complete factory laws as exist in the non-suffrage communities. They have had no such need. The figures which follow speak for themselves.

A Bulletin on Manufactures of the 1910 U. S. Census,* published May, 1912, gives the average number of wage-earners "in manufacturing establishments conducted under the factory system" in the United States. It shows that in the three great industrial states, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, the average number of female wage-earners in the year 1909 was more than 600,000. In the same year the total number of such female wage-earners in the four suffrage states, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado, was 3,499. In other words, the number of women in the four suffrage states working in factories was *one-half of one per cent.* of the women so employed in the industrial non-suffrage states.

States.	No. of Females Working in Factories.
Massachusetts	173,144
New York	293,525
Pennsylvania	168,605
Total	635,274
Idaho	155
Wyoming	45
Colorado	2,094
Utah	1,205
Total	3,499

Since the latest figures showing the number of women employed in separate trades are not yet available

*13th Census of the U. S. 1910, Bulletin on Manufactures, p. 19.

for 1910, the figures for 1900 are equally valuable for purposes of comparison. They show that in one of the chief women-employing trades, where legislation is most needed,—the textile industry,—over 120,000 women were employed in the three great industrial states. In the four suffrage states there was obviously no urgent call for legislation to protect women textile workers, since according to the 1900 Census, only seven women were employed in textile mills in Idaho, only one in Wyoming, 131 in Colorado and 143 in Utah. Similarly, according to the census, in the three great eastern industrial states, 22,365 women were employed as boot and shoe makers. In the same year in the four suffrage states altogether thirty-five women were employed in the shoe industry, distributed as follows: Idaho 0, Wyoming 0, Colorado 4, Utah 31.

Females Working in 4 Industries*

States	Textile mill operatives	Boot and shoe makers	Shirt, collar and cuff makers	Tobacco & cigar factory operatives
Massachusetts	60,695	16,359	1,314	533
New York	24,061	3,807	14,507	8,292
Pennsylvania	35,628	2,199	3,827	8,234
Total	120,384	22,365	19,648	17,059
Idaho	7	0	0	2
Wyoming	1	0	0	0
Colorado	131	4	17	25
Utah	143	31	3	2
Total	282	35	20	29

These four western states are still mining, grazing, and agricultural communities. The industrial conditions affecting women in them relatively to the eastern states are substantially as they were in 1900, when these figures were gathered.

*12th Census of the U. S. 1900, "Women at Work," published 1907, p. 188.

II. MIS-STATEMENT OF FACTS.

(1) *Legislation for Working Women in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States.*

These fundamental differences between the suffrage and non-suffrage states are not even hinted at in this pamphlet. Not only is the general trend of the argument misleading: there are also errors of fact so grave as to discredit the whole.

If, as is stated on page 5, women really were protected from night work by law in sixteen states where there is no woman suffrage, and were not thus protected in four suffrage states, some conclusions detrimental to the exercise of the suffrage by women might be drawn. It would be fortunate, indeed, if sixteen states had so legislated. Unhappily, only three states—Massachusetts, Nebraska, and Indiana—have such laws for adult women. This statement is thus 80 per cent. error.

This error reappears in another form on page 9, where it is stated that between 1908 and 1910 "fifty-four laws were enacted by the Legislatures of thirty-two states, affecting the employment of women and children. *Chief among them were the laws restricting or prohibiting night work by women.*"

In fact, no law whatever was enacted during those years prohibiting the work of women at night. A single state, Connecticut, partially restricted night work in stores; a woman may not work therein more than ten hours in twenty-four if she is employed after 10 P. M.

On page 10 the statement appears that six states, "Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, enacted laws superseding former laws." This is an error as to four of these six states mentioned. Only Louisiana and Michigan passed such laws, the former establishing a 10-hour day for women and the latter

a 54-hour week. Pennsylvania and Virginia already had such laws and took no action as to the working hours of women during the two years in question. Kansas has to this day no such law. Kentucky enacted its first restriction of women's hours in 1912.

In the next lines it is stated further that five states "enacted initial laws," viz., Mississippi, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Washington. Of these states but one, Missouri, is correctly included. Mississippi has to this day no law limiting women's hours of labor, and the three other states did not enact initial laws between 1908 and 1910 as stated.

All these errors are obvious to any one who takes the trouble to look up Bulletin No. 85 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, in which the legislation for the two years in question is given in detail.

(2) *Are Wage-earning Women Better Protected by Law than Wage-earning Men?*

On page 4 it is stated that "in forty-five states and three territories the law for the safeguarding of wage-earning women are better and more comprehensive than the laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning men." This is equivalent to saying that in *all* states wage-earning women are better protected by law than wage-earning men. No authority is given for this assertion. Certainly no safeguarding measure is of greater importance than that which shortens the wage-earners' working day. In this respect workingmen have by their votes obtained very great advantages over women.

At the present time more men than women enjoy the benefits of a working day limited by law. In a recent article on "Legislative Restriction of the Labor of Adult Men" (Bulletin of the New York Department of Labor, March, 1911), John A. Fitch says:

> "A federal law, and laws in twenty states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and Porto Rico, limit the hours of labor in public employment to eight per day."

Such federal laws, for instance, govern the working hours of the regiment of letter carriers and postal clerks throughout the United States, and of the hordes of men in the federal service constructing public works. Under a similar state law in New York all workers on the 101-million-dollar barge canal from Buffalo to New York, and all on the vast Catskill aqueduct of New York enjoy this protective legislation.

Besides these vast numbers who are protected by state and federal 8-hour laws in public employment, men's hours in private employment are legally restricted to an extent wholly unappreciated by most persons. Thus twelve states limit to eight in one day the working hours of miners. These states are Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Oklahoma, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

Besides the mines Mr. Fitch gives the other private industries in which men's hours of work are legally restricted: smelters, eight states; railroad labor, twenty-four states; telegraph or telephone operators engaged in handling trains, eighteen states; street car employment, ten states; bakeries, brickyards, cement and plaster mills, one state each; cotton and woolen mills, three states; drug clerks, one state; etc., etc. Mr. Fitch sums up:

> "There are, on the statute books of the United States, territories and dependencies, no less than sixty-five distinct laws designed to place a limitation on the daily hours of labor of adult males in private employment."

To women only two states, California and Washington, have granted 8-hour laws. The overwhelming majority of employees in public service, affected by the federal and state 8-hour laws, and the 8-hour laws governing private industries, are men.

This pamphlet is thus shown to contain truth and error so interwoven as to mislead the reader, and misin-

terpretations so reckless that the whole publication reflects discredit upon the author. It is extraordinary that one whose connection with the U. S. Bureau of Labor is exploited on the title page should exhibit so fundamental an ignorance of the statutes of which she undertakes to speak as an expert. This is the more rash because every statement can be readily tested by comparison with the official publications of the Bureau, which are published for free distribution, and hence are accessible to all.

A FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY.

Not only does this pamphlet contain misleading arguments, pointed out above, but it is based on a fundamental fallacy. It would be fortunate if it were true, as stated, that labor laws are automatically enacted in proportion as the number of women wage-earners increases. Any one who is familiar with the laborious process of obtaining legislative protection for wage-earning women knows that this is not the case. Each such act has been the result of long-continued education and effort. The author states that "the years 1908-10 show the most remarkable improvement in laws affecting wage-earning women" (page 9). But she ignores the specific reason why this "most remarkable improvement" took place. It was due not to the spontaneous action of legislators in the non-suffrage states, but to the action of the United States Supreme Court which in 1908, in the Oregon case, for the first time in its century of existence upheld a 10-hour law for women. This decision removed the barrier which had previously prevented such legislation and declared that the health and welfare of the community justified such laws.

The fear expressed in this pamphlet that political equality for women would deprive them of the extension of protective legislation, is well answered by Justice Brewer, who wrote the momentous Oregon decision and was himself a firm supporter of woman suffrage. He spe-

cifically stated in his opinion that even if women's political equality were secured, society must for its own preservation, protect women from overwork. "Even though all restrictions on political, personal and contractual rights were taken away," wrote Justice Brewer, "and she (woman) stood, as far as statutes are concerned, upon an equal plane with him (man) . . . her physical structure . . . having in view not merely her own health, but the well-being of the race, justify legislation to protect her."

In Washington and California the same legislators, who in 1911 submitted to the voters an amendment giving votes to women, gave women the 8-hour working day. They saw the truth that legislation shortening working hours is not a matter of gallantry or chivalry, a gracious gift to please the ladies. It is essential to the life of the nation. For overworked women can not rear sons and daughters capable of carrying forward a democratic republic.

Pauline Goldmark,

Josephine Goldmark,

Florence Kelley.

June 1, 1912.

Distributed by the

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LIST OF DELEGATES

to the

FORTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

of the

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Second Edition

PHILADELPHIA

November 21-26, 1912

List of Delegates

to the

FORTY-FOURTH CONVENTION

of the

National American Woman Suffrage Association

WITHERSPOON HALL

Walnut and Juniper Streets

Thursday, November 21st

to

Tuesday, November 26th

1912

THREE SESSIONS DAILY

10 A. M. 2.30 P. M. 8 P. M.

1. Rev. Anna Howard Shaw.
2. Miss Jane Addams.
3. Mrs. Ellen Price.
4. The Rt. Rev. Philip Mercer Rhinelander.
5. Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois.
6. Baroness Bertha von Suttner.
7. Hon. Rudolph Blankenburg.
8. Mrs. Rudolph Blankenburg.
9. Mrs. Charlotte Pierce.
10. Miss Jane Campbell.
11. Miss M. Carey Thomas.
12. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.
13. Mrs. Otis Skinner.
14. Mrs. Robert La Follette.
15. Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch.
16. Mrs. Maude Nathan.
17. Mrs. Harriet Burton Laidlaw.
18. Miss Julia Lathrop.
19. Rev. James Henry Darlington.
20. Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge

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40. Braly, Mr. J. H., Pasadena, Cal.
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285. Orme, Mrs. Anna M., Wayne, Pa.
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308. Clapin, Mrs. Susie, Massachusetts.
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361. Morgan, Mrs. Mary C., Pennsylvania.
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363. Toppey, Mrs. Elizabeth, Pearl River, N. Y.
364. Aldmer, Mr. Cyrus, E. Providence, R. I.
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368. Russel, Miss S. J., Pennsylvania.
369. Lewis, Miss Julia, Philadelphia.
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380. Kearns, Edna Buckman, Rockville Centre, L. I.
381. McKenzie, Mrs. Elna, Yonkers, N. Y.

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BONDWOMEN

By

DORA MARSDEN, B. A.

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BONDWOMEN

Bondwomen are distinguished from Freewomen by a spiritual distinction. Bondwomen are the women who are not separate spiritual entities—who are not individuals. They are complements merely. By habit of thought, by form of activity, and largely by preference, they round off the personality of some other individual, rather than create or cultivate their own. Most women, as far back as we have any record, have fitted into this conception, and it has borne itself out in instinctive working practice.

And in the midst of all this there comes a cry that woman is an individual, and that because she is an individual she must be set free. It would be nearer the truth to say that if she is an individual she *is* free, and will act like those who are free. The doubtful aspect in the situation is as to whether women are or can be individuals—that is, free—and whether there is not danger, under the circumstances, in labelling them free, thus giving them the liberty of action which is allowed to the free. It is this doubt and fear which is behind the opposition which is being offered the vanguard of those who are "asking for" freedom. It is the kind of fear which an engineer would have in guaranteeing an arch equal to a strain above its strength. The opponents of the Freewomen are not actuated by spleen or by stupidity, but by dread. This dread is founded upon ages of experience with a being who, however well loved, has been known to be an inferior, and who has ac-

cepted all the conditions of inferiors. Women, women's intelligence, and women's judgments have always been regarded with more or less secret contempt, and when woman now speaks of "equality" all the natural contempt which a higher order feels for a lower when it presumes bursts out into the open. This contempt rests upon quite honest and sound instinct, so honest, indeed, that it must provide all the charm of an unaccustomed sensation for fine gentlemen like the Curzons and Cromers and Asquiths to feel anything quite so instinctive and primitive. With the women opponents it is another matter. These latter apart, however, it is for would-be Freewomen to realize that for them this contempt is the healthiest thing in the world, and that those who express it honestly feel it; that these opponents have argued quite soundly that women have allowed themselves to be used, ever since there has been any record of them; and that if women had had higher uses of their own they would not have foregone them. They have never known women formulate imperious wants, this in itself implying lack of wants, and this in turn implying lack of ideals. Women as a whole have shown nothing save "servant" attributes. All those activities which presuppose the master qualities, the standard-making, the law-giving, the moral-framing, belong to men. Religions, philosophies, legal codes, standards in morals, canons in art have all issued from men, while women have been the "followers," "believers," the "law-abid-

ing," the "moral," the conventionally admiring. They have been the administrators, the servants, living by borrowed precept, receiving orders, doing hodmen's work. For note, though some men must be servants, all women are servants, and all the masters are men. That is the difference and distinction. The servile condition is common to all women. Consider, for instance, the wife of the politician. She plays round irresponsively, helping out the politician's work; the parson's wife—she is the hard-working, unpaid assistant of her husband; the working-man's wife eke's out a straitened existence for herself by allocating the modest wages which the workman, and not she, has earned. Women's very virtues are those of a subordinate class. Women are long-suffering, adaptable, dutiful, faithful, and with unlimited capacity for sacrifice. Even if in such matters as sex, where women are considered more "moral" than men, because women recognize intuitively that men *think* more, they pay their homage as from a lower to a higher authority, by allowing men to frame their standards even *in* morals. It is because woman is thus, and not otherwise, that she is so useful to man—his "comforter." For man, woman has become a kind of human poultice, or, more poetically, the illusion softening reality. This, coupled with the fact that she is also man's "female," accounts for all the poetic adulation which men have offered to women. But it is not to poetry, but to blunt prose, that one must turn to get at man's real estimate of

woman's place in the scheme of things. Hear what he says in plain prose, when woman presumes to speak of equality and "freedom." Out of his own experience of her, he knows her to be a follower, one who has always been ready to sacrifice herself to him and his interests. He would have sacrificed himself for nothing, save his own ideas; but she has always revelled sombrely in sacrificing herself for anything or anybody, for duty, for peace, husband, parents, children. And this, after all, is what speaks far more eloquently than a tome of argument to the ordinary man. It tells him that nothing has ever crossed her mind regarding herself which has appeared to her too good to be sacrificed to anything on earth, itself excepting. He therefore quite naturally argues that she has acted like a second because she felt herself a second.

How women have fallen into this position is a moot point. It is yet to be decided whether they ever did fall—where man and women have not been, from their creation, master and servant. If otherwise, and if woman did "fall," the reason why is yet to be assigned. It is quite beside the point to say women were "crushed" down. If they were not "down" in themselves—i. e., weaker in mind—no equal force could have crushed them "down." There can be no over-reaching *in the long run* with mind. In the long run, mind plays on its own merits. It can neither receive nor give quarter. Those who are "down" are inferior. When change takes place in the thing itself—i. e.,

when it becomes equal or superior—by the nature of its own being it rises. So woman, if ever equal, must have sunk on the ground of inferiority. Whether this inferiority arose through the disabilities arising out of child-bearing, or whether it arose through women giving up the game—i. e., bartering themselves for the sake of the protection of men—it is difficult to say. Probably in her desire for love continued, for protection, for keeping the man near her, she slipped into the role of making herself useful to him, serving *him,* giving him always more love and more, more service and more, until, on the one hand, she acquired the complete "servant" mind, and he, on the other, gained the realization that her "usefulness" was of greater moment to him than the fret of the tie which retained him.

At the present time, when man's adventurous and experimental mind has made much of her "usefulness" useless, woman finds herself cut off from her importantly useful sphere, equipped with the mind of a servant, and with the reputation of one. She thus finds herself in a position in which she is compelled to do one of two things —i. e., remain solely as the man's protected female, or, making what may or may not be a successful effort, endeavor to take her place as a master. It is this effort to find her place among the masters which is behind the feminist movement; and such a statement of the feminist case is a refutation of the arguments of all those who maintain

that there is no duality of interest between men and women. At the present time, there *is* duality, and duality in this connection will cease to exist only when women sink back into the position of females with nothing beyond, or when they stand recognized as "masters" among other "masters," considering their sex just as much an incidental concern as men consider theirs.

But to return to the Bondwomen. It seems difficult to realize how the females of a virile race could have been content to remain a permanently subordinate position. It can only be accounted for upon an understanding of the stupefying influence of security with irresponsibility. And this is what "protection" always means for the "protected." To begin with, by securing the "protection" of a man, a woman rids herself of the responsibility of earning her own living. Following upon this beginning, so many pleasures accrue that under their influence women are soothed into such a willing acceptance of their position that they are unable to see the unspiritedness of it. Moreover, besides having "protection" and maintenance, they achieve physical maturity; they have the great adventure of having children; they secure companions and avoid the loneliness of existence; they have the flattery which smooths it, and they live easily under a ready-made code and under the sanction of the communal blessing.

For this protected position women give up all first-hand power. Really, the power to work and to think. All the

power they achieve is merely derivative. They allow to slide past them those powerful incentives which keep up the strain of effort—that is, individual public honor, wealth, titles, decorations, the bits of ribbon. These go to men. To women are offered the great soporifics—comfort and protection. How difficult and hard is a woman's choice made! It is almost too hard. Nothing but one thing—the sense of quality, the sense that a woman has gifts, the sense that she is a superior, a master—can give her the strength to slip the comfort and protection and to be content to seize the "love" in passing, to suffer the long strain of effort, and to bear the agony of producing creative work. Having this sense, they will learn that freedom is born in the individual soul, and that no outer force can either give it or take it away; that only Freewomen can be free, or lead the way to freedom. They will learn that their freedom will consist in appraising their own worth, in setting up their own standards and living up to them, and putting behind them for ever their role of complacent self-sacrifice. For none can judge of another soul's value. The individual has to record its own. A morality begotten in a community where one-half are born servants may glibly say that it is woman's highest role to be the comforter of men and children; but it is the truth, and men and women both must learn it, that while to be a human poultice is to have great utility, it does not offer the conditions under which vivid new life-manifestations are likely

to show themselves, either in the "Comforter" or the "Comforted."

. . . . . .

The cult of the Suffragist takes its stand upon the weakness and dejectedness of the conditions of women. The cult of the Suffragist would say, "Are women not weak? Are women not crushed down? Are women not in need of protection? Therefore, give them the means wherewith they may be protected." Those of the cult of the Freewoman, however, while granting this in part, would go on to say, "In spite of our position, we feel within us the stirrings of new powers and of growing strength. If we can secure scope, opportunity, and responsibility, we feel we can make realizable to the world a new revelation of spiritual consciousness. We feel we can produce new evidence of creative force, which, when allowed its course, will encompass developments sufficiently great to constitute a higher development in the evolution of the human race and of human achievement." We believe that it is to the Freewomen we have to look for the conscious setting towards a higher race, for which their achievements will help to make ready, and their strivings and aspirations help to mould. For this they do not require protection; they need liberty. They do not require ease; they need strenuous effort. They do not wish, by law or by any other means, to fasten their responsibilities on others. They themselves are prepared to shoulder

their own. They bear no grudge and claim no exemption because of the greater burdens which Nature has made theirs. They accept them willingly, because of their added opportunity and power.

In the attainment of all these things the vote will lend its small quota—small because it is of the letter and not of the spirit. The spirit comes from within. It can be fostered, but it cannot be created before its time, and when its time has come it cannot be unduly repressed, oh Suffragists!

It is not so long as it seems, but from these hopes and dreams of the future it appears a long cry back to the problems of the domestic questions of to-day. If the Freewoman is not going to be the protected woman, but is to carve out an independence for herself, she must produce within herself strength sufficient to provide for herself and for those of whom Nature has made her the natural guardian, her children. To this end she must open up resources of wealth for herself. She must work, earn money. She must seize upon the incentives which have spurred on men to strenuous effort—wealth, power, titles, and public honor.

To this end she will have to strive, and that she should so strive will be well for her children. Many will say that this responsibility on the mother is too hard. What are the resposibilities of the father? Well, that is *his* business. Perhaps the State will have something to say to

him, but the Freewoman's concern is to see to it that she shall be in a position to bear children if she wants them without soliciting maintenance from any man, whoever he may be; and this she can only do if she is earning money for herself, or is provided for out of some common fund for a limited time. Some women and men here suggest a compromise. They suggest, in order that the women shall at once retain dignity and receive maintenance, that they shall act as housekeepers to the men who provide this maintenance, and receive money for their domestic services. There are endless objections to this, even as a voluntary arrangement. In the first place, a growing number of women, while hoping to have children, refuse to sacrifice their career to domestic work, much as they like it. In the second place, many women detest domestic work, which is wholly alien to their natural capabilities. Many of them think that they have capabilities of an order which make them regard domestic work as inferior work. To surmount this difficulty, well-intentioned people have been trying, by artificial adjuncts, to raise the status of domestic work. To these we would point out that the distaste felt is not due to the social estimation in which it is held, high or low as this may be, but is due to a temperamental distaste for it. The well-intentioned people, now utterly bewildered, are pretending that housework has fallen into disrepute because it is unpaid work, forgetting that the best of the worker's work is always unpaid. In their be-

wilderment they have gone so far as to set up a monstrous theory that wives should become the paid employees of their husbands! Beyond this, folly can no further go!

And yet Suffragists, and advanced persons among women generally, make use of this theory. Imagine the circumstances! The man would be compelled by law to pay a portion of his salary to a person whom he is prevented by law from dismissing, and who is prevented by law from securing release. The paid person may be satisfactory or not. If unsatisfactory, what redress is there for the employer? No redress! but a possible remedy in corporal punishment, such as is administered to soldiers in barracks under similar circumstances. And the employee against a tyrannical employer? No power to refuse to sell her labor! power only to form a trade union of paid wives! The entire theory is ludicrous in its absurdity. No! Personal relationships between equals must be entered into on terms of equality. And this brings us to the real feeling, which is expressed in the animus against domestic occupation for so large a proportion of women. The feeling has its roots in the elementary fact that, in order to attend to a house, a woman has to give up the work which represents to her, at most, independence and self-expression, and, at least, self-support. In giving up her work the woman gives up the obvious means of support over which she has control, and she becomes dependent upon the energy and work of some other individual. Feminism would hold that

it is neither desirable nor necessary for women, when they are mothers, to leave their chosen, money-earning work for any length of time. The fact that they so often do so largely rests on tradition which has to be worn down. In wearing it down vast changes must take place in social conditions, in housing, nursing, kindergarten, education, cooking, cleaning, in the industrial world, and in the professions. These changes will have for their motive the accommodation of such conditions as will enable women to choose and follow a life-work, apart from, and in addition to, their natural function of reproduction.

So it is from a full recognition of the fact that the feminist doctrine is a hard one for women, that the path of the Freewoman will be beset with difficulties, with temptations both from without and within, that we are led to the further recognition of the futility of preaching it to the women who are essentially ordinary women, who do not already bear in themselves the stamp of the individual.

We are convinced that, at the present time, our interpretation of the doctrine has merely to be stated clearly to be frankly rejected by, at least, three women in every four.

Probably these replies will raise more objections than those they were put forward to meet, but if such is the case it will be not merely what was expected, but what is hoped.

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EDITORIAL

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL
IN
THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
BOSTON, MASS., SEPT. 7. 1912

A VOICE FROM FINLAND

No theoretical argument for woman suffrage is so convincing as its practical success where it has been tried. American suffragists are fortunate in having a chance this year to hear about its working in Finland from a very distinguished Finnish lady, Madame Aino Malmberg.

Madam Malmberg, who is expected to arrive in New York on November 16, is a well known Finnish novelist and writer. She is the daughter of a Lutheran clergyman and a graduate of the ancient university of Helsingfors. In 1899 she was the representative of Finland to the International Congress of Women, and addressed crowded audiences in perfect English, under the chairmanship of Lady Aberdeen.

She took part in Finland's struggle against the tyranny of Russia, is a friend of Mme. Catherine Breshkovsky and has suffered imprisonment in St. Petersburg. For some years past she has resided in England.

During 1909 she addressed immense audiences in England and Scotland, and within the past two years has spoken in the principal cities of Great Britain before the leading Geographical, Literary, Social and Philosophical Societies. The Director of the Lecture League of London writes:

"In the larger cities her audiences have numbered between three and four thousand. Everywhere she has been received with acclamation and the most enthusiastic appreciation of her wonderful personality. Over and over again she has been recalled at the close of her lectures, and the audiences rising en masse have given her nine ringing cheers. With the possible exceptions of Nansen, Shackleton and Peary, fresh from dreadful Polar experiences, no lecturer on the platform in England has evoked such enthusiasm."

Madame Malmberg will give three lectures during her American trip on "The Women of Finland," "Finland's Struggle for Freedom," and "Russian Women in the Movement for Freedom." All these will be of great interest, and the first will be especially appropriate for suffrage clubs. It treats of the position of Finnish Women as characterized in Old Legends and Folk Songs and the National Epic "Kalewala"—Finnish Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries—Development of Social Distinctions—The Modern Women—Mixed Education—The Colleges and Schools of Finland—Women's Occupations—Women as Bank Clerks—Women in Literature, Art and Science—Peasant Women—The Working Woman, the Charwoman and the Cook—Women in Politics—The Political Struggle—Women in Parliament, The Cook who is, most appropriately, also a Member of "The Diet"—The Outlook for Women. This lecture is said to be full of personal anecdote, humor, pathos, and human interest, and will please every class of audience.

The lecture on Finland's Struggle for Freedom is illustrated with unique bioscope films and photographic slides. The one on "Russian Women in the Movement for Freedom" is rendered additionally interesting by the fact that Madame Malmberg personally knows the Russian and Finnish women whom she describes.

Mrs. Philip Snowden writes: "Madame Malmberg is a woman of great personal charm, of exceptional ability and wonderful intellectual attainments. Her speeches are richly eloquent and full of sincerity. I hope that all my friends in the United States will take the opportunity of hearing her."

All great struggles for human freedom are akin, and a fresh impetus will be given to our zeal for equal rights for women when we hear any one of Madame Malmberg's remarkable lectures.

A. S. B.

Since the above was written, Madame Malmberg has arranged to illustrate all her Lectures, when desired, with **Lantern Slides and Motion Pictures**, although they can be given without either if desired.

Applications for Lectures should be made as early as possible to Madame Malmberg's American Manager,

WILLIAM B. FEAKINS
(Successor to Civic Forum Lecture Bureau)
19 West 44th Street, New York
Telephone: Bryant 8317

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Miss Sylvia Pankhurst



Artist, Prison Reformer, Suffrage Advocate

American Tour, January, February, 1912

UNDER DIRECTION OF WILLIAM B. FEAKINS
(Successor to Civic Forum Lecture Bureau)
23 WEST 44TH STREET, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: BRYANT, 4897

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST, daughter of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the noted English Suffragette, visited America, almost unheralded, for the first time in January, 1911. Most Americans were well informed regarding the work of her mother and also of her sister, Christabel, but had heard little of Sylvia, who had neglected her art work in which she had been so successful in order to shoulder the burden of the work of The Woman's Social and Political Union when it was interrupted by the arrest and imprisonment of her mother and sister. Her zeal in pushing the work of the Union soon led to her own arrest and imprisonment. As a result of her confinement in Halloway Street jail she has brought home vividly to the English people a realization of the need of reform of their prison system. She feels that for this reason alone her time in prison was well spent, as it has caused her to pledge herself to the work of prison reform.

¶ Shortly after her arrival in America she spoke in Carnegie Lyceum, under the auspices of the Woman's Political Union, and made such a favorable impression that immediately requests were received from all parts of the United States and Canada for her, so that within ten weeks she had spoken at more than fifty meetings—in most cases in large auditoriums. In St. Louis she was invited to address six hundred prominent business men at the midday and held their attention for an hour.

¶ MISS PANKHURST won her way into the hearts of the people wherever she went. They were surprised to find this woman who had battled for the ballot and had suffered imprisonment because of her principles, a rather frail, medium-sized person with the engaging manner of youth, sweetly winning ways, and not even a suggestion of demagogism about her. After people have listened awhile to her argument and the story of the fight for women's rights, they feel what a birth-right was hers in being the daughter of the undaunted leader of the militant suffragists, and of Dr. Pankhurst, a leading barrister, who ever fought for woman's political and religious freedom. Although Miss Pankhurst

is simple and unaffected in manner, while on the platform she shows the same fire and spirit that has enabled her mother to gain so much for the cause she represents.

¶ MISS PANKHURST is the author of *The Suffragette: The History of the Militant Equal Suffrage Movement,* which has had a large sale in America.

¶ MISS PANKHURST will arrive in America early in January, 1912, and will be available until the first week in March.

Lecture Subjects

The Woman Suffrage Movement.

English Industrial Conditions Affecting Women.

Prison Reform.

A LITTLE ROSY-CHEEKED SLIP OF AN ENGLISH GIRL last evening held the attention of a distinguished New York audience, which filled the Carnegie Lyceum, for over an hour and a half. It was Miss Sylvia Pankhurst making her first public appearance in New York to tell the story of the action of the English militant suffragists and the reason for it.

She told her story as a girl might tell it, with absolute simplicity and freedom from self-consciousness. The audience was interested in the story and in the girl.—*New York Times,* January 7, 1911.

Addressing an audience made up of women of attainments in the literary, business and social world, women not likely to yield lightly their preconceived ideas, this young woman literally talked herself into the hearts of all present, and captivated her audience by the charms of her personality and the simple earnestness of her words.

A pair of big blue eyes looking appealingly from a child face, the soft brown hair parted in the middle and gathered at the back with a total disregard of the prevailing fashion as to quantity, this together with a certain diffidence of manner, argued illy for the success of her mission. Somehow, when she stepped on to the raised platform and stood looking out over the assembled guests, her hands nervously clasping and unclasping, and in her voice a note of self-consciousness, one could not help comparing her with a frightened child. But Sylvia Pankhurst evidently needed no sympathy, and once she had entered on her discourse the words seem to come of their own volition, her voice no longer trembled, and there was a subtle something in her tone and her manner of speaking that caught and held the attention whether or no.—*Kansas City Journal,* January 31, 1911.

Miss Pankhurst seemed to be inspired, and held her large audience spellbound. Every seat in Memorial Hall and in the balcony was taken, and standing room was at a premium.—*The Cincinnati Inquirer,* February 4, 1911.

After Miss Pankhurst's lecture in Detroit a newspaper which had not been very friendly toward the "Votes for Women" movement gave considerable space to a report of the lecture and said that she had made more converts to the cause of Woman Suffrage than any speaker that had presented the subject in that city.

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The Evolution *of* Suffrage

THE REMEDY FOR THE EVILS OF THE PRESENT RUDIMENTARY SUFFRAGE

By

FRANK J. SCOTT



LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
FOURTH AVENUE & 30TH STREET, NEW YORK
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1912

From the Author.

Loose Item

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The Evolution of Suffrage

The Remedy for the Evils of the Present Rudimentary Suffrage.

Webster defines Suffrage to be:—

"A voice given in deciding a controverted question, or in the choice of a man for an office or a trust; the formal expression of an opinion; assent; vote:—as from Shakespeare:

"I ask your voices and your suffrages."

The noisy and passionate voices of a crowd of savages choosing a chief are evidently an exercise of suffrage as complete as the legally assured mode by which every adult male citizen of the United States and other advanced countries now exercises the same right. It is certainly a natural right, which may be overcome and subverted by the tyrannous exercise of superior power by some men over others, or may become a lawfully assured right or privilege. If this statement is correct, it is evident that suffrage is not a result of an advanced condition of civilization, but

an appurtenance of human nature, belonging alike to all conditions, barbarous and civilized. The *viva voce* vote is the rudimentary form of suffrage which expresses all the influence that may be expressed by any one person in a primitive state of society. The progress from that to the unseen vote of the ballot, is an immense progress; or would be, if independently exercised by each individual on any question to be effected by it;—provided the person using the ballot knows something of the question concerning which he uses it. An important proviso! It is an immense progress in this:—that to a certain extent it eliminates the excitements, the timidities and the passions that influence one's acts in a tumultuous assembly; that it permits each man to act on his tranquil judgment concerning his own interests, to choose between men, and for or against acts proposed, without creating enmities, or being biased or restrained by friendship or ill will, by desire to please, or fear of displeasing, at the moment of voting. An example familiar to all may illustrate this better than didactic expressions.

IMAGINE A CAUCUS to nominate a town or city trustee, or councilman. Friends of a

certain candidate are there to secure his nomination. Many others, not favorable to that candidate, are also there:—all neighbors and mutual acquaintances. A partisan of the first named candidate proposes one of his friends for chairman by a *viva voce* vote. It is not unusual. Neighbors do not like to seem unfriendly by objecting, and the chairman is seated by a good-natured majority. Another friend then rises to mention the good things that may be said of a friend whom he names and nominates for another office. A considerable number of those present think strongly that the person proposed is not qualified, that in many ways he may be ill-suited for the place; but the candidate is present, and his opponents do not like to take that occasion to say what they think. They may like the man as a neighbor, though they distrust him as a politician. They prefer his friendship and that of his partisans to their enmity. No objections therefore being *openly* made to the good things which are said of the nominee, his friend ventures to ask a *viva voce* vote. If one objects the aye voices fairly drown the voice of the objector, and a *viva voce* nomination is then asked for. But suppose the objector sturdily *demands* a ballot and names an opposition candidate.

After the strong showing of the *viva voce* vote for the chairman the friends of the party thus unfairly nominated, we will suppose, concede the ballot: because it has become a part of the common law of politics to concede its rightfulness; and also because they think their candidate has an assured majority! Ballots are prepared for both nominees. Unseen votes record the previously silent opinions, and the man who was chosen chairman ten minutes before by an apparently almost unanimous vote, finds his friend defeated by a decisive majority. This illustration is a fact of my own witnessing, and I doubt not a familiar one to all caucus goers. It is significant as to the superiority of the ballot over the primitive voice vote. It also shows how easy it is to relapse into the primitive modes of barbarism.

SUFFRAGE IS A GROWTH, from its germ in the expression of each man's will by the voice only, within the limits of the voice only, to that boundless expression which the pen and the printing press give us, and which, in a political way, law guarantees each citizen only a restricted use of.

Instead of having achieved a great thing in guaranteeing one vote to each man up-

wards of 21 years old, and pluming ourselves on having an excellent basis for good government, have we not in fact put our republican institutions into a strait-jacket that prevents nearly every person who has more capability of usefulness than another from giving that superiority any voice? Each man may prove his merit for his own individual service, but is denied the power to do so in the service of the state!

Inexperienced youth, the improvident, the ignorant, the vicious, the stupid, the lazy, the drunken, the dirty—the whole mass of scum and dregs of society through each of its component men—are equal in power, individually and collectively at the moment of voting with the mature, the useful, the industrious, the intelligent and beneficent members of our communities! Is not the system of which this can be said a stupidity? At least is it not behind the spirit of progress in every other direction?

I do not, however, propose to question the justice of the one step we have taken in law to secure the right of every man (and why not every woman?) to what is called "Manhood suffrage." Surely no citizen in a civilized country ought to be denied as much voice in public matters which concern him

as every savage, if he be not a slave, claims and exercises. All our supposed progress in suffrage only makes a legal guaranty of our primal instinct to express an opinion which barbarous communities began with before written laws were known; the printed or written secret ballot being the only advance yet made! Yet that little advance—the secret ballot—I am ready to characterize as the tap-root of a just system of government. But it is as small a beginning of a just system of suffrage as the sprouting acorn's first year's single root downwards, compared with all the powerful roots in every other direction that make the amplitude of support for a great tree. It is *just* that all men and women should have some voice in what concerns them, be they weak or strong, ignorant or educated, useful or vicious. But does it follow that the strong shall not have more work set for them to do than the weak? Does it follow that the industrious shall not have more power to protect their earnings than the shiftless or the vicious have to participate in the enjoyment of what they have not earned? Does it follow that the intelligent shall continue to be neutralized in influence by the stupid, and the honest by the vicious? Does it follow that when

a boy reaches the age of 21, and is confirmed in the right of manhood suffrage, independent of every other qualification, that there is therefore, and thereafter, no other or further qualification for an extension of the suffrage? Has the power to judge of what is for the weal or woe of the community culminated the moment one has passed through babyhood and adolescence to manhood? Does marriage give no added sense of responsibility—no added spur to industry and providence? Does the rearing of children through twenty years thereafter teach nothing to give the voter a better and wider right to influence than when the adolescent vote is acquired, or than when married duties are but just begun? Does the business experience of ten or twenty or thirty or forty years in married or unmarried persons tend to form no wiser opinions of men and things—nothing to entitle such experience to a greater suffrage power than the boy has who is just out of school? Does the accumulation of property by industry and providence entitle those who have earned it to no more voice in its management for public uses, through legislation and taxation, than those persons who have practiced less thoughtful industry? Shall neither age, nor

experience, nor qualities, nor stake in the public weal, nor anything, entitle woman to vote?

"Old men for council, and young men for war"—is a proverb old as history. Is it false?

Is Not All Our Boasted Assurance of the benefits of the ballot, as though, at the sprouting of the acorn's tap-root the two first leaves that cleave the ground should cry aloud—"Behold what a great Oak I am!" Let but a worm gnaw the little root, and lo! —the plant is dead. Let a rabbit nibble off its leaves and buds—the tap-root dies. If our suffrage goes no further than the tap-root stage the worm will surely girdle it, despite the vigorous conceit we have of it. Yet some beneficent results of that step are too well proved wherever it has been tried to permit us to doubt that it is a step in the right direction. Other results, however, of this limited suffrage, are so mean, so blundering, so fraught with loss to the community, especially in cities, so rotten in their fruits, that the minds of all thoughtful observers of the present time are anxious as to the means by which its benefits may be preserved and its prospective evils averted.

Guizot, in ampler illustrations than I can

quote, suggests that civilization is as it were the great savings bank of humanity, in which all its knowledge, all its wealth, all the progress of its life, all the powers of its existence, are stored up and transmitted for future use. "This is so true," he remarks, "that we judge of minor facts accordingly as they affect this great one, so that some which are naturally detested and hated, which prove at the moment a heavy calamity on the nation upon which they fall—as for instance, despotism, anarchy, etc.—even these are partly forgiven, their evil nature is partly overlooked, if they have aided in any considerable degree the march of civilization. Wherever the progress of this principle is visible, together with the facts which have urged it forward, we are tempted to forget the price it has cost—we overlook the dearness of the purchase."

To those who see in the demoralization and misgovernment which come of municipal suffrage in this country food for misanthropic misgivings as to further results, Guizot's is a welcome philosophy.

Is Not Our Young Country cramped and befouled by the swaddling clothes of suffrage infancy, and suffering for want of

a change suited to its growth? Is it not an enlarged, full, and intelligently progressive suffrage, instead of a rudimentary beginning, that we need, to cure the evils and diseases of its childhood?

HERBERT SPENCER gives the key to all progress in Nature—vegetable, animal, and in human conditions—in these words:—

"It is settled beyond dispute that organic progress consists in a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous." In other words—let me say—from the simple to the complex:—evolution from primal forms into illimitable varieties. The greater the differentiation of characteristics, of occupations, of industries, of wants, of modes of thinking, of things to think about, and of modes of expression, the higher the civilization. By this standard how does our suffrage system look? Its sole condition—a certain sex and twenty-one years of combined childhood and adolescence! This is our culmination. May no other powers in human nature, or human growth, in knowledge, or experience, thereafter add to, or modify it?

Is it unfair to characterize this hide-bound system as but one step removed from downright barbarism?

Is it unreasonable to suggest that the remedy for the evils of the present suffrage lies in its extension, under some plan which shall give to the most useful elements in every community a power of influence proportioned to their character?

THE MAIN CONDITION PRECEDENT to activity in invention in any direction is, that a great want be felt for improvement in that direction. A first inventor turns the key, and a crowd of others enter the opened door and follow with rapid improvements till the want is filled. Thus I now venture to offer a series of suggestions constituting one plan, knowing full well that, the field once entered, the alertness of mind and practical wisdom of the many who are awake to the importance of the subject will speedily seize upon what is good in it, eliminate its imperfections, and modify or improve with endless variations the propositions I now submit as a basis for an improved political machinery.

THE EVOLUTION, or plan, I would suggest is as follows:

1st. To preserve the present one-ballot suffrage: on the principle that whatever

power of body, or mind, or conscience, we wish to develop, we can only develop *by beginning to use it,* whether the first effects are bungling or not.

2nd. A first marriage after the age of 20 to entitle both of the parties to it to one additional vote,—but no second marriage to increase it, nor a widowed condition, nor a divorce, to deprive any one of it afterward.

3rd. At the age of 30, married or unmarried, every citizen to have another vote.

4th. Each ten years of additional age to give one additional vote up to the age of 50. A person who had been married would then have five votes, and one who had not been married four, but still eligible to the fifth by a first marriage after that time.

Of these five votes it will be seen that after the first adult vote, three will be the result of increasing years, and one for entering the married life. I would have no increasing vote based on age after fifty. But just when to stop in the matter of age is not material to the argument. I simply desire to suggest that increasing knowledge and experience, as such, shall have some power of expressing itself. It would not be complimentary to the reader's intelligence were I to amplify on the practicability of such a

system, or to show the *probable average* of good effects likely to flow from it. If power to vote intelligently does not to *some extent* come of increased experience, increased knowledge, increase of responsibilities, increase of earnings, increased stake in the commonwealth, what is the need of any voice at all in our own affairs?

THERE IS ANOTHER BASIS for additional suffrage, viz.: on the acquisition of property, that is not in the least novel, and which has been the subject of discussion and action in most civilized countries. It is an essential feature of every discussion of the suffrage question. That there shall be no taxation without representation is a principle that has been fought for among European peoples, and among the Egyptians, Chinese, and Romans, for aught I know, a score of centuries before the British Magna Charta, or our Declaration of Independence. In connection with the simple form of progressive suffrage which I have already outlined, a property qualification seems from one point of view a necessary part of a just system. But it is dangerous ground. I have so little sympathy with it as a *sole* basis for increased suffrage that, only to the

extent that it can be made use of as a spur to life's first efforts to obtain a competence, and as an encouragement to temperance, industry, and economy, at the beginning of life, would I incorporate it with a comprehensive plan of suffrage. But for that purpose and to that extent I would add:—

That any time after the acquisition of the first adult vote the possession of a homestead worth $—— or the acquirement of property listed and valued for taxation at $—— or upwards, be the basis for one additional vote:—the homestead to give the vote to the person who has the legal title thereto, man or woman. No additional property acquired to give an additional vote to the person voting by reason of such homestead ownership; but any one acquiring other property of whatever description valued for taxation the required amount for conferring the privilege of a vote to have that vote in lieu of the homestead vote. This would permit an adult woman to have a homestead and consequently one additional suffrage power, and her husband to get his additional vote by acquiring other property—or *vice versa:*—thus making a premium on early providence and industry, independent of age. Unmarried men or women to have the same

option to acquire either the homestead vote, or the property vote other than homestead.

BUT IT WOULD BE AN IMPERFECT SYSTEM of progressive suffrage which would confer additional voting power only to represent increasing years and experience, or homestead accumulations. So much would certainly tend to crown with honor the wisdom gained by experience, but if the system should give them and the holders of homesteads and other property, voting rights by virtue of such age and such holdings, and stop there, it would be open to the objection that it offers no premium on character independent of age, and a homestead.

Assuredly after adultness, matrimony, experience, property, has each asked its special representation in suffrage, there are other qualities less easily defined that also deserve, but are too modest to ask, like recognition. They are not to be found by birth registers, by census reports, or assessors' returns, or even educational statistics. Educational accomplishments are of inestimable value to a state. Yet the possessor of such, the scientist, the inventor, the scholar, may not succeed in laying up even a homestead. A scientific investigator, the son of an illustrious man of

science, having a tempting money-making scheme placed before him by a friend—said to him—"My dear sir, I have no time to make money—I really have no time to think of it." That sort of a man belongs to a higher plane of civilization than those of us who like bees merely store honey in summer to eat in winter:—or, like the porcine genus, take on accumulations to "cut up fat"—for the devil knows who—to feed on. Certain grades of superiority in learning are entitled to the honor of a special suffrage power. But there are other species of superiority more general, more commonplace, more appreciable by all men and women, *of even higher claims to suffrage endowment, than those of age or learning.* I mean that simple honesty of purpose and kindliness of nature and native justness of judgment that makes some men and some women intelligently active and thoughtful to promote the happiness and prosperity of those about them. Such persons may be neither learned, nor old enough to have five votes, nor accumulators of property, nor high in social position, but if they impress themselves upon their neighborhoods by their average of good judgment and good lives why may we not give to such "a vote of confidence"? If a

thousand men in one ward may delegate *all* their power to make local laws and levy taxes to one man for two years, or ten years if they choose, why may they not with equal propriety by hundreds give some of their number a one-hundredth more suffrage power than others? If we can delegate all the legislative power of one hundred thousand voters to one member of congress, shall all the people have no power to increase by a single vote the usefulness of others in our midst who have better qualities than the average of us to judge wisely in the choice of servants or measures? Shall men like the late Chief Justice M. R. Waite, or men of like qualities who are not famous, walk our streets, or plough on our farms forever with no more power to exercise by suffrage than the ignoramus, the idler, the gambler, and the bummer? Have we not as much right to elect some of our neighbors to an extra one-suffrage-power as to elect superior servants to a one-hundred-thousand suffrage power?

Premising that something like this theory may be accepted as reasonable, the question to be solved is—is there any practicable way of getting to it that will not be insurmountable?

I Have Already Assumed Manhood Suffrage as it now exists to be the tap-root of our National tree. I believe in it, not because it cannot be got rid of, but because it is just. And by the same sense of justice I hold that new roots should spring on every side of it, as from the tap-root of the tree.

The Side-Roots Which I venture to suggest for our political oak are these:

1st. Independent of, or in addition to, the suffrage acquired by decennial increase of age, by marriage, by the possession of a homestead stake, or a certain minimum taxable value of property as already outlined, I would have the community divided into neighborhoods of contiguous hundreds of adult men and women. Each hundred, every year, to have the right to hold an election to give a vote of confidence to some one person of that hundred, and by that means to confer upon him an additional one-suffrage power, provided some candidate shall receive not less than a majority vote of that hundred precinct; the voting to be done by ballot at stated times regulated by law, so that the first election failing to elect there should be provision for a second ballot; and that failing to elect, the hundred would then wait

another year for the opportunity to confer such extra suffrage.

I would have the power by law to permit the hundred to confer one, two, three or four suffrages on one person or another, or on the same person, one at a time, in successive years—limiting the number say to four; so that, added to the full complement of votes secured by age, marriage, and property, viz.: Six, the total suffrage, to be conferred or acquired by any one person by the precinct vote of confidence would be four more, making ten votes the highest or completed number. *But no confidence-vote-suffrage to be used by its recipient in the elections of the precinct for conferring a vote of confidence on others.* In other words, the voters in the hundred circles or precincts to have power to vote only so many suffrages each, as age, marriage and property qualification had previously given them; leaving out of account, in such precinct elections, all suffrages acquired by any precinct vote of confidence; which votes, however, should be valid for all other elections. The hundreds should have the power to deprive men deemed unworthy of the added suffrage previously conferred by them, or by other precincts.

IT MAY BE OBJECTED that to confer additional votes on the shiftless, the incompetent, the idle, or the vicious, because they grow old like their betters, is no improvement on the present crude system. Is this true? Is there not a considerable number of light-hearted youths of 21 without stake and without experience, who become more thoughtful, more industrious, and have some more stake in the community interests at 30? If *any* of them do, or rather, if there is a greater proportion who improve in habits, in industry, in intelligence and stake in the common interests, between the ages of 21 and 30, than of those who fall back during the same time, then the added vote at that age is an added protection to society. If it be true before 30 will it not, in the majority of cases, be still more true when family duties are imperative, when growing children impel parents to work for the future and all the energy of life is in fullest play to secure a competence in the period between 30 and 40? Will not the wisdom that comes from experience, the ripened habits of industry and self-control, the familiarity that family education, the payment of taxes, and stake in the public administration of affairs has given men make the next ten years worth another added vote to the interests of society?

A Friend Suggests that it is through the votes of the youth of a country that reforms always find their first and strongest expression. Therefore to lessen the relative voting power of youth may lessen the reformatory power of a nation. To this I answer that it is not easy to point to any great number of men who have taken any strong lead in reforms before thirty, or who in the first flush of manhood have exercised themselves with heavy work for mankind in general in any other way than by warlike exploits. It is for executive efficiency that youth is distinguished, and not as counsellors, reformers or organizers. The solid leaders of reform are rarely heard of before thirty; are more useful at forty, and generally most influential by reason of their experience at fifty and upwards. Many men most distinguished in history for the vigor of their warfare on established things that needed over-turning, battled in their ripe and mature years against the beliefs and practices of their own youths: —requiring as many years after 21 to grow out of the lusty errors of that age, and to shake off their hereditaments, as the present American citizen spends in cradle, school, and baseball, to acquire a first vote.

I WILL CLOSE by summarizing the foregoing suggestions:

1st. (1) Adult suffrage independent of sex or condition, at 20—one vote.

2nd. (3) Progressive votes for each decennial increase of age at 30, 40 and 50—three votes.

3rd. (1) To be conferred by marriage—one vote.

4th. (1) For homestead acquirements or its equivalent—one vote.

5th. (4) Votes of confidence to be given by neighborhoods of one hundred, conferring one additional suffrage annually on one person of that hundred—four votes.

In all a possible ten votes.

STUDYING PRESENT CONDITIONS, NEEDS AND TENDENCIES, and observing the rapid growth in all civilized countries of the representative system based on suffrage may we not hope the time is ripe for progress—Evolution—out of and beyond the barbarous simplicity of rudimentary suffrage?

In the world of private business we see innumerable ramifications of the suffrage system. Three men associate as partners and

give to one the interests of all, to speak, to act, to sign for all. As business men we stake our all in corporations of every kind, in which each individual interested holds as his only tangible evidence of property his certificate of stock, with just one vote on a certain proportional sub-division of that stock. He delegates all his interests to directors, and they to their officers, so that these exercise the power of suffrage in the concerns of the company for all the others, though each of them may have but an insignificant proportion of the whole stock represented. Men are selected from their fellows for peculiar adaptedness for one sort of work or another, and given the power of many suffrages. The power is not conferred as an honor. Men are paid liberally in proportion to their skill in using such delegated suffrage for the benefit of the delegators.

THE GROWTH OF VARIETIES OF DELEGATED SUFFRAGE, or the evolution of business suffrage, has been so great, so intimately woven into all the business enterprises of civilized society, so efficient to promote the advancement of the most serviceable agents, and to enable those not promoted to profit by the service of the former, that it may safely be

assumed that there are certain principles of progress in suffrage which may be applied to political affairs as to private or corporate business affairs, and by which the business of sorting out and increasing the efficiency of its most useful voices, and putting them to the service of the majority of the people, may be accomplished.

A broad distinction is generally recognized, or assumed, between manhood suffrage and the suffrage that represents property interests in private business. While under our present political system one man may not by his suffrage represent any other fact than that he is simply of the masculine gender, 21 years old, and has not been in the penitentiary, in the business system he may represent not one share of stock only, but 50 or 1000 if he owns them. In property management he represents as many units we will say as he owns, with a distinct vote for each. He votes on his values. But politically he is restricted to a vote on one personal characteristic—to one element only of personal value—viz.:—that he is a human male upwards of 21! All other elements of personal value—experience, knowledge, women's intuitions and influence, natural gifts of judgment, honor, honesty, public spirit

are—I cannot say weighed in the balance and found wanting—but are simply *not thought of as subjects to be weighed;* and therefore are not classified according to their weight and value by any intelligently adjusted scale or system of suffrage. With a bungling logic our system seems to assert—that gold is gold, and lead is lead, and a pound is a pound, and it makes no difference which pound you have if it is a *pound* vou want! But it does.

Woman Suffrage.

During Forty Years that the writer has been an attentive reader of discussion on the subject of woman suffrage he has failed to read or hear one valid reason or apology for the political disfranchisement of women. Ridicule, slang, slander, suppositional extravaganzas as to the result have been flung from every side, but not one argument based on the equities which rule among men, not one principle set up against it which should not disfranchise men as well. The intellectual weakness, unfairness, and very often vulgarity of the opposition to the enfranchisement of women begets an aversion on the part of manly and courteous men to meet

it. One feels as the Vermont wood-chopper in the legislature expressed it when called upon to reply to a blatherskite. He "disliked the job," he said, "for as an axeman he always found it wrenched him dreadfully to strike at nothing."

We do not feel like stopping to argue the proposition that he who works should eat; that he who rears a family should share in political rights necessary to protect and educate them; that he who earns and acquires property should have a voice in the laws which regulate the taxes and direct their expenditure. Regarding these as self-evident truths in our masculine cases we formerly turned around and denied every one of them to women—except the right to eat! So that *she* who earns should not have a voice in the laws affecting her earnings; so that *she* who rears a family should not have a voice in the laws affecting the protection and education of her children; so that *she* who is taxed should have no voice in the use to be made of the taxes drawn from her. The stupidity and selfishness of the denial are unaccountable; and we can but feel that our sex yearn to be despots, and having restrained ourselves by law to a certain extent from owning each other, we cannot yet

give up the sweet satisfaction of holding on to the absolute legal and political mastery of "our women."

Doubtless the bad manners of many "Woman's rights women" have often created prejudice, and an indisposition to look into the equity of their claims. But if bad manners and ignorance, vulgarity and brutality were bars to the exercise of the right of suffrage among men to what a precious minority would the franchises be confined. The ballot is the main personal legal power left for the defense of the poor and the ignorant after the right of physical force has been curbed by law. If it is on the whole for the best that it should remain in the hands of every man, whatever his faults, how can we think that it would be unwise to place it in the hands of every woman, when every year of our lives shows us that the average influence of women in every grade of society is somewhat more refined, elevated and purifying than that of the average of men? The writer knows of no example where women have been made associates of men in the performance of any private or public duty where their influence has failed to be efficient and useful. The most ignorant classes of women are more

prudent of their means, more devoted to their families, more thoughtful of their present comfort and their future well-being than their husbands; the sisters are more refined than their brothers; and this moral difference runs up through every grade of society from lowest to highest. It does not in the least change the force of the illustration to admit a higher intellectual vigor in men. Nordhoff, in his sketches of Northern California, gives a picture of the wood-choppers of the Humboldt, in whose cabins he finds books indicating tastes for a high order of intellectual food thoroughly appreciated by the men. Yet these men were content in their miserable cabins, with only their pipes, their books, and their dirty bunks;—but one remove from savage life! And this, Nordhoff observes, is as far as intellectual man ever gets towards civilization unaccompanied by the spur of woman's wants and woman's tastes.

WERE I TO STATE THE ARGUMENT in favor of woman suffrage which to me has the greatest force, it would not be that *they* have suffered from the lack of it; it would not be that they are taxed without representation; it would not be that they have been faced

down by laws stamping them with legal inferiority to those they give birth to. Oh, no! Were we men too selfish to concede any of these items of their bill of rights, our argument, yea, our beseeching plea, would still be that they be admitted to the polls to reform us away from our masculine barbarisms; that they come to the polls that we may in very shame cleanse the ground floor of our government; come that vice and rudeness, dirt and the foul breath of liquor and tobacco may be kept away, and that where we now grovel in shame on the ground floor of our institutions, their exacting eyes and finer senses shall teach us that the place where we vote may be made as pure and clean as the places where we worship, or those where, out of the common earnings of men and women, their children are taught. It is ourselves, oh men, and not the women only who are to be lifted to a higher sphere of political life by ballots in the hands of women.

Well may our mothers and wives, our daughters and sisters dread the task of uplifting us out of the dirt and indecencies of masculine politics. Well may educated and refined women shrink aghast at the prospect

before them. And yet I pray that the women of all nations may yet be given the privilege of nursing and healing their sick and degraded politics. To this end, and in this way, I believe the ballot in their hands is for the cleansing and healing of the nations; and nowhere more needed than in the United States of America, where their influence is already a power in all other good work.

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F. J. SCOTT.

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How Six States Won Woman Suffrage

BY

IDA HUSTED HARPER

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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
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How Six States Won Woman Suffrage

By

IDA HUSTED HARPER

Author of 'Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony,'' ''History of Woman Suffrage,'' Etc.

When on November 8, 1910, the State of Washington, by a very large majority vote of its electors, gave the complete franchise to women citizens, the subject of woman suffrage passed from the stage of academic discussion to that of a live, practical question; and when on October 10, 1911, California fully enfranchised the women of that State it became one of the political issues of the day. This fact was evident at once in the attitude of the press, which in its news reports gave woman suffrage equal if not superior place to the referendum, recall and other important constitutional amendments which were passed upon at this recent California election. It was equally noticeable in the editorials, especially of papers heretofore opposed, such, for instance, as the New York *Tribune,* which said: "Now that Washington, with 1,142,000 population, and California, with 2,377,000, have shown their desire to put the political equality idea into practice, the pressure behind it will become more acute and the larger and older States will have to take more serious notice of its existence."

The experiment heretofore in the United States has

been made in the four comparatively new and sparsely settled States of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, where women are greatly outnumbered by men and no large cities exist with their complicated political and social problems. While it is true that human nature is the same everywhere, yet it must be admitted that in these four States there has not been an opportunity for such a real test of woman suffrage as would be necessary to influence the older and more thickly populated ones. Denver, with a little less than 214,000 inhabitants, has afforded the most conspicuous example for study.

Now that the question of woman suffrage is to receive more attention it may be of interest to examine its history in the United States up to date. The very first demand for it was made by women of Eastern States, which will be the last to grant it—Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, of New York; Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia; Lucy Stone, of Boston, and a score or two more of the most distinguished women of sixty years ago. The first recognition of the principle by any State was made by progressive Kansas, which came into the Union in 1861 with school suffrage for women in its Constitution. No further advance was made until 1869, when the first Legislative Council was in session after the organization of Wyoming as a Territory. Mrs. Esther Morris, who with her husband had gone out from New York as a pioneer, appealed to the president of the council, Col. William H. Bright, for a bill enfranchising women. She was sustained by his wife, and he succeeded in having the bill passed. The Council was Democratic and it hoped to embarrass the Republican Governor, John A. Campbell, whom it ex-

pected to veto the bill. On the contrary, he signed it; and when two years later the Council repealed it he vetoed the repeal. The Council was unable to pass it over his veto, and no effort to abolish woman suffrage was ever again made in Wyoming. Mrs. Morris was appointed Justice of the Peace, and of the nearly forty cases she tried none ever was appealed to a higher court. Women sat on juries from the beginning and have continued to fill various offices down to the present day.

In 1889 a convention composed entirely of men met to form a Constitution for Statehood, and after twenty years' experience they adopted unanimously as its first clause "equal political rights for all male and female citizens." The Constitution was ratified by more than a three-fourths majority of the people and sent to Congress for approval. That body, always hostile to the enfranchisement of women, fought for three days to have this first clause eliminated and the Territorial Delegate telegraphed to Wyoming that it looked as if this would have to be done. The Legislature, which was in session, wired back: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without woman suffrage." The same struggle took place in the United States Senate, and pages of the Congressional Record were filled with awful Senatorial prophecies as to what would happen to the country if Wyoming should come into the Union with women voters. After days of oratory they were obliged to face the calamity, and President Harrison signed the bill admitting the new State in June, 1890. Thus Wyoming became the first Commonwealth in the world's history to grant to women the same rights in the government that men pos-

sessed. The official statistics show that about 90 per cent. of the women qualified cast their votes at the annual elections. Not one man of prominence has ever voiced publicly the slightest opposition, while volumes of favorable testimony from those eminent in all departments of the State's activities have been published. Again and again the Legislature has adopted resolutions expressing the highest approval of woman suffrage, urging other States to adopt it and calling upon Congress to submit an amendment of the National Constitution to the various legislatures.

Beginning with Michigan in 1875, there was a tendency on the part of legislatures to confer some form of school suffrage on women, and this has continued until in about half of the States they have a school vote of some kind. In certain places it is for trustees, in others for appropriations, but nowhere have they as much of a voice in school affairs as men have. In some States they must be mothers of children of school age, in others heads of families, and in others taxpayers. They must register the same as if they were going to vote an entire ticket, and on election day they must go to the general polls; so the school vote cast by women must not be regarded as conclusive evidence of the number who would exercise the full suffrage.

In 1887 Kansas again came to the front by granting to women municipal suffrage, which its Legislature had constitutional power to do, and they have exercised it ever since then, to the distinct advantage of the city governments, according to the general belief. There has been, however, much legislative juggling to prevent their having a vote on officials who are connected with the adminis-

tration of the liquor prohibition laws, and they are prevented from voting on judge and marshal of the City Court, justices of the peace and constables, while the police judge, city marshal and chief of police are appointed, except in the small places. Liquor sellers, when indicted, simply take an appeal to a higher court, over which women have no jurisdiction. A constitutional amendment to give women the complete franchise was submitted to the voters in 1894, but was defeated largely because of the peculiar political condition—the Republicans trying to regain the State from the control of the Populists, and both parties willing to sacrifice anything that seemed to stand in the way. An amendment has now been once more submitted, to be voted on in November, 1912, and as there is really a strong public sentiment in favor of it, the prospect is good for its winning unless political exigencies again call for a sacrifice of the women.

In examining the patchwork of women's civil, legal and political rights and privileges in the United States, we shall find that in Montana, since 1887, women taxpayers can vote on questions of special taxation, also for school trustees; since 1894 in Iowa all women can vote on issuing bonds or increasing the tax levy; since 1898 in Minnesota for library trustees (in addition to school officers since 1875). In 1901 the Legislature of New York gave to taxpaying women of towns and villages a vote upon propositions for special taxation, and in 1910 the law was amended to include the issuing of bonds. After the four acts of the Legislature and three decisions of the highest courts, consuming twenty years of time, the right was secured for women of the towns and villages

who have children of school age or are assessed for over $50, to vote at district school meetings! Even with this small privilege women have carried many elections, and always for the improvement of the schools and villages. The charters of seven or eight third-class cities have conferred school suffrage on women, and possibly a dozen have given the taxpayer's franchise.

In 1908 Michigan, through a new Constitution, gave taxpaying women a vote on all questions of special taxation and the granting of franchises. This was in response to a petition from 275,000 of the leading women for the full suffrage. Most of the fragmentary voting privileges enumerated above have been given by legislatures merely to get rid of the importunities of the women for a chance to obtain the complete franchise. These crumbs are about all the actual suffrage a legislature has power to give. That of Michigan in 1893 conferred the municipal franchise on women, just as that of Kansas had done, and the Supreme Court at once declared that it had exceeded its constitutional power. This would probably be the decision in most of the States. The women do not want to be enfranchised in this piecemeal fashion; they have almost entirely ceased asking for it, and it is a case—to quote the "antis"—of having "the suffrage thrust upon them."

It must be remembered that in no State can the Legislature confer the complete franchise on women. That can be done only through amending the Constitution by taking the word "male" out of its qualifications for voting, and this requires the consent of a majority of the electors.

We come now to the second State which has fully enfranchised women—Colorado. When it made its Consti-

tution for Statehood in 1876 it refused the entreaties of the women to provide in this for their enfranchisement, but it gave them school suffrage. The curious provision was made that the Legislature of the new State might at any time, by a majority, instead of the two-thirds required for amendments, enact a law to extend the suffrage without amending the Constitution, but the law must be approved by the majority of the voters; and it was ordered that such a law should be submitted at the first election after the State came into the Union. This was done in 1877, and the men, glorying in their own newly acquired rights, defeated the measure by a vote of two to one. The women were discouraged and the matter rested till the early '90s, when there were many more of them, and they began to organize their forces. In 1893 the Legislature was in entire control of the Populists and a woman suffrage bill was again sent to the voters. Men, too, had progressed during these years, and at the November election it received a majority in favor of 6,347.

The women entered at once upon their new duties, and the official records show that during all the past eighteen years they have voted in quite as large a proportion as men. They have evinced no especial desire for office, but more than a dozen have been elected to the Legislature and scores to the various county offices. The office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has always been filled by a woman. They serve on State boards and commissions and are eligible to jury service. The testimony in favor of the way they have used their ballot is overwhelming and from the highest sources—justices of the Supreme Court, Governors, presidents of colleges,

clergymen, editors. Not one Colorado man or woman of prominence has ever given public expression to a derogatory word. The strongest proof of the success of woman suffrage in this State, however, came ten years after it had been in operation. The suffrage clause in the Constitution permitted immigrants to vote on their first papers and six months' residence. An amendment was submitted in 1903 requiring a year's residence and using the words "he or she." It was adopted by 18,000 majority, and it safely intrenched woman suffrage in the Constitution of the State. With the Populist party eliminated the vote for it was three times as large as before it had been tried. If this increase was due to the women, it showed they appreciated their voting power and wished to make it secure; if it was due to men, it proved they were satisfied. In either case the result was decisive.

In 1895, two years after the Colorado victory, a convention of Utah men assembled to make a Constitution for Statehood. The Legislature in 1870 had given full suffrage to women—as it had power to do in a Territory—and they had used it largely until 1887. That year Congress, through some inscrutable logic, took away the franchise from all the women, Gentile as well as Mormon, to stop the practice of polygamy! This convention was composed of both Gentiles and Mormons, and after a thorough discussion a strong woman suffrage plank was put into the new Constitution. At the November election it was submitted to Gentile and Mormon voters and carried by 28,618 ayes, 2,687 noes. This was the answer of Utah men after an experience with woman suffrage of seventeen years. This Constitution received no objection by Con-

gress. The women of this State were far better organized and worked much harder for their political freedom than those of any other up to that time. They have used their franchise generally and wisely; no complaints or criticisms have ever come from Utah to the contrary. Women have been sent to both houses of the Legislature, have filled State, county and city offices, served on many boards and gone as delegates to Presidential conventions.

The story of Idaho is short and there is no great struggle for the ballot to record. It was admitted into the Union in 1890. Before and after that year Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, the pioneer suffragist of Oregon, had canvassed Territory and State and appealed to the Legislature and constitutional convention. She was strongly supported by individual men and women of Idaho, but there was no organized effort until 1893. The Republicans were in full control of the Legislature in 1895 and the resolution to submit an amendment was almost unanimous. The next year Republican, Democratic, Populist and Free Silver party conventions endorsed it and it was carried at the November election by a vote of almost two to one. At the next election three women were sent to the Legislature; one State Superintendent of Instruction, fifteen county superintendents, four county treasurers elected. This proportion has been kept up and there have been a number of deputy sheriffs elected. There is nothing but the highest testimony as to the part of women in the politics of the State. They constitute 42 per cent. of the population and by the official statistics they cast 40 per cent. of the vote in Boise, the capital, and over 35 per cent. in the rest of the State. The hardships of

getting to the polls through the snow and over the mountains can hardly be described. Women sometimes ride twenty miles on horseback to vote.

After this gain of four States in six years by the suffragists the opponents took active measures to prevent the submission of the question in other States. In the few cases where this was done the combination of corporations, liquor interests and party "machines" was impossible to overcome. The domination of politics by these forces was so complete that there was no chance for any moral questions, and nothing was left but the slow process of educating public sentiment to demand that the voice of women should be heard in this wilderness. Then came the great "insurgent" movement in the Western States and, as the direct result, the submitting of a woman suffrage amendment in 1910 by almost unanimous vote of the Washington Legislature. Here again there had been practical experience. In 1883 the Territorial Legislature gave to women the full rights of the ballot, and at the Spring eelction and again in the Autumn they cast one-fourth of the votes, although there were less than one-third as many women as men in the Territory. During the three and a half years that they possessed the suffrage the official returns several times showed a larger percentage of women than of men voting, even with all the physical handicaps of these pioneer days. In 1886, some question of constitutionality having arisen, the Legislature strengthened the Act. In 1887 the vicious elements secured a court verdict that the bill was not properly titled, and the Legislature passed it a third time perfect in every respect.

A convention was about to prepare a constitution for Statehood and these elements were determined it should not include woman suffrage. It was arranged that at the Spring election of 1889 the vote of a certain saloon-keeper's wife should be refused. Her case was rushed through to the Supreme Court, and two out of three members decided that the equal suffrage law was void because a Territorial Legislature had no right to extend the suffrage! The very Act under which Washington was organized specifically gave it this right, and under a similar Act women had voted twenty-one years in the Territory of Wyoming and seventeen in that of Utah. This decision is only matched by that of the Dred Scott case in 1857. The women were illegally disfranchised, they were excluded from the new Constitution, and all they could obtain was the submission that year of woman suffrage as a separate question. They were not themselves allowed to vote on it, and it was said to be defeated by over 19,000. Nine years later, in 1898, the women summoned courage to make another campaign, and then the majority against them was announced to be considerably less than 10,000. Years afterward a man who had taken part in them stated publicly that the most barefaced frauds were committed, and that the amendment really had been carried.

In 1910 came the political revolution in Washington, where the voters threw off the "machine" yoke and honest men of all parties secured a free election and a fair count. The women made the ablest campaign for the suffrage ever known, with the splendid result that it was carried in every county in the State and received a majority of

nearly three to one—the largest victory ever achieved. The way in which they registered by the tens of thousands in Seattle the following month, "recalled" the Mayor, turned out the Council and chief of police and regenerated the city—and later performed the same service for Tacoma—this is of too recent date to need extended mention. It advanced the cause of woman suffrage throughout the whole country and across the ocean on either side.

The first results were seen in California, which in the State at large had been swept clean of its corrupt political forces by the great wave of insurgency. The press representatives who had been going to Sacramento for years said they never had seen so able, sincere and upright a body of men as the legislators who submitted the reform amendments, all of which were adopted at the recent election, including woman suffrage. The women remembered with anguish of spirit the magnificent campaign they had made in 1896, only to be betrayed and sold by the political leaders. With largely augmented numbers and full of faith in the new order they made the fight, but it required the decent men of the whole State to overcome the corrupt vote of San Francisco and Oakland. Now in a State that has been in the Union over sixty years, and in several big cities, we shall have the supreme test of woman suffrage.

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Breaking Into the Human Race

BY

RHETA CHILDE DORR

Author of "What 8,000,000 Women Want," etc.

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Breaking Into the Human Race



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SOMETHING over a dozen years ago there arrived in Paris a young Polish woman, Marie Sklowdovska by name. Forced to leave her native country on account of political intrigues which involved members of her family, the young woman turned her way toward republican France. She had no resources other than immense courage, about fifty francs in money and an extraordinary knowledge of chemistry.

In an obscure quarter of the city she found a bare garret, furnished with a cot bed and a chair. Her food was black bread and blue milk. She lived on this diet for so long that, as she has confessed, she had afterwards to cultivate a taste for meat and wine.

The one ambition of this girl's life was to gain admission to a laboratory as a student assistant. After long persistence, a period which must have been filled with bitterness and despair, the doors of a great laboratory were opened grudgingly to her. She was admitted because they were in need of a cheap assistant to prepare furnaces and to clean bottles for chemical experiments. It was, in fact, a kind of expert janitress service.

The young Polish woman had not been in the laboratory a week before Professor Lipmann, who was at its head, discovered that she possessed a knowledge of science and an originality of mind far above the average. Rather tardily it became known that she was the daughter of a scientist of note in his own country, and that she had

grown up in his laboratory. They found some one else to wash the bottles and gave the girl a special table and full facilities for work.

Pierre Curie, a young man student of unusual promise, became her inseparable companion, and in time her husband. The two Curies, as all the world knows, working together, discovered and isolated radium, thereby opening up an absolutely new world of scientific possibilities. Their great discovery was no accident. They toiled and experimented through years of poverty and depression. Few who knew them believed in their theories. The Curies were, in fact, a sort of joke in scientific circles.

Pierre Curie, it is known, suffered periods of complete discouragement. He often doubted his conclusions. But Marie Curie never doubted. She never lost faith. Night and day she worked in her little laboratory at home. When at last the discovery of radium was announced, and the name of Curie sprang into world-wide fame, Professor Curie publicly declared that more than half the credit belonged to his wife. The research work was begun before her marriage, and it was through her that Professor Curie became interested in radio-activity. But for Madame Curie's patience and obstinate persistence the end would never have been achieved.

After his sudden death, which occurred as a result of a street accident, there was no other scientist in the world except this woman to take Professor Curie's place as special lecturer in the Sorbonne. The most conservative of universities was obliged to break all its rules and invite a woman to a full professorship. Monarchs go to the Sorbonne to listen to her. The greatest scientists in Europe are among her students.

At a congress of radio-activity and electricity recently held in Brussels, the matter of a standard measurement of radium was discussed. The congress unanimously agreed that Madame Curie was the only person living who was capable of establishing that standard, and she was therefore formally appointed to the task. The unit of measuring emanations of radium will be known as a *curie*, and the word will take its place beside ohm, volt, ampère, and the few others which perpetuate the names of great geniuses of the world of pure science.

Now in France, more than in other countries, genius is extolled above wealth, above might, above conquest. They adore genius in France; they crown it, applaud it, pension it. As a last tribute, they elect it to the Academy.

About a year ago there was a vacancy among the immortals of the French Academy, Department of Science. On every lip there trembled the name of Madame Curie. Surely—but no.

The immortals admitted that Madame Curie was the foremost scientist in France, perhaps in the world, but as a candidate for the French Academy she did not even exist. It was true, they said, the Academy was established for the advancement of learning, and Madame Curie's achievement was a long step in the progress of learning. But it was against tradition that learning was advanced by women and, therefore, Madame Curie could not be acknowledged by the Academy to have advanced it. It was possible for scientists to listen to a woman lecture on radio-activity. It was impossible for them to associate her with their after discussions of it. So they elected to the Academy a man whose name one forgets, so little is it known outside his university.

Public prints in Europe and America made a good deal of the incident at the time. Some of them said that France had something to be ashamed of in its Academy.

I think I have a better understanding of the point of view of those French savants. They were right in their decision. They were right, that is to say, from their point of view. Madame Curie could not have been made a member of the Academy for the simple reason that *she is not a human being. A woman, whatever her intellectual qualifications, can no more become a member of an academy than the educated monkeys Consul or Miss Susie can become members of a church, and for the same reason. Neither is human.*

The point of view is by no means peculiar to France. Several years ago, an American woman physician took her husband, ill with tuberculosis, from their home in Massachusetts to Florida, where they hoped he might improve. The husband's illness had seriously impaired the fortunes of the two, and the wife planned to enter at once on the practice of her profession. When they were comfortably settled she applied for a state license, only to learn that Florida barred women from the practice of medicine.

In the proud state of Georgia, at the pres-

ent time, there lives a young woman who possesses more than average intelligence, unusual industry, great seriousness of mind and tenacity of purpose. She proved all this by choosing, instead of a life of social gayety and economic dependence, a life of professional labor. Miss Minnie Anderson Hale is the young woman's name, and the profession she chose was the law.

Miss Hale completed her studies at the Atlanta Law School, making a brilliant record in all her classes. A few weeks ago she appeared, with her fellow graduates, before the proper authorities to be admitted to practice. But disappointment was her lot. She found herself facing the disagreeable alternative of abandoning either her profession or her home. In Georgia, a woman can no more be admitted to practice law than in France she can be admitted to the Academy. And for the same reason.

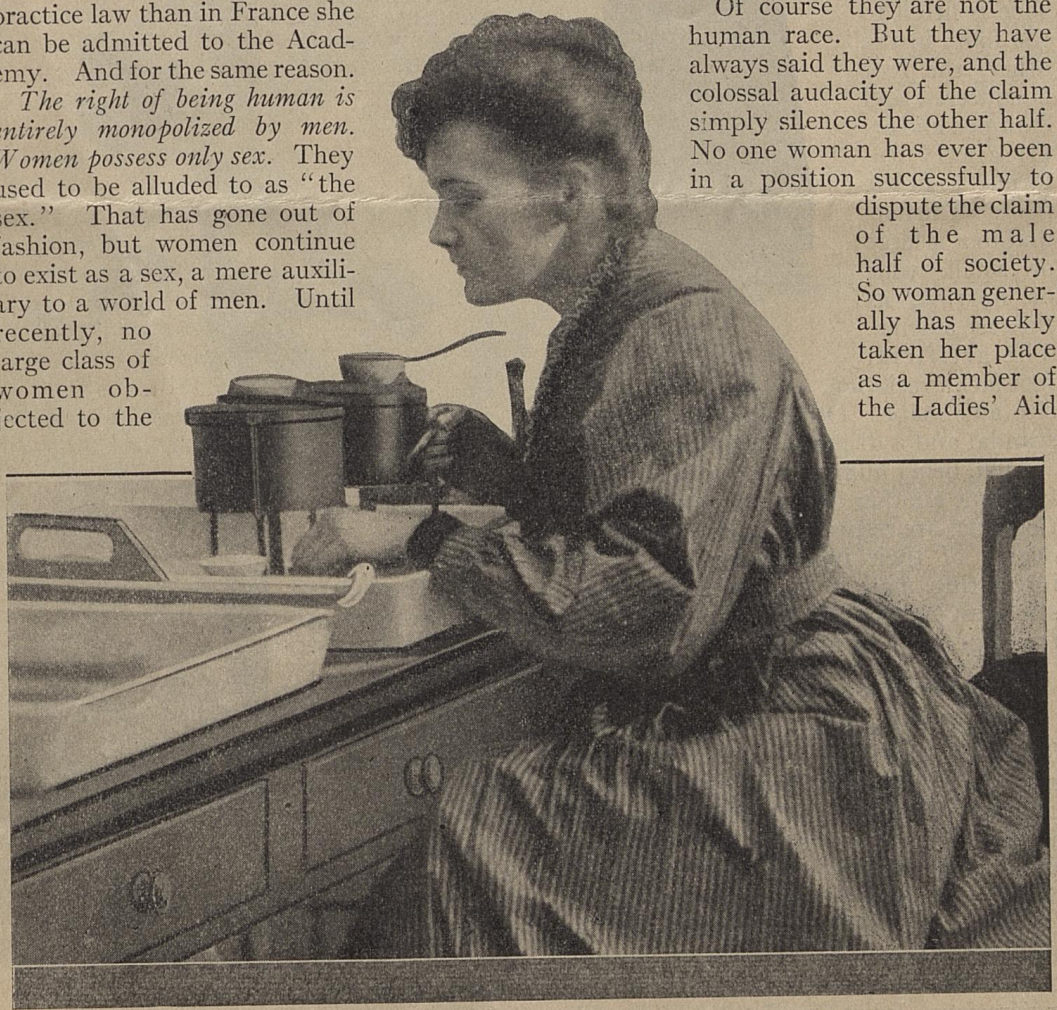
The right of being human is entirely monopolized by men. Women possess only sex. They used to be alluded to as "the sex." That has gone out of fashion, but women continue to exist as a sex, a mere auxiliary to a world of men. Until recently, no large class of women objected to the arrangement, or questioned its propriety. Their supine acceptance of a limited right to exist almost tempts one to believe in it as a fact. But let us examine the genesis of the theory.

There was once a mighty monarch who abashed his ministers in council with the assertion: "The State! I am the State."

Of course he was not the State. But he said he was, and the assertion was so colossally audacious that the ministers were silenced. No one of them was in a position to dispute the claim, and it required another generation before people could organize to dispute it.

In exactly the same manner one half the population has maintained the position: "The human race—that's us."

Of course they are not the human race. But they have always said they were, and the colossal audacity of the claim simply silences the other half. No one woman has ever been in a position successfully to dispute the claim of the male half of society. So woman generally has meekly taken her place as a member of the Ladies' Aid



MADAME MARIE CURIE, CODISCOVERER WITH HER HUSBAND OF RADIUM, DENIED ADMISSION TO THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF SCIENCE ALTHOUGH ONE OF THE GREATEST SCIENTISTS OF THE DAY.

Society to the Human Race, and there she has remained.

The difference between belonging to the human race and being a member of the Ladies' Aid is merely the difference between walking in ordinary shoes and toddling painfully in Chinese boots. In the one case the shoe is fitted to the foot; in the other, the foot is squeezed and cramped and artificially deformed to fit the boot. The natural foot is large or small, wide or narrow, as the case may be. The artificial foot lacks variation. It has a conventional size and shape. Otherwise its owner is a scandal and a disgrace to the family.



Men, being human, are expected to differ from one another. It might almost be said that men are respected in proportion to the degree of their individuality. The most interesting man is he who possesses the strongest personality, the largest number of traits peculiar to himself.

WHAT WOMEN MUST DO TO CONFORM

Women, being a sex, are expected to conform to a type, and they are admired and respected in proportion to their ability to conform. The type, of course, is that which arouses the amorous emotions of men. What must women be in order to approximate the feminine type?

First of all, they must be young. This is absolutely essential. The word "young" has had various interpretations in different generations. Juliet Capulet, a perfect example of the type, was fourteen. In her time and, in fact, almost to the beginning of the nineteenth century, a woman of twenty-one was on the verge of eld.

> "Come and kiss me, sweet and twenty,
> Youth's the stuff will not endure,"

sang the Bard of Avon, realizing the brevity of woman's career.

Balzac moved the permissible age to thirty, and there or thereabouts it has remained. A woman must not be over thirty years of age. If she is, she becomes ridiculous, a subject for jest and merriment. The comic journals would go out of existence if it were not for old maids and mothers-in-law. Even in the states where women vote and hold office, they are still under the obligation to remain young. They are never asked to record their age on the registration books, as men are. The oldest grandmother in Colorado is registered in the poll books as twenty-one years old.



THIS YEAR ALL WOMEN MUST RESEMBLE STOVE-PIPES: A FEW YEARS AGO, AGONIES WERE ENDURED TO EMULATE THE HOUR GLASS.

Besides being young, women must be beautiful. "A female," said an early Victorian poet, "should be an exquisite flower blooming in the pathway of men." Lovely advice, although the phrasing does give one an impression of a large, masculine boot about to come

down on something small and fragile and defenseless.

So universal is the demand for the decorative quality in women that chivalry assumes that all women possess it. In the newspapers women are invariably described as beautiful, or at least pretty. It is an editorial rule from which no reporter ventures to depart. A girl who graduates, elopes, marries in church, gets into an automobile accident, gives a tea, wins a ribbon at a dog show, does anything she might be expected to do, is called beautiful. Beautiful heiress, beautiful actress, beautiful suicide, beautiful murderess; the day's news is a permanent beauty show.

When, however, woman does anything eccentric, when she ventures to trespass the smallest inch on man's preserves, the newspapers make a point of commenting adversely on her looks. Something like this old clipping from a newspaper of the late eighties:



THE YEARS OF EFFORT AND STRUGGLE FOR HER IDEALS HAVE STAMPED THE AGED FACE OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY WITH A SPIRITUAL BEAUTY.

> Susan B. floated into our town yesterday, looking, as usual, like Methuselah's oldest daughter.

Perhaps Susan B. Anthony did look unbeautiful to the men of her day. Perhaps women who think, who possess individuality and original ideas, who act from conviction instead of conventional theory, still seem unbeautiful to men. It is true that they vary widely from the accepted type.

WOMEN MUST BE "BEAUTIFUL"

To fulfill the conventional ideal of beauty is simple, whether it is easy or not. Just as nearly as nature, in collaboration with art, can manage it, the type approximates to the soft, smooth, unemotional, unintelligent, pink and white wax dolls, used to display millinery and frocks in shop windows.

Beauty changes its details from season to season. One year Beauty has curves, another year angles. Beauty's waist line was formed on the hourglass model a few years ago. Just now her waist line melts into the general scheme of stovepipe construction from shoulders to heels.

Some years Beauty has very little hair, and she subdues it until it lies on her head like feathers on the canary or the blackbird. Other years, witness 1910–11, Beauty possesses an incredible head of hair. Her hair, if let hang down, if it could hang down, would sweep her feet, as Miss Mary Garden's hair does in Mélisande.

But whatever aspect Beauty wears, women must copy it. The thing is painful for many women, and it is expensive for most, but the duty remains. Plainness, especially the plainness of advancing years, is absolutely interdicted. Men, as they grow in years and experience, develop lines expressive of character, records of emotion, struggle, defeat, victory. The face of a man of many experiences is like a book of fascinating tales. One never tires of reading it. But a woman's lines are just wrinkles, and the first one is a life tragedy.

When the powder and the rouge and the dotted veil are at last powerless to conceal her wrinkles, woman may as well give up — cloister herself in "science," the new thought, or some other modern substitute for religion. If anyone notices



WHATEVER ASPECT BEAUTY WEARS FROM YEAR TO YEAR —AS EXHIBITED BY THE DRESSMAKERS' MODELS— WOMEN OF ALL TYPES MUST CONFORM TO IT.

her at all henceforth, it will be to think of her as a "wreck of her former self."

Imagine thinking of Chief Justice White, or John Bigelow, or Uncle Joe Cannon, or any active old man as a wreck of his former self!

Turn to the exquisite figure of Elizabeth Gerritt Miller, daughter of the famous abolitionist, Miller, herself the heroine of many an adventure in the thrilling days when fugitive slaves were making escape to Canada via the secret ways of the "underground." Look at the placid features of Julia Ward Howe, "seventy years young" after a life spent, not in the easy ways of peace, but in the struggle and stress of wartime and reconstruction. Scan the majestic features of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, crowned with white hair and eighty years of strenuous experiences. If it were not for the conventional ideals of beauty to which we are bound, we might find these faces attractive. They are attractive, and after women have given up the fight to be young, and therefore alluring to men, they might be willing to look like these pioneers. But not before.

Young and beautiful must women be, and that is about all, except that they must be good, very, very good. And here men have been oddly generous to women. They have allowed them a moral handicap, so to speak. A long list of misdemeanors which, theoretically, at least, are forbidden to men are indulgently permitted to women. Without losing any special caste women may trifle with the truth, they may break a promise, they may betray a confidence, they may neglect to pay their debts, they may smash at least nine of the commandments.

A housemaid, arrested for theft, tearfully confessed her guilt in open court. "But, your honor," she declared, "I am an *honest* woman."

"I believe you," said the judge, "and shall make your sentence lighter on that account."

The women's code of honor, laid down for them by the men, contains only one commandment. If they remember to keep it holy they are good. If they break it they are bad, permanently, irrevocably bad. To err is human, but it certainly is not womanly.

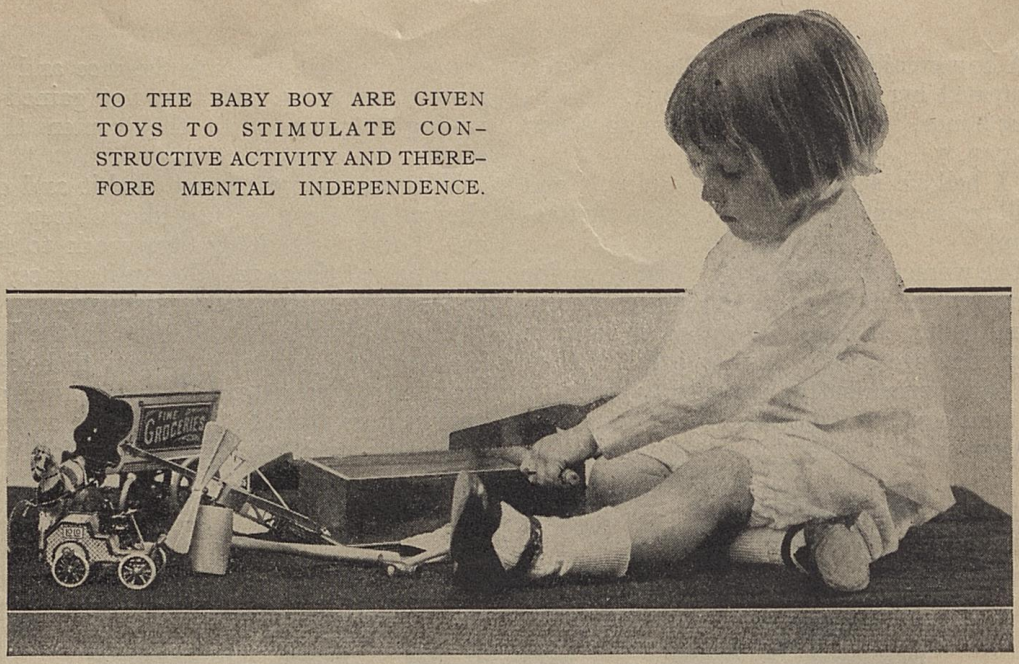
Men could hardly have sustained their contention that they are the race and that women are a sex, had they not gained the willing coöperation of the women themselves.

Women are creatures of habit and once they adopt a course they like to keep right on. See how amiably they work to keep their half of the population in its place, and to train the other half for its place.

They begin with the baby. If the baby is a boy they can hardly wait until he is six months old to determine what kind of a man he is going to be. Will he be an intellectual giant, like his great-grandfather on



THE VERY COMFORTABLE AND ESSENTIALLY MODEST HAREM SKIRT WAS DECRIED BECAUSE IT WAS BIFURCATED.



TO THE BABY BOY ARE GIVEN TOYS TO STIMULATE CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITY AND THEREFORE MENTAL INDEPENDENCE.

her side, who was president of a college in Indiana before the war? Or will he inherit the inventive tendency in his family? As the baby boy progresses, it is as good as a play to watch his type develop. His playthings are of great importance, and to take him into a toyshop and observe what he shows interest in is a matter of deep significance. His choice, of course, indicates the bent of his mind.

If the baby is a girl, the only thing they worry about is her looks. Will she, by any chance, have that unfortunate Smith nose? What if her hair should not curl? Be careful when you lay her down that her ears are flat on the pillow, and do not let her stare at the light that way, you might make her squint. There is nothing thrilling about choosing toys for the girl child. They do not recognize that there is any choice. The girl child gets a doll, and that is all there is to it.

The theory that all girl children love dolls as they love their lives is so old and so respectable that one hesitates to attack it.

Yet I can testify out of a personal experience that some girl children loathe dolls. I, for one, never wanted to be a little mother. I wanted to run and romp and roll on the grass with a terrier dog we had. I liked to jump rope and walk the fence and hop scotch and take things to pieces to see how they were made. And so do all normal, healthy children, girls as well as boys.

The reason most girls play with dolls and seem to prefer them to other toys is because no other toys are given them. Along with the doll they have implanted in their infant minds the strongest kind of a doll suggestion. They are told that all little girls love dolls; that dolls are little girls' *babies*. A little girl who does not love her baby is not a *nice* little girl at all. It takes a child of character to stand out against all this psychological suggestion.

With the same shrewdness, mother and grandmother and nurse plant mental suggestions in the young masculine nature. "You mustn't cry—*little girls* cry." "Richard, you should not have allowed your sister to help build that bonfire. That's not little girls' play."

I heard a proud mother tell a visitor, in the presence of three daughters and a son: "We are Presbyterians, but I am bringing up my girls with the idea that they should adopt their husbands' church, whatever it may be. Separate churches divide husband and wife so unpleasantly." Boys have permanent ideals; girls flexible ones.

By the time the girl child reaches school age she has pretty firmly rooted in her mind the idea that she belongs in a special class, not admittedly *inferior* to boys, but *different*, widely, essentially different. Many things which boys do, say, or think, the girl child knows would be improper for her to do, say, or think. A different interpretation is given, for example, to the word play.

This prepares the girl's mind to encounter



TO THE BABY GIRL ARE GIVEN TOYS WHOSE PSYCHOLOGICAL SUGGESTION IS MAINLY OF HOUSEKEEPING AND MATERNITY.

in school a different interpretation of work, of destiny, of life itself. The public school curriculum is based on the theory that the male child tends to variation. That his destiny may be commerce, law, medicine, engineering, or merely manual labor. The female child is held to be destined for one position only—housekeeper to a man.

SCHOOLS DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE NEW STATUS OF WOMEN

The census of 1900 reported in the United States approximately 6,000,000 women engaged in gainful occupations outside the home. The census noted the momentous fact that the number of women in all but three or four of the one hundred and three occupations listed was increasing faster than the number of men in those occupations.

Some one should have called the attention of the school authorities to that census report. Because, so far as shown in the average school curriculum, few of the school authorities know that any women are working for wages, unless it be in domestic service. In place of the manual training, almost universally now included in school work for boys, the girls are given cooking and sewing. The object of the manual training is to develop industry, ambition, coördination of hand and brain, individuality and self-control. You might think that these fine qualities ought to belong to women as well as men. Well, say the school authorities, so they ought, but still more essential to women is domesticity.

When you point out to the school authorities that, the country over, one in seven of the girls will leave school to enter industry, where ambition, individuality, coördination of hand and brain, et cetera, come in handily, they reply: "Oh, yes, but the girls don't stay in industry. In seven years or ten years or possibly fifteen years, the girls will all be married. *Then* they will cook and sew."

They may, if they have not forgotten how, or if the trend of industry out of the home and into the factory has somehow been stayed. In a sewing class of seventh grade girls, one child had progressed in her lesson of shirt making to the point where her teacher remarked: "Well, Dora, you have done this very nicely. Soon you will be able to make your father's shirts."

"Not on your life," chirped the child, disrespectful of her teacher's ignorance. "My father buys all his shirts. He wouldn't wear a homemade one."

The object of the cooking and the sewing lessons, when analyzed, is, like so much of the school work, psychological. It succeeds in its object, too. It clinches in the girls' minds the idea that they are different from boys, but exactly like each other. It gives them a contempt for manual labor, and a desire for a life of supported ease. It helps to make them discontented, inefficient, unskilled trade workers, who toil at dull,

unintelligent tasks, ruining themselves for maternity and for the home making which is supposed to be their universal destiny.

Above all, it helps to swell the list of the helpless ones, we all know them, women left to their own feeble resources by the death or disability of their masculine protectors. By all the rules of the romancers and the successful novelists, marriage settles the destiny of woman, provides for all her future emergencies, relieves her forever from the responsibilities of life. The stubborn way in which real life refuses to conform to the rules is very baffling. Every day some woman, trained to the ideal of idleness, secure in the belief that she was born to be taken care of, finds herself tossed out into the main current, left to sink or swim as fortune wills.

PITIABLE PLIGHT OF DEPENDENT WOMEN

As a matter of fact, she cannot swim and she is strongly averse to sinking. There is nothing left to do but cling, with a strangle-hold of grim death, on the first strong person who comes her way. If there is anything sadder than the spectacle of these reduced "gentlewomen," playing at earning a living, camping in the dooryards of relatives, forced into all sorts of unlovely subterfuges and compromises with honor in order to exist, I do not know of it. This poor parasite is the visible image of the false theory which excludes women from their rightful heritage of humanity.

If there is any visible force at work which does not reiterate and emphasize and insist that women are in the human race but not of it, I have not encountered it. Consider the reading matter thrust at women. "The Woman's Page." "The Home Page." "Of Interest to Women." "What Milady Reads." "The Gentler Sex." They are all built after one pattern, the general style of which is indicated in an ultimatum laid down to me by an editor of a popular magazine.

"I've been in this business for twenty years," said he. "I've built up the circulation of half a dozen magazines, and I *know* that women are interested in just two subjects: love and pin money."

Love and pin money—and the clothes and the beauty stunts and all the other nets and traps warranted to catch the love and the pin money, do indeed, if the "woman's" page is to be trusted, engage the whole attention of women. Love sentimentalized beyond recognition in most cases, so overlain with sex suggestion in others as to be positively obscene, is the sort of thing the unmarried woman yearns to read about. Perhaps the married woman retains a reminiscent interest in love, but pin money, how to get it and how to spend it for husband's comfort and enjoyment, is her real need. How to economize in a hundred petty, ignoble, unbeautiful and soul-destroying ways; this also concerns the married woman.

But is not the chief interest of women getting and keeping a home? Are not these the proper objects of a women's magazine? Home making!

Do you know what to do with a rolling-pin? Consult one of these magazines, then gild the rolling-pin, tie pink ribbons on the ends, stick a row of gilt hooks along one side and give it to husband for a Christmas key rack.

Do you know what to do with an extra length of stovepipe? Paint a neat bunch of red roses on it and use it for an umbrella stand.

Do you know what to do with a wooden snow shovel in the summer time? Paint a nice cool snow scene on the shovel end, gild the handle—be sure always to gild the handle—and set it up in the corner of the country home.

Do you know what to do with a rusty flat-iron? Cover it with peacock blue plush, gild the handle and use it to keep the door open.

Do you know what to do with a dover egg-beater? Gild the handle—I am afraid I have forgotten the rest, but I remember that it was beautiful when completed.

WHY NOT A "MAN'S PAGE"

They are not all as bad as that. Usually the better class of women's magazines reserve these art hints for a department called "Discoveries," or "Suggestions from our Readers," "Contributors' Corner," or "Answers to Correspondents." This leaves space for fashions, beauty talks, advice to young wives as to retaining their husbands' affection, to prospective brides as to novelties in weddings, cookery and needlework.

We have a national weekly which three weeks out of four is presumably addressed solely to men, since the fourth issue is called the "Woman's Number," and contains two pages of extremely light matter, capable of assimilation by the boudoir mind.

Why should not the women's magazines

issue an occasional "Man's Number"? Surely there are thousands of men who would learn with delight how to take three old walking sticks, tie them together at one end with pale blue ribbon, extend the other ends, tripod fashion, hang a hand-painted lard pail in the middle and put it in "the den" to hold pipes.

Would not a man thrill to read a paragraph like this?

Mr. John Robinson Jones, of Boulder, Colorado, makes a handsome amount of pin money every year by umpiring the baseball games at the State Lunatic Asylum. Mr. Jones's charming personality and unfailing tact have won the confidence of the inmates to such an extent that the post has been completely relieved of certain hazardous features it formerly possessed.

Or this:

A correspondent writes us that he is about to give a collar and tie shower to a bridegroom-to-be, and wishes to know whether etiquette demands that he invite the guest's relatives, who have never called. We would advise, et cetera.

Then the society columns. Have they no room for bachelor functions?

Mr. James Ticker, the well-known cotton broker, received at tea at four o'clock on Friday at his handsome apartment on Lake Drive. He was becomingly dressed in neat gray trousers, a black frock coat, white waistcoat, a scarf in one of the new wistaria shades, and a diamond stick pin. He carried a bouquet of water lilies and purple orchids. Mr. Harry Budd presided at the tea table, and the Hungarian orchestra furnished the music.

The fact is, although it may not be professional for me to let the secret out, all magazines are made to please the women readers; they are all, in effect, women's magazines. How much of the breakfast food, toilet soap, jewelry, piano, automobile, typewriter *advertising* would a man's magazine get, do you suppose? The manufacturers know who disburses the income.

Editors know that they must make the magazine interesting to women, and they do it, the most successful ones, by pretending to publish for men. In other words, they refrain from reminding the women readers that they belong to the Ladies' Aid Society. They leave that to the women's magazines.

There is one new, great, vital, important, history-making fact to be recorded in women's pages and women's magazines—if we must have them—but that one great fact is stolidly and consistently ignored by the editors. This is the fact: women, all over the world, during the past twenty years, have been busy organizing. They have organized in clubs, in leagues, in trade unions, in alumnæ associations, in societies for this and that, in all sorts of ways, for all kinds of objects. But deeper and stiller, and more momentous than the expressed desire, has been the underlying object of women's organization—a splendid ambition to Break Into the Human Race.

THE REAL MEANING OF THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

Do not make any mistake about it. Do not close your eyes to the truth. The whole woman movement, so-called, the achieving of higher education, the demand for recognition in all trades and professions, equal pay for equal work, the rise of the women's trade union, the development of women's clubs, even the agitation for woman suffrage, all these are attacks from different directions. All are part and parcel of the mighty effort of women to break into the human race.

The effort is not exactly a new thing. In every generation there have been a few isolated women who declined to accept membership in the Ladies' Aid Society, and went down their lives clamoring for admittance into the human family. In what courage, what conviction, what divine fire these lonely figures are clothed, as we see them in history, dauntlessly facing the coarse and brutal ridicule of men, the cold disapproval and dislike of women!

Gentle, brave, ill-fated Mary Wollstoncraft, mother of all the women's colleges, politely described by Prime Minister Walpole as "that hyena in petticoats"; Mary Somerville, hiding her mathematical books and her astronomical calculations under the mattresses of her bed, her family having demanded that she turn from astronomy to more womanly avocations; Charlotte Brontë and her sister romancers, writing in secret, publishing under pseudonyms, because no gentlewoman might write for vulgar money; Elizabeth Blackwell, enduring daily insult from gentlemen students, turned out of boarding houses, shunned by her friends, all for the crime of studying medicine; that immortal trio, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton—what a price they paid to buy the freedom of a world of women!

How grudgingly society has yielded that freedom; how obstinately the men have re-

sisted every advance, how ostrichlike the petted and protected women have ignored every victory, will seem strange to future generations. Already people are beginning to ask why, since it is conceded that women may be educated, a Harvard degree is denied Radcliffe students; why, since women have qualified in medicine, it is practically impossible for a woman to get an interneship in a large hospital; why, since women practice law in all except two states, the state bar associations refuse to admit them to membership; why, since women are taxed, the right to vote is denied them.

WHEN IS A GIRL NOT A GIRL

A possible answer to these questions was indicated in a conversation I had several years ago with a young scion of chivalry, an undergraduate of the University of South Carolina. The young women of South Carolina had within a few years been admitted to the university, much to the anger and disapproval of the men students.

"At first," my young friend declared, "the fellows were pretty rude to the girls, but after a while they settled down to ignoring them altogether. No fellow has anything to do, in a social way, with a girl student. We never ask them to our dances, and few of us ever speak to them. We just don't know that the girls are in college."

"How do the girls stand in scholarship?" I asked.

"Very well, I believe," was the candid reply. "For the past two years a girl has taken first honors. But we get around that, too. When anybody asks us who was first we just mention the fellow who stood highest. You see, in our eyes, a girl who goes to college is not a girl at all."

That is logical, and explains why men have been able to protest against every advance of women as an unwomanly proceeding. Every effort of women to simplify their dress is called unwomanly. Years ago, when the tailored gown appeared the caricaturists and the newspaper humorists made it a subject of coarse jest; ministers denounced it from the pulpit; dressmakers predicted for it the briefest popularity. Not until the Princess of Wales adopted it did the conservative admit that it was, after all, a convenient and sensible dress. In our own day witness the mobbing of women who attempted to introduce the so-called harem skirt, a perfectly modest, rational garment, especially adapted for wind and storm, a garment infinitely more beautiful and more decorous than the hobble skirt. But the harem skirt was a bifurcation, hence masculine. A woman who ventured to wear it was no woman.

In England, owing to an entire absence of a sense of humor, they are able to carry the theory to the extreme limit. They are able to behold a procession of fifty thousand women bearing banners demanding the right to vote for members of Parliament—the women already have municipal suffrage—and yet assure themselves the *women* do not want to vote.

In England, when a man interrupts a political meeting, when he flings a stone at a cabinet minister, or smashes a window, or does anything else as a protest against what he considers a political injustice, he is arrested, but his punishment is mild. He is a political offender.

When identically the same offenses are committed by women they are arrested, beaten, kicked, thrown out of doors, knocked down, vilely insulted. They are punished, not as political offenders, but as brawlers, disturbers of the peace. With admirable logic, the English courts have ruled that women, having only limited political rights, cannot commit political offenses. When they attempt, by time-honored British methods, to extend their political rights, they cease to be women and become hooligans.

In January, 1907, the English suffragettes succeeded in defeating a Liberal candidate for Parliament in a Mid-Devon district. After the result of the polling had been declared, a party of Liberal men set on Mrs. Pankhurst and her companion, Mrs. Martel, the only suffrage women remaining in the town, pelted them with rotten eggs, beat and kicked them, and would probably have murdered Mrs. Pankhurst but for the tardy arrival of the police. She was unconscious on the ground when they arrived, and was so badly injured that she was unable to walk for some months. Not a man was arrested for this outrage.

Nor were any arrests made when, at this same election, a body of Liberals marched on the Conservative Club, smashed all the windows and kept the members besieged within all night. For calling at Mr. Asquith's house, and on being refused an interview, decorating his area railings with

"Votes for Women" banners, and using his doorstep to make a suffrage speech, four women were arrested and sent to prison for one month.

In this country we have, if not a keener sense of justice, at least a more highly developed sense of fun, and a quicker recognition of facts.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SUFFRAGE PARADE

On a spring day of the present year, the women in New York City held a suffrage parade. They marched, three thousand of them, to the music of half a dozen bands, down Fifth Avenue, from Fifty-ninth to Seventeenth Street. One hundred and fifty thousand New York people turned out to view the procession. Every window along the way held a cheering, laughing group.

There were some in the crowd who neither cheered nor laughed. In this class was a fashionably dressed young man accompanied by two young women. As they stood waiting for the procession, the young man repeatedly assured his companions that he did not believe those women were going to march. They would not dare do such an unwomanly thing. Then, when the first paraders appeared in sight, he said: "Oh, well, perhaps a few——"

Down the avenue swung the women, hundreds and hundreds of them, factory women, office workers, writers, artists, actresses, musicians, nurses, physicians, lawyers, housekeepers, all under their own banners.

The bewildered young man changed his predictions to abuse. He denounced those women. He was appalled — disgusted— Suddenly he turned from the sight to address his women companions, only to find that he had been talking to himself; his women companions were two blocks down the avenue, in the procession!

Now that young man, being an American, was able to perceive that his two women friends were actually marching in the procession. He acknowledged that they were not with him. It is this ability on the part of American men to see plain facts which is the hope of the American woman. She will not have to clamor indefinitely for the right to be a human being instead of a sex. Soon the masculine half of the population will see for itself that women not only have a right to belong to the human race, but that they do belong, and that no laws, no policies of exclusion, no selfish discriminations can alter the fact.

Then will life become a simpler, saner process. Then will the tons of energy now devoted by women to necessary agitation be turned into useful, productive work. Then will the relation between men and women assume a beauty, a harmony it knows now only in exceptional cases. Then will marriage become a comradeship in the truest sense of the word. Just as a nation cannot exist half slave, half free, so the race, half human, half auxiliary, cannot develop to its highest point. Women are coming to a sharp realization of this fact. In greater and greater numbers they are leaving the sidewalk where they have stood spectators for so long, and are joining the procession of protest.



A SOUTH SEA ISLAND BIRD OF PARADISE.

It is worthy of note that the New York suffrage parade was participated in by a Men's League of nearly two hundred members.

"It was a joke," said one newspaper.

"It was a prophecy," declared another.

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Questions Concerning the Legal Status of Women

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1. Does the wife after marriage own her clothes and other personal property owned by her before marriage?

2. Does a wife own her wages earned outside the home? Can she by law enforce payment for her services performed in the home for husband and children?

3. What authority has the husband over his wife's real estate or the rentals therefrom?

4. May a wife convey her separate property without her husband's consent?

5. Can a wife's separate property be levied on for family necessaries ordered by her, and if the necessaries are consumed by the family can she secure repayment?

6. Does the law secure to a wife any portion of the family income free from husbandly dictation?

7. What share has a wife in the surplus of property, real or personal, accumulated by their joint efforts after marriage, or does a husband take this surplus in his own name?

8. Has a husband any other control over his wife's personal property or liberty except that which comes from his general control over the family pocketbook?

9. Are spouse's interests in each other's real estate equal, and do they inherit equally from each other and from a deceased child?

10. Is the wife entitled to a voice in the choice of the family home?

11. What is the punishment for wife-desertion?

12. What are the legal causes for divorce, and are they the same for both spouses?

13. Is a wife legally responsible for the support of the children and her husband?

14. Has she a right to share in the children's earnings?

15. Is a father liable for some family expense for wife or child, if the expense is one of which he disapproves?

16. Is a wife entitled to a share in the guardianship and control of the children, so that her wishes may guide in the choice of church, school, clothing, medicine and work?

17. Can a father will away from a mother the custody of their unborn child?

18. Are husband and wife legally competent to testify for or against each other when either one is a party in an action at law?

19. May a wife make contracts or enter partnerships without her husband's consent?

20. Are the public schools, from the lowest grade to the State university, open to girls on the same terms as to boys? Are women represented on the Boards of Control of these various schools?

21. Are women employed in the higher positions in these schools?

22. Do the salaries paid the women average

as high as the salaries paid the men? If not, what ratio do they bear to the salaries paid men?

23. Are any of the County Superintendents of Schools women? Has any State Superintendent been a woman?

24. For what school officers may women vote? How many others are there?

25. Are the professional schools open to women?

26. Are women admitted to the bar?

27. To what elective offices are women eligible through special enactment, and to what because of lawmakers' omission of words "male" or "men"? Are these positions salaried?

28. May the apparent equal justice of your civil service laws be evaded if a head of department prefers a man rather than a woman who may have had higher marks?

29. Are any women on the Boards of Control of State charitable institutions?

30. Must women matrons, keepers, physicians or nurses be employed in the State and county and city institutions having the custody of women and girls?

31. Are women physicians received as jurors in insanity cases where the statute may provide that one of the jurors shall be a physician?

32. Does your law prohibit night work of women and girls?

33. Does your law provide sanitary regulations for factories and shops where women are employed, or prescribe hours of labor?

34. What is the "age of consent"?

35. What is the minimum punishment for rape?

36. What is the punishment for bastardy?

37. Is seduction counted a crime or a misdemeanor?

38. Is there any adequate law against taking indecent liberties with young girls?

39. What is the punishment for pandering?

40. What classes of persons are disfranchised? May lapse of time or efforts by the disfranchised enable them to become eligible?

41. Is women's taxpaying as a qualification for voting recognized in your State?

42. For what offices have women the right to vote, and on what matters?

43. For the election of what officers has the Legislature the power to extend suffrage to women?

44. Is it necessary that a constitutional amendment be passed before women be allowed to vote for certain officers? If so, what are these officers?

Catharine Waugh McCulloch.

Legal Adviser N. A. W. S. A.

Copies of the above may be had on application to The National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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WOMEN SHOULD MIND THEIR OWN BUSINESS

BY

EDWARD J. WARD

Adviser of the Civic and Social Center Development of the University of Wisconsin

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PRICE, Two Copies FIVE CENTS

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Women Should Mind Their Own Business.

By EDWARD J. WARD

Adviser of the Civic and Social Center Development of the University of Wisconsin.

WOMEN should devote all their energies to the duties of their own sphere. Surely Mrs. Pankhurst and Colonel Roosevelt could agree on this proposition.

Women should not invade the realm of men's activities. That seems axiomatic.

Men should be willing to give up their own work to help bear the burdens which belong to women's realm. What gentleman will dissent from this?

In order to see clearly what the proper respective spheres of men and women are, we must turn back to the simple conditions of primitive living among the American aborigines, for instance. There we see two sorts of work fairly well divided. There we can see woman engaged in her proper sphere, and man busy with his characteristic activities. And we can answer the question: what is woman's sphere? The woman is engaged in grinding corn or other grains, preparing food, plaiting baskets, molding

pottery, preparing wool and weaving blankets, drawing and fetching water, caring for and educating the children, ordering the care of the camp or village, transporting the burdens when the camp is moved—in short, in all the useful industries and arts of the primitive Indian.

And what was man's characteristic sphere? War and killing other animals with some minor avocations such as gambling between times—but mostly war.

Here we have the respective spheres of men and women, easily seen in the simple primitive division.

With the process of invention and discovery there have come great changes in the methods used to carry on the activities of women's sphere. For instance, instead of the little stone hand mortar and pestle with which the primitive woman ground corn, we have the gigantic roller mills; instead of the earthen jar in which she carried water, we have the municipal water system; instead of the primitive method by which she, with or without the aid of a horse, transported the burdens, we have this work of hers done by means of freight and express trains and vans and automobiles, and so on thru practically all of the lines of women's sphere. There has been an equally great enlargement of the work which was hers in caring for, keeping well-ordered, clean and comfortable the camp or village. With the increasing aggregation of people into the modern city and State, this phase of woman's work has grown tremendously.

And great changes have come also in the proper historic sphere of men's activities. Instead of the simple bow and arrow or tomahawk with which the primitive man could hurt people, there have been developed artificial volcanoes and various forms of hardware and fireworks which are very much more harmful, expensive and noisy. Slaughter houses have been substituted for the hunt, except in the case of really dangerous wild beasts like the fly. Not much real improvement has, however, been made in his method of gambling.

Women should remain in their own sphere. They should devote themselves to useful civic, social, educational and industrial activities. For women to participate in carrying on the activities which belong to man's particular province would mean for them to go to war, and when there isn't a war on, to strut around with a band. This, it seems to me, they should not do.

On the other hand, men should continue to devote more and more of their thought and energy to the activities of woman's proper sphere, the useful work of the world, the industries and the arts, the work of preparing food and clothing and shelter, the work of transportation, the cleaning up and making comfortable of the living places. Men must be allowed to do this more and more, for tho we still set apart from this useful service some of our number and support them to carry on the work of destruction and hurting strangers, yet this proper sphere of man's activ-

ities for the majority of us isn't what it used to be. The average male individual has given up wearing feathers and stovelids and tinware, and the average man no longer regards it as a sign of sanity to carry butcher-knives and other violent junk around with him in the hope of chopping his neighbor's head open. That is, men have been turning away from their own particular vocation, and, if they didn't enter women's sphere of constructive service, there wouldn't be much for them to do.

In the old days, when man's sphere amounted to something, when practically all of them spent most of their time in war, government consisted chiefly in devising means and methods of doing harm, in "councils of war." Then government was man's business and for women to participate in it would have been to take up the work of men. But as we have come away from barbarism, as this sphere of man's activity has shrunken and fallen into disrepute, government has become more and more the organization and control of the means of human service, the promotion of human welfare. In other words, government has become more and more the organization of woman's sphere.

Man should have a voice in this, for in spite of the age-old habit of selfishness and hostility, developed through thousands of years of practice in hurting people, which tends to make him carry on even the useful activities which belong to woman's sphere with something of the war

motive and manner, and with a good deal of the old gambling practice mixt in, and which makes it hard for him to think in terms of the common welfare, he is the child of his mother and he has in him a finer element, a latent capacity for constructive united service. Yes, men should have some voice in regulating and controlling the industries, the education of children, and all the matters relating to the welfare of the camp, that is, of society.

But, of course, the fact that man participates does not limit the primary responsibility of woman in this sphere. She started this business of human service. She can no more skirk her share in the ordering and control of society, in the mutual interservice which we call government, without shirking her duty as a woman than in the old days she could shirk the duty of preparing the food and making the camp a pleasant, well-ordered, clean place in which to live.

Women then should mind their own business. That is, women should vote in the modern government, for this is their proper sphere, except in its destructive, anti-social, military expression, which has gone from local and city and State affairs and will be gone from national affairs as soon as we get sense enough to put through a few world bargains such as the neutralization of the Panama Canal, provided an international parliament with an international police force is established at The Hague.

And men ought also to vote in the modern govern-

ment, in spite of the fact that this is women's sphere, because—well, because any number of reasons:—they pay taxes the same as women do and they should have a voice in saying how their money shall be spent; they have to submit to the laws just as women do, and they should have something to say in framing those laws; and anyway, it would not be honest for us to have a government by a sex when we pretend to have a democracy.

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THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLT OF THE WOMEN IN ENGLAND



MRS. PANKHURST

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THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLT OF THE WOMEN IN ENGLAND

by

ANNIE G. PORRITT

There could hardly be a greater contrast between imagination and reality than in the case of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. In the minds of many Americans Mrs. Pankhurst is identified with stone-throwing, with attacks on policemen and Cabinet Ministers, with wild outbursts of hysteria and emotionalism, and in general with a line of conduct which they abhor and reprobate as being in the highest degree unwomanly and unladylike. Those who go to hear this famous Englishwoman, will see a dainty, well-dressed and very feminine looking lady of some fifty years young, with a quiet, forceful, well-bred manner, a delightfully clear and pure enunciation, a keen wit, and a wonderful power of holding her audience. They will find it difficult to connect this well-educated and cultured gentlewoman with riotous street scenes and assaults on the guardians of law and order, and the first doubt that will assail them in regard to their preconceived opinion of the English militant suffragette will be as to the possibility of a lady so charming and apparently so gentle ever having identified herself with the disagreeable vulgarities that they have read of in the newspapers.

Before Mrs. Pankhurst has proceeded far with her story, doubts as to her possession of ability or force of character necessary to the carrying on of a militant campaign will quickly disappear; and the next question to arise will be as to the provocation that the Government of England must have given to induce women of Mrs. Pankhurst's type to enter upon a campaign in which the casualties were bound to be entirely on their own side. Women in the United States have suffered from legislation and from customs which press hardly on our sex; but in this country there has never been open, galling, and arrogant assumption of their inferiority, and the total denial, in practice as well as in Law, to the wife and mother of any right in her own children which charac-

terized English society until very recent years, and which has left rankling sores unhealed by the piecemeal legislation forced from time to time from an often unwilling parliament.

The United States inherited from Great Britain, its common law, and with it the inequality in the legal position of husband and wife. In this country as in England, until altered by statute, a woman's property passed at her marriage to her husband, and a mother had no right to her children, not even to the infant at her breast. But from the first colonisation of New England, women enjoyed a higher status than the women of England, and were placed practically on a more even level with the men. The position enjoyed by many of them was so comfortable, and they were treated with so much consideration and deference, that it has even been possible for some women to imagine that their deprivation of political rights was a privilege — a sign of their superiority to matters so vulgar and corrupt as what go under the general name of politics.

Such women should look to England — the motherland of all of our common law and of much of our statute law, — if they wish to learn the basis of the political nonentity of women. They will learn then that they were not allowed political rights, because it was openly held that by the inferiority of their intellect and of their moral powers they were incapable of exercising them, and that it was a natural classification by the "noble sex" which put women with children, idiots, and imbeciles.

It took thirty years of agitation and effort in England to obtain for married women the right to hold property, or to control their own earnings. Again and again bills were introduced and debated in Parliament. There is a brutal frankness about many of these debates which is almost refreshing after the nauseating flattery that one often hears about woman's superhuman superiority to all such mundane affairs as politics. On one such measure there was a debate in the House of Lords on the 21st of June, 1870. The Lords have always shown their high breeding and their strong sense of chivalry by the most outspoken contempt of women as a sex. On this occasion the then Lord Penzance solemnly warned his peers that "the bill involved the question whether the husband should rule in his own household; for if the wife had co-equal power over the property — her own — she would obviously have considerable share in the management." The noble lord was sure that "if there were one race of people to whom it would be less agreeable than another not to be masters in their own homes it was the race represented by their lordships." Lord Shaftesbury, so well and honorably

known for his labours on behalf of over-worked children, was no more willing than Lord Penzance to concede any power to the wife. It had been urged that in some of the States of America laws had been passed giving a wife control of her own property, and the testimony of the American Minister and of eminent American jurists had been given before a Royal Commission to the effect that these laws worked well and harmoniously. This evidence Lord Shaftesbury brushed aside with the remark that in America there were three peculiarities in the relation between husband and wife, which no Englishman solicitous for the purity of the home could wish to see adopted in his own country. These were complete equality of the wife with the husband, no subordination, and greater facility of divorce. He solemnly warned his hearers that the married women's property bill struck at the root of English domestic felicity, intruducing insubordination and equality into the home.

The House of Commons, while on the whole much more favorable to the demand of the wives of England to be released from their position of actual slavery, contained many men who strongly objected to any interference with the absolute and despotic power of the husband. It was vehemently urged against the bill that it was an attempt to "create a factitious, an artificial and an unnatural equality between men and women." If there were occasional hard cases, that could not be helped. Some women must suffer rather than that men in general should be disturbed in their position of advantage and authority.

Even as late as 1882, when the measure at last actually became law, there were not wanting outspoken protests against any limitation of the power of the husband over his wife and her property. "Who is the head of the house?" exclaimed one despairing member of Parliament — "the woman or the husband?" "This bill," he added, "is a measure to carry out certain notions of women who rebelled against the law of God that women should be subservient to men."

Nor was the subservience of the wife shown only in the fact that she could hold no property. Until 1890, a husband had the right to confine his wife in his own house, and to prevent her by force from leaving him. In 1840 in the well-known Cochrane case, the court decreed that "the husband hath by law, power and dominion over the wife, and may keep her by force within the bounds of duty and may beat her, but not in a violent or cruel manner." What was a violent or cruel manner was apparently left by the court to the judgment of the husband; and English husbands of the

lower class for seventy years have freely availed themselves of the right confirmed to them to beat their wives. English magistrates have now often to decide what constitutes a violent or cruel manner, and it takes many discoloured bruises, and very clear evidence of brutal ill-usage before a magistrate is willing to adjudge that a husband has exceeded his legal right.

It was an outstanding example of judge-made law that put an end to the power of a husband to act as judge, officer and jailer in his own cause, and to imprison a wife who wished to leave him. It was Lord Halsbury, recently prominent as the leader of the Last Ditchers who opposed to the last the sweeping away of the Veto of the House of Lords, who made this startling innovation in British social economy. A case came before him on appeal, of a man named Jackson, a groom, who had married a lady of property. After a very short experience of married life, the lady left her husband and returned to her own family. On coming out of church one Sunday morning at her home in Clitheroe, the husband was in waiting with a carriage and kidnapped his wife. Proceedings were taken by her family, and in the first instance Mr. Jackson was given the control of his wife, following the precedent of the Cochrane case. Lord Halsbury simply swept away all precedents as belonging to a previous age — an age of almost barbarism — which could not be quoted at the close of the nineteenth century. "I should think," he said, "that such quaint and absurd dicta as are to be found in the books, on the right of a husband over his wife in the matter of personal chastisement are not now capable of being cited as authorities in this or any other civilized country. It seems to me that all the authorities relied upon for the husband are tainted with the same notion of the husband's dominion over his wife. No English subject has a right to imprison of his own motion another English subject, whether his wife or anyone else. The writ is bad and the lady must be restored to her liberty." This opinion was concurred in by Lord Esher, another of the Judges of Appeal, and an end was made to the right of an English husband to despotic power over the wife. So infuriated were the Lancashire people with this interference with the rights of husbands, that the next time Mrs. Jackson and her sisters appeared in public, they were mobbed by the populace and forced to beat a quick reteat.

The fight of English mothers for the right to some share in their own children was longer, bitterer and up to now less successful than the fight of the English wife to her own property or to her personal liberty. Even yet the English

child has practically only one legal parent — the father when the child is legitimate, is a source of pride and honour to the parent, when it is earning wages or when it has property to pass on its death; the mother when it is the child of shame and dishonour, and when its care and upbringing are a burden almost too heavy for those crushed and feeble shoulders to bear.

In 1884, after fifty years of agitation, which was begun in the first case by the Hon. Mrs. George Norton, the question of the mother's right to some share in her children was again under debate in the House of Commons. The first step in the direction of recognizing the rights of the mother was taken in 1839, in response to the public feeling created by Mrs. Norton's valiant battle against her husband for the right occasionally to see her three boys, or at least to know of their whereabouts and of their health. The story of this struggle has again been told in the life of Mrs. Norton by Miss Perkins recently published, a story full of intense interest and one which shows the legal disabilities of Englishwomen in the first half of the nineteenth century better perhaps than any other book in existence. Another very small and hesitating step had been taken in 1857 when it was made possible for the court, after a woman had obtained a divorce from her husband — which could only be granted if he were persistently cruel to her as well as unfaithful — to award to the wife the care of the children until they attained the age of seven. In 1873 the age to which the innocent mother might be allowed to keep her children was extended to ten years old, and in 1884 the effort was being made to give to a mother the right of guardianship over her children in the event of the death of her husband.

It was not until 1886 that the Infant Guardianship Act was passed, which over-ruled the old law that a man might by will leave his children to any guardianship he pleased, excluding altogether the mother even from access to them. It took two years of debate and agitation after the introduction of the bill in 1884 to force the measure through both Houses of Parliament. During the debates on the bill, one of the strong advocates of the women's cause was Mr. Bryce, now Ambassador from England at Washington. "The common law of England," said Mr. Bryce in commenting caustically on the attitude of the opponents of the mothers of England, "considered husband and wife to be one, but it did so on the basis of giving the husband all that was his own, and all that was his wife's, and giving her nothing; and that principle which had been constantly applied as regarded the property was also applied in the family as regarded the respective rights

of the parents to the custody, guardianship and control of their children. The wife had no rights during the lifetime of the husband, and even after his death, by his will, he could exclude her altogether."

The House of Commons was by no means unanimously of Mr. Bryce's opinion. One member asserted with horror that it was a "monstrous thing" to give the widow power to set aside the expressed wishes of the husband in regard to the children; and other members grew lachrymose over the grief of the father on his deathbed, when he was afflicted with the thought that the mother henceforth would be able to have her own way as regarded the children. These members were answered by Mr. Horace Davey, afterwards Baron Davey, Lord of Appeal, who remarked sarcastically that "there seemed to be an idea in the speeches of several honourable members who had spoken against the bill that the wife had nothing to do with the children, that she was in fact altogether an outsider in the matter; and one honorable gentlemen had even said that the idea that the wife should by right be guardian, if she was the survivor, was shocking."

The laws of England were so manifestly unfair and harsh to women that even the legislators themselves every now and then in a burst of candour confessed their partial treatment of their own sex. In an article published in 1910 in a well known periodical Lyman Abbot wrote: — "Of intentional legislation by men against women and in favor of men there is no historical evidence." Evidently the members of the English Parliament did not agree with Mr. Abbott. In 1857, in discussing the first general divorce law — the law which still governs divorce in England and which discriminates most unfairly between the two sexes — Lord Lyndhurst recalled the "trite but not altogether unjust observation that men made the laws and women were the victims." Another noble lord remarked that the laws of England were more severe against women than those of any other country in Europe, and added that the House of Lords was "a body of men legislating for women, which had by a code of their own invention and for their own purposes contrived to establish the general notion that unchastity in a man was a much less evil than unchastity in a women."

But it is not necessary to go back to the middle of last century to show that women are discriminated against by English law, and that their unenfranchised position endangers their very means of livelihood. Under the pretext of unsuitability, one kind of work after another is prohibited to women: but no attempt is made to pass legislation opening up new avenues of employment, or to preserve some lines of work,

especially suitable to women, from the inroads of men workers. At the present moment there is a measure before the English Parliament which would exclude women from the coal breakers on the pitheads in Lancashire. The word is dirty and the women who engage in it are rough and uncomely. But it is far healthier work than very much that is done by women without protest from anyone — healthier for example than bending over washtubs all day long. The general character and the level of morality of the pitbrow girls of St. Helen's are fully equal to the average of working class women and they make good healthy wives when they leave their work on mariage.

December, 1911, will see a deputation of these pitbrow women, whose bread is threatened, at Westminster, pleading with the men who do not recognize these voteless women as constituents, not to push down more women into the abyss of prostitution — the one unfailing trade by which men allow women to keep themselves alive. It is no kindness to a starving child to snatch away the mouldy crust which it is about to eat, unless some wholesome bread is given in its place. Women do not naturally prefer work that is arduous, dirty or unwholesome. They take such work because there is no alternative, and the true kindness would be to open up new avenues of employment which they would gladly choose, instead of merely closing the only door by which an honest livelihood may be wrung from a hard and unwilling world.

Another modern instance of English discrimination against women is furnished by the Insurance bill on which the House of Commons is engaged in the session of 1911. This measure, which was heralded as the great statesmanlike plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer which should do away with destitution and make the working classes of England happy and comfortable, is most palpably unfair to women. For widows and orphans it makes no provision, in fact for these most helpless waifs of modern civilisation; it does less than nothing. It does less than nothing because, by compelling every wage earner to ensure against his own sickness and unemployment, it makes it almost impossible for him to make provision either by thrift or insurance against his untimely death. Neither is there any help under the measure for the married women in the home. The single woman wage-earner, although unfairly discriminated against in the amount of relief granted her during sickness or unemployment — a man making the same weekly payment receives ten shillings a week during sickness, a woman receives seven shillings and sixpence — is included within the four corners of the measure.

But the woman in the home — the women who are doing the normal work of wives and mothers — is to have no help during sickness. She is not to be allowed to insure even though she may desire to do so. And the excuse of Mr. Lloyd George for her exclusion is that the nation cannot afford any money for the mother in the home. The demands of the voting wage-earners are too insistent. The voteless woman must drag through sickness with no insurance fund to help out with doctor and nurse, and helper to see to the unfulfilled duties of the mother — duties far more exigent than those which fall to the lot of the factory worker or the casual laborer. If the mother cannot find help, if she goes on working without relief in spite of sickness until she falls by the way, what is that to a Parliament composed of men and elected only by men? Wives are cheap in England, and if a man loses his wife, it is not difficult for him to find another woman willing to take her place.

It is true that the Insurance bill includes a maternity benefit of thirty shillings. But strange as this may sound, the maternity benefit is for the men rather than for the women, and in the first place the bill provided that the money should be paid to the husband. Owing to the great outcry in the country which greeted this provision, it was amended and it was provided that money shall be paid direct to doctor and nurse. It is however, only wives of insured men, who are in full working, for whom the maternity benefit is designed. The wife of the man who is not insured, or who through unemployment has exhausted his insurance fund will not benefit. Nor, unless an amendment is carried, will the widow to whom a child may be born in the first sad months after the loss of her husband.

In short the lesson of the Insurance bill for English women is the old lesson "To him that hath shall be given." For the man with the vote generous treatment and ample help. For the woman without a vote niggardly measure or nothing. This is but the last and latest of thousands of similar object lessons in English legislation, and if those who hear Mrs. Pankhurst during her American tour keep in mind the treatment that English women have received for the last hundred years at the hands of a Parliament elected by men, they will not be surprised to hear that Mrs. Pankhurst and her associates began to be a little reasonably impatient when the Liberal Government in 1905 on coming into office, made it plain that they did not consider themselves bound to do anything practical for woman suffrage.

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What Difference Does It Make to the Women

BY ELLIS MEREDITH.

There are millions of women who are wholly indifferent when it comes to voting; some of them are violently opposed to it. But there are no women at all who do not want certain rights which are matters of legislation. No matter how much a woman loves and respects her husband, so long as husbands are mortal, she wishes to be legal guardian of her children if she is left a widow.

The year that equal suffrage was pending in Colorado, a woman came into headquarters and told her story, in the hope that it might awaken other women to some of the limitations under which most women still labor. Briefly the facts were these: Her husband had died, leaving her three children and a large fortune. The Court decided that it was too large a fortune for a woman to manage and appointed a guardian. Soon after the mother took the children to Philadelphia and put them in school there. The guardian wrote her that the oldest girl, who was then sixteen, must return to his home in New Mexico. The mother objected and there were telegrams and letters; but the girl was finally sent West, her mother remaining with the youngest daughter, who was desperately ill... As soon as she could leave she went to New Mexico, where she found that her sixteen-year-old daughter had been married to the son of her guardian. The law was on her side.

About a year before this time a young couple came to Colorado in the quest of health for a husband. His wife nursed him devotedly; but he died. Three months later a baby was born, and when it was a few months old HIS people came to Denver and took the child home. The father had willed away his unborn child and the mother was powerless.

These two instances of legal rights, so wrong as to outrage every human emotion, did much to enfranchise the women of Colorado. No bill was ever passed with such record speed as the one which made women coequal guardians of their children in Colorado. This is the law now in fifteen states and the District of Columbia. In Idaho and Utah the mother's right is recognized. "In all the other states and territories," says Ellen Spencer Mussey, Dean of the Washington College of Law, "the father is preferred as guardian. In eight states the father has the right to name guardian by will of minor child, even during the mother's life. In some of these states, it is expressly provided that the unborn child can be so disposed of."

Men are so much better than some of the laws they have made in the past, that it takes some glaring injustice to get those laws changed. The ducking stool was not abolished in New Jersey until 1889, and Massachusetts did not pass a coequal guardianship law until after the Naramore tragedy, when a distracted mother murdered her six children and attempted suicide after the father's threat to take them from her It took fifty-five years of effort and six murders to make Massachusetts enact a law that Colorado women saw put upon the statutes the first session of the legislature after their enfranchisement.

There are wide differences in the inheritance laws as they apply to men and women. In California, for example, "All earnings of husband and wife are community property; but the husband controls it as long as he lives and may will half of it away. The wife has nothing to say about it while he lives, cannot will it away, and only inherits half in the case of his death, whereas he inherits it all in the case of her death."

In Colorado, when the probate laws were codified, parents were made equal heirs. Then the committee having the bill in charge went a step further. In the case of the death of a married daughter, her husband is the heir and under the old law, in case

of his death, the property would have reverted to HIS father. Now it is divided evenly between the four surviving parents. The women did not ask for this. I doubt it many of them have ever heard of it; but it serves to show that the rights of a constituent are safer with a legislator than are the rights of a wife or daughter.

The government is much concerned about the cotton-boll worm, chinch-bugs, codling moths, apple borers, maple scales, leaf rollers, hog cholora, various beetles, moths, locusts and grasshoppers. But when the United States Commissioner of Education asked for an appropriation of $3,000 to study certain conditions of child life, he was greeted with whatever is the Congressional equivalent of Homeric laughter, even while the appropriation committee handed over $15,000 to the Pearl Button makers for the scientific study of clams, the object being to teach clams to produce better shells for making pearl buttons. Under the circumstances, who wouldn't be a clam?

Twelve firms in Chicago were fined the minimum sum, five dolars, for breaking the child labor law, and the same day the same judge gave a man the minimum fine, fifteen dollars, for having in his possession a bottle of ginger ale with an illegal label.

Not long ago the Indiana legislature appropriated $15,000 at the request of the fruit growers and bee keepers, but refused $2,000 for the publication of circulars concerning the health of children.

In round numbers there are about 20,000,000 children in school in this country, about 17,000,000 of them being in the public schools, and twenty-five per cent of them are absent every day. By dividing 4,000,000 by 365, it may be demonstrated how a day may be as a thousand years in our sight.

Besides these children there are some 600,000 who are absolutely illiterate. When a cotton mill is opened in the South only white labor is employed; so the little white child goes to the factory and the colored child goes to school. Isn't it as important to send teachers to these children as to the head-hunters of the Philippines? To what end do we put the flag over the school, if the child is in the factory?

Women haven't devoted as much time as men to the study of pests and blights and creeping, crawling, flying enemies of all growing things; but they have discovered certain analogies between nature and human nature. The way to have sound apples is to kill the worm in the bud, and the way to have a bright and glorious manhood is to throw around children the sacred egis of governmental protection that is now extended to the pigsty and the hen-coop threatened with an epidemic of pip.

Having learned what are their "rights," women are learning that the right way to obtain them is that set forth by Webster—the direct way, not by influencing somebody else and arriving at the desired goal indirectly. Above all, the woman who has a broad and intelligent interest in public affairs is learning even before she gets the ballot, that citizenship is a pearl of great price, and like other pearls it must be worn; it must come in contact with human life if it is to retain luster.

—From The Struggle for Equal Rights, Pictorial Review.



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Values *of the* Vote

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Address before the
Men's League for Woman Suffrage of New York
March 21, 1912

By MAX EASTMAN

Published by
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VALUES OF THE VOTE.

By MAX EASTMAN

I have just attended the organization-meeting of a new chapter of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage in a middle western state. A leading capitalist of that state is the president, and a leading Socialist is one of the vice-presidents of the organization—a fact which reminds us that the importance of woman suffrage lies deeper than any special program of reform, or the platform of any political party. It lies deeper than any constitution. It appeals, upon the theoretic side, to those fundamental principles of popular government whch underlie our constitution, the principles of rule by the majority—that there *is* no majority with a right to rule, until after a single vote is the property of every single citizen.

It is this profounder basis of our faith that makes us reject with contempt a proposal to submit to a majority vote of all the women, the question whether they would like the suffrage or not, supposing somebody were moved to give it to them. I want to read you this proposal as it appeared in the *Outlook* a little while ago:

"I think that it would be well to let the women themselves, and only the women, vote at some special election as to whether they do or do not wish the vote as a permanent possession. In other words, this is peculiarly a case for the referendum to those most directly affected—that is, the women themselves. I believe such a referendum was held in Massachusetts, in which a majority of the women who voted, voted in favor of the ballot. But they included only about five per cent. of the women who were entitled to vote, and where the vote is so light, those not voting should be held to have voted 'No'."

I want to say that the obvious foolishness of that proposal, in the form in which it is stated there, is not the worst thing about it. The worst thing about it, in whatever form it may be stated, is that it gives a glamour of apparent justice to a travesty of the principle of democratic government. That principle does not allow that a majority shall decide whether or not a minority may have the privilege of voting; it demands that everyone shall be guaranteed the privilege of voting, and *after* that—and not *until* after that—the vote of a majority shall rule.

My subject to-night is "Values of the Vote," and I will suggest as a head-line for to-morrow, "Theodore Roosevelt and Emma Goldman Agree!" Roosevelt believes in woman suffrage, and you may take what comfort you can out of that; but the keynote of his recent editorial is the statement, five times repeated, that the suffrage is "not important." There are great and terrible evils, high problems which confront women in this country, tragic need of what he

calls "reforms" in their situation; but the suffrage is not important, political standing is not important. "Life is not saved by politics, but by principles."

Coming from the chief politician of our times, the one who is best acquainted with American politics at first hand, such statements are interesting. They are more than interesting—they are illuminating. I want you to get the full force of them, and so I am going to read you one or two of them.

"I do not regard the movement as anything like as important as either its extreme friends or extreme opponents think. It is so much less important than many other reforms that I have never been able to take a very heated interest in it."

"Life is not saved by politics, but by principles."*

"To sum up: The point I wish to emphasize is that the supreme importance and high position of the woman of the type of Julia Ward Howe cannot be materially increased by the possession of the ballot."

"I most earnestly desire to emphasize my feeling that the question of woman suffrage is unimportant."

Now, let me call your attention to the things whose supreme importance he does emphasize, in the same editorial:

"The ruin of motherhood and childhood by the merciless exploitation of the labor of women and children is a crime of capital importance."

---

*Quoted, with emphatic approval, from Miss Ida Tarbell.

"Any tendency to permit the man to shirk his duty as bread-winner, as keeper of the household, who owes his best effort to his wife and children, is an evil of capital importance."

"Any force or tendency which lowers the efficiency or the standard of living of either the average man or the average woman, whether on the farm or in the workshop or the store or the counting-room or the professions, is a tremendous evil, an evil of capital importance."

"Motherhood must be protected; and the State should make the security of the mothers its first concern."

You will note that all the things whose "capital importance" is especially emphasized, are problems of our industrial and social life in which women's health, welfare and happiness—in some cases women's very lives—are involved. But the suffrage is not important. "Life is not saved by politics, but by principles."

Now, Emma Goldman goes just one step farther than that. She emphasizes all these vital problems which confront women in our society in exactly the same way that he does, and then she says that the suffrage is not only not important, but it is *entirely superfluous*. "Life is not saved by politics, but by principles"—that is her political philosophy exactly!

I don't know whether you have ever read Emma Goldman's essay on woman suffrage. It is published in her book, "Anarchism and Other Essays." It has just the same oracular way, that this editorial has, of belittling citizenship, and obscuring every political issue with a

moral platitude. I have read both these essays, one after the other, and I repeat that I can see no difference whatever between the attitude of Theodore Roosevelt and the attitude of Emma Goldman upon the importance of citizenship to people who are confronted with acknowledged economic and social problems—except this, that Emma Goldman goes consistently to the limit.

Now, in exact opposition to these persons who have not an ardent faith in political democracy as the first step toward the solution of such problems, but who believe that the world can be saved only by their particular brand of philanthropic oratory—I want to say that I, for one, have an ardent faith in political democracy. I do believe that suffrage is important. I believe it is important to all people who are confronted and oppressed by social and economic evils.

I believe that when you have said that "the ruin of motherhood and childhood by the merciless exploitation of the labor of women and children is a crime of capital importance," you have already said that woman suffrage is a duty of capital importance.

I believe that when you have said: "Motherhood must be protected; and the State should make the security of the mothers its first concern"—you have already said that *your* first concern is to see to it that, in your State, the mothers are a part of the sovereign power.

Not only do I believe that the suffrage is important to those who are confronted by problems, however, but I believe it is important to those who are genuinely interested in principles. I cannot accept the complete separation of politics from principles which this editorial, and Emma Goldman's essay, suggest! I believe that politics is good for something; and if it is good for anything, then it is good as an opportunity for the effective expression of principles.

So much for the refutation. Now, I want to specify just what the great values of political citizenship are—and especially its values to women, and to women who work for pay. I have these values in my mind under four heads:

First, citizenship is a stimulus. It will tend to wake women up to an active discontent with their situation, and an aggressive, self-respecting intention to better it. And that is the first essential thing.

People say that the fact that women are not greatly awake and active in their own behalf now, that the workers, especially, as a body, are not fighting for citizenship, is a reason for withholding it. But they are just wrong! Citizenship is the stimulus. It is the gift (or the imposition—I don't care!) that will arouse them.

I can prove to you that citizenship is a stimulus by the history of the recent election in Los Angeles. I be-

lieve that a majority of the women of that city were opposed to woman suffrage, but after they got it, at the first vital ballot they were called on to cast, they went to the polls in overwhelming majorities.

With no exception, throughout the whole history of this movement, *after* the women of a State or country get citizenship, they value it, they use it, they will not relinquish it. And this is because with the using of it they begin to acquire that knowledge which makes it valuable. They learn the game.

That is the second great value of citizenship to women. It gives tham a stimulus, and then it gives them knowledge-by-experience. It teaches them how to act intelligently in their own behalf.

And upon this point, again—people say that the fact that women as a class do not already possess the knowledge which pertains to citizens, is a reason for not making them citizens. And here again they are just wrong! Women as a class have not the knowledge which pertains to citizens, and they never will have under the sun until after they *are* citizens. For no special kind of knowledge ever arose in any group of individuals until after the activity to which that knowledge relates was open to them.

The women who don't want citizenship, don't know enough to want it. And the reason they don't know

enough, is that they haven't the kind of knowledge that citizenship begets. Therefore the more they don't want it, the more they need it—the more you ought to want it for them.

Please do not think that what I am saying here is peculiar to women. It is true of mankind. I believe that the general awakening of their spirits and the progressive development of their minds are the two greatest benefits that have so far accrued to men from the possessing of civil liberty. For some time they will be the greatest benefits that will accrue to women.

But there is a third value of citizenship, more obvious, but for those not especially interested in institutions, less important than these two. I mean the power which citizenship gives you of accomplishing things through legislation and government. I do not think this is the chief general value of citizenship. I do not think that what the people can accomplish through their political institutions is the deep reason for having a popular system of government. But it *is* a reason, and for the workers a rapidly growing reason, and let us not be too scornful of it. Suffice it to say that obviously, in order to accomplish anything through the legislature, you have to be able to address the legislators as their constituents. The courtesy of a man to a woman is a lovely and beautiful thing, but for everyday steady reliability

it can't compare at all to the courtesy of a legislator to his constituents!

But please remember that the power to promote legislation is not the main argument, it is not the original or basic reason for popular government. Neither are stimulus and education the original and basic reasons. The original reason—the great meaning of democracy in politics—is that it guarantees to every citizen a certain elementary standing in his community, and before the powers of that community. It gives him a little bit of the personal sacredness of a sovereign. It certifies to him that his needs and his wishes shall be of some consequence to the society he dwells in and serves. In this lies the historic origin, and still the radical significance of democracy in politics. Democracy did not arise because certain people sat down and thought it over, and decided that a good way to run a government would be to have all the people vote. It arose out of the gradually developing conviction in the mind of the common man that, though the government should run all to hell, he had a right to *be somebody*. And that is what it still means.

I would rather conclude with an illustration, than an exposition, of this fourth point. And so I recall you again to this illuminating editorial in the *Outlook*. Let us approach it, not logically but psychologically—seek-

ing for the subconscious reason why it is that Theodore Roosevelt thinks that woman suffrage is not important.

When one specially points out that women confront all the great problems that men confront to-day, and then says that woman suffrage is not important—it seems to me he must unconsciously believe one of two things: either that the suffrage in general is not important, or else that women in general are not important.

Now, his worst enemy would not say that Mr. Roosevelt thinks the suffrage is not important; and so I am forced to conclude that it is women who are not important. And I make the conclusion in all seriousness; that, in so far as he is a public character and a man of affairs, his instinctive attitude towards *women in general* is to think that they are not of first-hand importance. That will continue to be his instinctive attitude *until women in general have become his constitutents.*

Surely no one will maintain that if women *had* the suffrage in the United States, Theodore Roosevelt would have announced in the *Outlook* just at this time that woman suffrage is not important. And that is how this editorial becomes, upon examination, a strong argument in favor of the importance of woman suffrage—to women.

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Is Woman Suffrage Important?

BY

MAX EASTMAN

Second Edition

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The Men's League for Woman Suffrage

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Is Woman Suffrage Important?

By Max Eastman

We have no militant suffrage movement in this country, perhaps chiefly because there is nothing to militate against. There is no active opposition. What we have to overcome is a polite but perfectly useless acquiesence. What we have to prove is not that woman suffrage is right, but that it is important. In my opinion it has an importance too far-reaching for the grasp of persons immersed in politics or business, and I shall try to set forth, in a brevity suitable to their leisure rather than to the subject, the nature of that importance. In so doing I can present no new "arguments," but only try to show that among the old, two at least have at the present day a vital thrust in them.

To clear the field for those two, let me say at the start that we do not look to women's votes for the purification and moral elevation of the body politic. That is a lovely hope, transmitted to us in its classic form, I believe, by George William Curtis. "I am asked," he exclaims, "would you drag women down into the mire of politics? No sir. I would have them lift us out of it."

But we are not much stirred by the prophecy of such miracles in this day. We are more scientific than to judge women in general by the one we have in our romantic eye. We look round in the city and the country, and we see who the men are and who the women are, and we conclude that neither sex has an exclusive monopoly of the virtues.

Indeed, it has been maintained in New York City, by persons with an eye to the private profits of politics, that woman suffrage would be a help to them in their business. Nor is it possible to deny—speaking from that city only—that this sudden extension of the franchise might furnish to the powers of corruption a temporary help. That is because, after the vote is granted to them, some time will elapse before a normal proportion of women acquire the habit of voting; a natural inertia will have to be overcome; and the powers of corruption have a better perfected system for overcoming the inertia of voters upon election day than the powers of reform. "The children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light." That is why nobody ever quite succeeds in the salvation of society.

That state of affairs, however, besides being local, will be temporary. Nothing will call out the votes of the better class of wives and mothers quicker than a striking ascendency of the corrupt powers. And when an equal proportion of all classes of the women's votes is called out we shall find our educated and our American-born vote increased, and our

uneducated and foreign-born vote decreased, in the final proportion.* Therefore, while we cannot look to women's votes for such an inundation of purity as certain chivalric souls would love to think, we can assure ourselves that they will not do any permanent appreciable harm to the body-politic. On the contrary they will increase the average intellectual culture and acquaintance with American institutions in the electorate.

Moreover, we cannot ignore the fact that women, even when their opportunity and the demands we make of them are as great as they should be, will remain in certain ways normally different from men. Women are mothers, and men are not. When all psychic marvels and parlor nonsense are laid aside, that is the scientist's difference between men and women. Women inherit, with instinctive motherhood, a body of passionate interests that men only partially share. And when we say that those interests are needed in government, we but extend to the State as a whole a generalization already applied to every essential part of it. For we freely acknowledge, in the daily progress of our lives, that women's vital intuitive judgments tend often to recall us from our theoretical and commercial vagaries to the chief business, the conservation of human resources. An ex-

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* In the year 1908-09 there were enrolled in the public high schools of the United States 475,761 girls and only 365,512 boys. And of the total number of immigrants to this country in the fiscal year 1909, 519,969 were males and only 231,817 females.

tension of that tendency into the sphere of politics will appear less incongruous and more advisable with every year that the profession of politics continues to improve as it is now improving.

Governments are more and more approaching the real concerns of humanity. All those moral and social problems, the preservation of health and safety, the regulation of hours and conditions of labor, the guidance of competition, even the determination of wages and the cure of poverty—problems that used to be handled by a few supernormal individuals under the name of "charity"—are creeping into the daily business of bureaus and legislatures. And this civilizing of governments is a process which we must further with all our might, in order that ultimately even the greatest questions of democratic equality, which are still only agitated by a handful of noteworthy idealists, may become the substance of party platforms and the fighting-ground of practical politics.

Socialism in this country is a protest against the irrelevance of politics. That is what much of it is. The growth of the Socialist vote means that enthusiastic people believe that the best intellects of the nation ought to be concentrated in legislative debate upon the problem of securing to all its citizens an opportunity for economic well-being. Yet there are many besides Socialists who urge and expect this change in the centre of governmental interest. Many besides Socialists are ready to do all in their power

to focus political attention upon the true issues of advancing civilization. And, while we have not enough experimental evidence for a conclusion, we have the opinions of hundreds of good men in those States and nations where women vote, to support our reasonable expectation that their influence will favor rather than retard this achievement.

Another hope we may cherish of the political effect, not of women's votes, but of the fact that they vote: The sexes are more idealistic in what they do together than in what they do apart. And for this reason the coming of women—or the coming of families—into politics, will bring a certain benefit other than what you might estimate by counting the wise or virtuous women's votes. It will make impossible, for instance, that state of conscience prevalent among male politicians, who go into the service of the State with the happy feeling that they have left their virtues at home in the safe-keeping of their wives and daughters. Men throw the innocence of their women-folk as a sop to God, and go about the devil's business. But I doubt whether God, or any one else, was ever satisfied with innocence as a substitute for virtue active in the world. I could never see the value of preserved innocence. It is possible that our republic will be damned to moral destruction, men and women together, and it is possible that it will be saved to great usefulness, but certainly if it is saved, it will be saved not because of the number of cloistered innocents it contains within its boundaries, but

because of the number of effective human beings who save it. Any measure, therefore, will do well, which tends to reduce the number of those persons who think that an ineffectual wife can do the being good for the whole family.

Especially it will do well if it reduces the number of such men in public affairs, where the lack of those high standards that we set for ourselves in our homes is lamentably apparent. "He is such a good man in his family!" we say of our disgraced representative. Perhaps if we do not waste our time trying to make him good outside his family, but allow his family and its acquaintance with him to extend into the sphere of his political activity, he will be good there too, or else nowhere, and there will be no doubt about it. He will at least realize the importance of honor in public service, and no longer be able to return home and think he is better than his acts.

Such probabilities, however, with so brief experiments to test them, do not give political equality a pressing importance to the man of average interest in experimental progress. In considering the effect of women's votes upon politics, as in mentioning the question of abstract rights, I have but endeavored to clear the way for the arguments that are most vital.

It is not justice as a theoretic ideal, nor feminine virtue as a cure for politics, but democratic government as the practical method of human happiness that compels our minds. The Anglo-Saxon race has

progressed so far as it has, in intellectual and moral and material culture, largely because it has carried forth the great venture of popular government. We have learned to take it for granted, and so to forget, that civil liberty is the foundation of our good fortune, but we ought to remind ourselves of it every morning. We ought to remind ourselves that we are the van of a great exploit. Had we been alive when the daring plans were laid, we should remember. The greatest hypothesis in the history of moral and political science was set up in this laboratory, and our business is to try out the experiment until the last breath of hope is gone.

The democratic hypothesis is that a State is good, not when it conforms to some general abstract ideal of what a State ought to be or do, as the Greeks thought, but when it conforms to the interests of certain particular concrete individuals—namely, its citizens, all of them that are in mental and moral health; and that the way to find out their interests is not to sit on a throne or a bench and think about it, but go and ask them. Now to discriminate against an approximate half of the citizens—just because they have, as we say, such *different interests* from the rest—is to betray our hypothesis and destroy our experiment at its crucial point. For the whole point of it was that we would give up asking an expert political class of the people what the State *ought* to do, and go down and ask all the people, expert or not and political or not, what they are *interested* in having it do.

Not only have the thinkers of the world waked up to the fact that women are individuals and so to be counted under this theory of government, but the world itself has so changed that the practical necessity of applying the theory to them drives itself home to us. We have only to open our minds to the facts. With the advance of industrial art the work of women has gone from the house to the factory and market. Women have followed it there, and there they must do it until this civilization perishes. In 1900, approximately one woman in every five in the United States was engaged in gainful employment, and the number was increasing. Most of these women have no choice as to whether they will work or not, and many of them are working in circumstances corruptive of health and motherhood. It is, therefore, a vital problem for the future of our race, how to render the conditions of industry compatible with the physical and moral health of women. And to one who knows a little about human nature and the deep wisdom of representative government, it is clear that the only first step in solution of that problem is to give to the women themselves the dignity and defence of political recognition.

Compared to the variety of their needs, and the subtlety of the disadvantages under which they enter a competitive system, it is a small thing to give them. But it is the first and manifest thing. It is the ancient antidote of that prejudice which everywhere opposes them, and its smallness not a reason for

withholding, but for bestowing it. Give them that small thing for which Anglo-Saxon men have groveled and lied and slaughtered and perished for a thousand years, to win—namely, a little bit of the personal sacredness of sovereigns before their rulers and the law. A small thing, but their own,—and an indispensable prerequisite and guarantee of every other privilege or opportunity you may hope to confer upon them.

Women have that guarantee in a male democracy, it is stated, through their husbands and fathers who represent them. And to an extent the statement is true. To an extent it is true, even when the husbands and fathers have none of that perfect loyalty to them which the statement assumes, for the habit of mind which democracy engenders in its officials involuntarily extends to their dealing with the unenfranchised. But there is a time when it is not true, and a point where that habit of mind does not extend. And it is a crucial point for them—when as a class they, the unenfranchised workers, segregate themselves and dare to stand alone for their special aims in a labor organization. Then they are severed in our mind, as they are in fact, from any voter who might represent them; and then, above all, they need standing in the political system. For there are just two dependable guarantees of the effectiveness of an organization of people without wealth, and one is gunpowder and the other is the ballot.

"Why, the ballot never helped the working-

classes!" we hear it exclaimed. "*Organization* is the sole hope of labor!" But such ignorance of the history and significance of popular sovereignty is revealed in the exclamation, that one knows not with what kind of kindergarten instruction to begin to answer it. He has read nothing or he has read in vain of nineteenth-century democracy, who thinks that labor organizations of males could have arrived where they are, in the respect of men and the law, if they had been unable to compel consideration from the State. It is *because* organization is the sole hope of labor that labor must have its portion of the sovereignty. And it is because, when united together for their special purposes, women lose even that second-hand sovereignty they are elsewhere alleged to have, that they must have a first-hand sovereignty. They must have a genuine guarantee that their needs shall be of consequence to the community they serve. Such certified consideration from the powers of law is both a symbol and a force indispensable to any group, or person, that either desires or is compelled by fortune, to enter the competitive world.

A hearing was recently held at Albany upon a bill to limit the hours of women's labor. Twelve big employers appeared against the bill, stating that the working women do not want it. Five elected delegates from the working women's organizations appeared in favor of the bill, stating that they do want it. No woman appeared against the bill. That was a drawn conflict of two vital interests in the State.

The stronger and wealthier and better organized of those interests we clothe with the whole power and prestige of political citizenship, and the knowledge of political methods. The weaker and poorer and less organized we leave with no power and no standing in the community, and no political experience whatever. We let those employers come down to the Capitol and demand what they want from their representatives, and we make those workers come up and beg what they want from somebody else's representatives. The idea of such a hearing upon such a bill ought to disgust every clear-minded American with this old-fashioned masculine pretense at representative government.

Such is the argument from the ideal of democracy, theoretic, practical, and coercive in the concrete present.—Yet, in so far as we are moral, in so far as we are believers in the progressive enrichment of life, we have something more to do than live up to our ideals. We have to illumine and improve them continually. The Athenian youths had a running-match in which they carried torches, and it was no victory to cross the tape with your torch gone out. Such is the race that is set before us. And we may well remember—we in America who scorn the contemplative life—that no amount of strenuousness with the legs will keep a flame burning while you run. You will have to be thinking.

And it is out of a thoughtful endeavor, not merely to live up to an ideal of ours, but to develop it

greatly, that the suffrage movement derives its chief force. I mean our ideal of womanhood. It is not expected by the best advocates of this change that women will reform politics or purge society of evil, but it is expected, with reasoned and already proved certainty, that political knowledge and experience will benefit women. Political responsibility, the character it demands and the recognition it receives, will alter the nature and function of women in society to the improvement of themselves and their husbands and their children and their homes. Upon that ground we can declare that it is of vital importance to the advance of civilized life, not only to give the ballot to those women who want it, but to rouse those women who do not know enough to want it, to a better appreciation of the great age in which they live.

The Industrial Era—for all the ill we say of it, we must say this great good, that it has made possible and inevitable the physical and social and moral and intellectual liberation of women. The simplification of home life through invention and manufacture, the growth of large cities with their popular education, and above all the division of labor, have given her a free place in the active world. This fact is the distinctive feature of these ages. To a distant and universal historian—a historian who writes the lives of the people—I believe that this change in the position of women will appear not only the most striking, but the most excellent achievement of ours.

For we could never evolve a heroic race of people on the earth until we gave them a twofold inheritance and tradition of active, intelligent virtue. That we have begun to do. And no act of ours at the present time can more urge and certify this great step in the history of life than to give it a political expression and guarantee. Citizenship will rouse and educate women, it will develop our ideal of them; therefore, it is a dominant necessity of advancing civilization that they have it.*

The relegating of women, outside the period of motherhood, to a life of futile sainthood, with exclusive charge of the *goodness* of the community and nothing to do with the community's *behavior,* is a great foolishness at the bottom of our social habits. Of this ancient practice and the quite recent idealization of it, of the damage it has done to men and

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* I cannot refrain from saying a word here in apparent contradiction of my theme. It is addressed to those self-assured reformers who, with small sense for the real in history, find themselves in too fatuous agreement with that theme. There was scope for great character, and life's full experience, in the lot of woman long ago, when many arts and industries and the business management of them, and of a household, fell to her. Spirited and splendidly intelligent women lived then. And they profited by opportunities for growth which are now gone. There are few places to be filled in the modern industrial world equal in variety and amplitude to the place of the "circumscribed" women of old. Hence, in gaining, through the development of industry, a great social freedom, women have lost in many cases a valuable breadth of experience. It is,

women and children, no history can give the account. Nor is it easy to establish a sense of this in an age which is permeated by the sentiments of a degenerate feudalism. It may awake the sane and heroic in us, however, to recall the pagan ideal of Plato. He says, in the seventh book of the laws:

"The legislator ought to be whole and perfect, and not half a man only. He ought not to let the female sex live softly and waste money and have no order of life, while he takes the utmost care of the male sex, and leaves half of life only blessed with happiness when he might have made the whole state happy."

Two truths that will be news to many after two thousand years are contained in that sentence. First, that it is just as important for women to be happy as for men; and, second, that true happiness for the best spirits of either sex does not consist in living softly and wasting money and having no order of life, but in regulated purpose and achievement.

Compare that elevated utterance with the ideals of the age just behind us. Take a sentence from Martin Luther:

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however, lost irretrievably, and now we must replace it to what extent we can. We must replace that ample interest and stimulus to growth which women used to find in the home with interests beyond it, and chief among them—as being equally vital—the civic interest. Thus in so far as women are gaining freedom in this era, they demand citizenship as a guarantee of that freedom, and in so far as they are losing a certain breadth of life they require citizenship as a guarantee against narrowness.

"The woman's will, as God says, shall be subject to the man, and he shall be her master; that is, the woman shall not live according to her free will . . . and must neither begin nor complete anything without the man; where he is, there must she be, and bend before him as before her master, whom she shall fear, and to whom she shall be subject and obedient."

The same morbid tyranny appears, although without the offence of imputing it to God, in Jean Jacques Rousseau, a preacher of the native equality of men:

"The education of the women should be always relative to the men. To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, to take care of us when grown up, to advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable: these are the duties of women at all times and what they should be taught in their infancy."

In these quotations the ideal woman, although drained of intelligence and power, appears to retain a monopoly of the distinctly Christian virtues, while the man permits himself, upon Biblical or other authority, the bearing of a despot. If you add to these ethics a certain idealization of that powerless woman, a tendency to erect her enforced feebleness into a holy thing, and add also a sentimental subservience of the man to this enslaved queen in matters of no moment, you have the attitude of the leisure class of our own day, our inheritance of elite sentiment. It is expressed by Lyman Abbott in his little book about the womanly woman:*

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* "The Home Builder," Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1908.

"When the wedding-day comes she has no desire to omit from the service the promise to obey. . . . She wishes not to submit a reluctant will to his, but to make his will her own. She wishes a sovereign and is glad to have found him. . . . To give up her home, abandon her name, merge her personality in his keeping—this is her glad ambition, and it swallows up all other ambitions."

In this modern example it is still tyrannically demanded of the woman that she confine herself to the virtues of passivity, but the demand is made in morbid idealism rather than mere brutal bigotry.

It ought to be necessary only to point away from these unnatural dogmas to the great judgment of Plato; it ought to be necessary only to recall the high attitude of Jesus.§ It wants no argument to support the development of women, for a developed personality is a good that justifies itself. The purpose of life is that it be greatly lived, and it can be greatly lived only by great characters. Yet it can be shown, upon a practical demand, for what special purposes we need women of great spirit.

We need them, in the first place, for the cultivation of a certain gentle humility and good sense in their husbands. It is bad for a man's morals to regard himself as the constant purveyor of privilege to a supposedly inferior being. This attitude of con-

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§ His superiority to His age, and especially to Saint Paul, in wisdom upon this point, is shown negatively in all His recorded dealings with women, so far as I remember, but particularly in that interview at the well with a woman, and a Samaritan, which so astonished His followers.

descending overbearance toward women is one of the chief follies of that very immature person, the average man of affairs. And when he tries to make up for it with a great deal of sentimental adoration, he makes it only the more foolish. For to worship that which is held inferior in power and wisdom because it excels in innocence of the actual world, is the old and sure way to falsify your moral sentiments. We hear to-day a good deal of protest against that "double standard of morality," which allows men, but not women, to be vicious without loss of standing. The roots of that evil lie in this false attitude. When we have abolished that double standard of morality which allows the "ideal woman" to be ignorant and silly, we shall see the disappearance of that double standard which allows her husband to be profligate and self-centered. When we have less innocence and more virtue in women, we shall have less vice and more virtue in men. Both changes will be for the better, but the latter more obviously. And therefore I put it first, if not greatest, of the uses of the developed woman that she will foster the development of men.

But she will also foster the development of the home and the human family, and make that institution truly beautiful in its nature and great in its effect. That such results will ultimately flow from this political reform, is proven by the outcries which oppose it: "You are bringing dissension into our homes!" "You are striking a blow at the family,

which is the cornerstone of society!"—hysterical outcries from persons whose families are already tottering. Certain it is that many of these cornerstones of society are tottering. And why are they tottering? Because there dwell in them triviality and vacuity, which prepare the way of the devil. Who can think that intellectual divergence, disagreement upon a great public question, could disrupt a family worth holding together? On the contrary, nothing save a community of great interests, with agreement and disagreement inevitable, can revive a fading romance. When we have made matrimony synonymous with a high and equal comradeship, we shall have done the one thing that we can do to rescue those families which are the tottering cornerstones of society.

A greater service of the developed woman, however, will be her service in motherhood. For we are in extreme need of mothers who have that wisdom which comes from wide interest, and wide activity, and wide experience of the world, and from no other source under the sun. To hear the sacred duty of motherhood advanced as a reason why women should *not* become public-spirited and active and effective, you would think we had no greater duty to our race and nation than to rear in innocence a generation of grown-up babies. Keep your mothers in a state of invalid remoteness from genuine life, and who is to arm the young with efficient virtue? Are their mothers only to suckle them, and then for their

education pass them over to some one who knows life? To educate a child is to lead him out into the world of his experience; it is not to propel him with ignorant admonitions from the door. A million lives wrecked at the off-go can bear witness to the failure of that method. I think that the best thing you could add to the mothers of posterity is a little of the rough sagacity and humor of public affairs.

Such are the great reasons for making the sexes equal in politics; such have been the reasons ever since the question was first broached in the age of Pericles. It is not merely a demand for justice upon the part of citizens unrecognized. It is not a plan to prevent corrupt practices in politics, or instil into the people's representatives any virtue other than the virtue of representing the whole people. It is an act demanded by the ideal principle to the proof of which our government is devoted. It is the solution, indicated by that principle, of one of the chief problems of our industrial civilization. And it is a heroic step that we can take with nature in the evolution of a great and symmetrical race.

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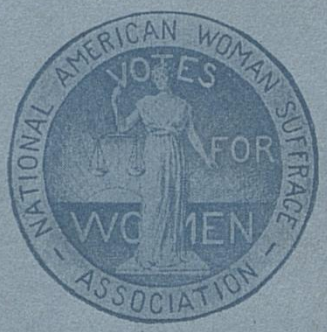
WHAT WOMEN MIGHT DO WITH THE BALLOT

FIRE PREVENTION

By

ARTHUR E. McFARLANE

Reprinted by courtesy of McClure's Magazine



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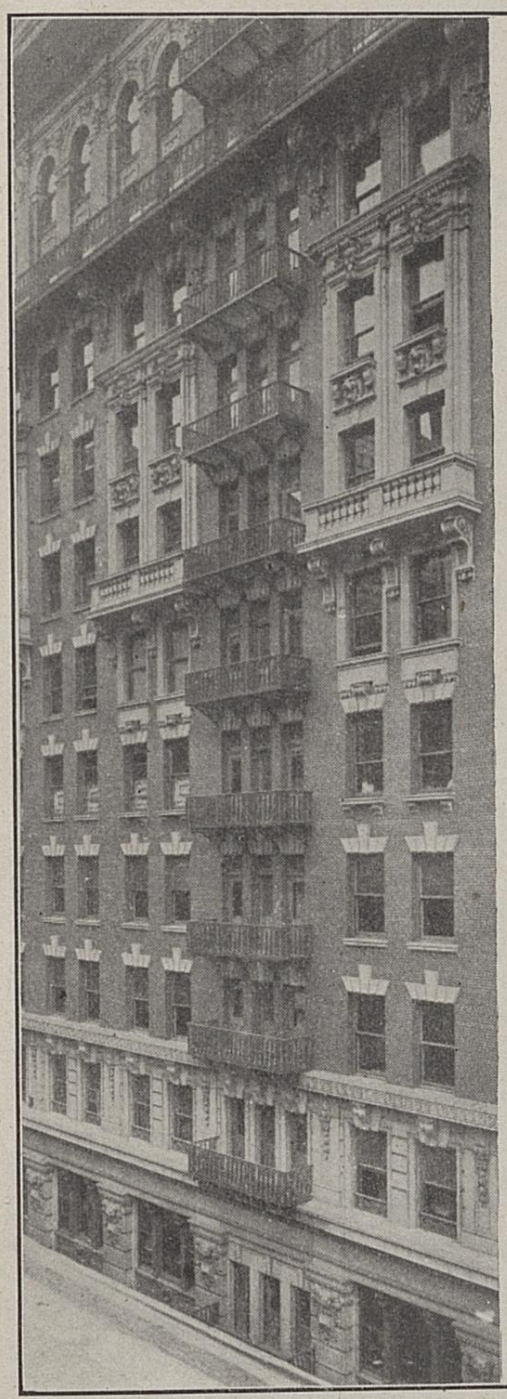
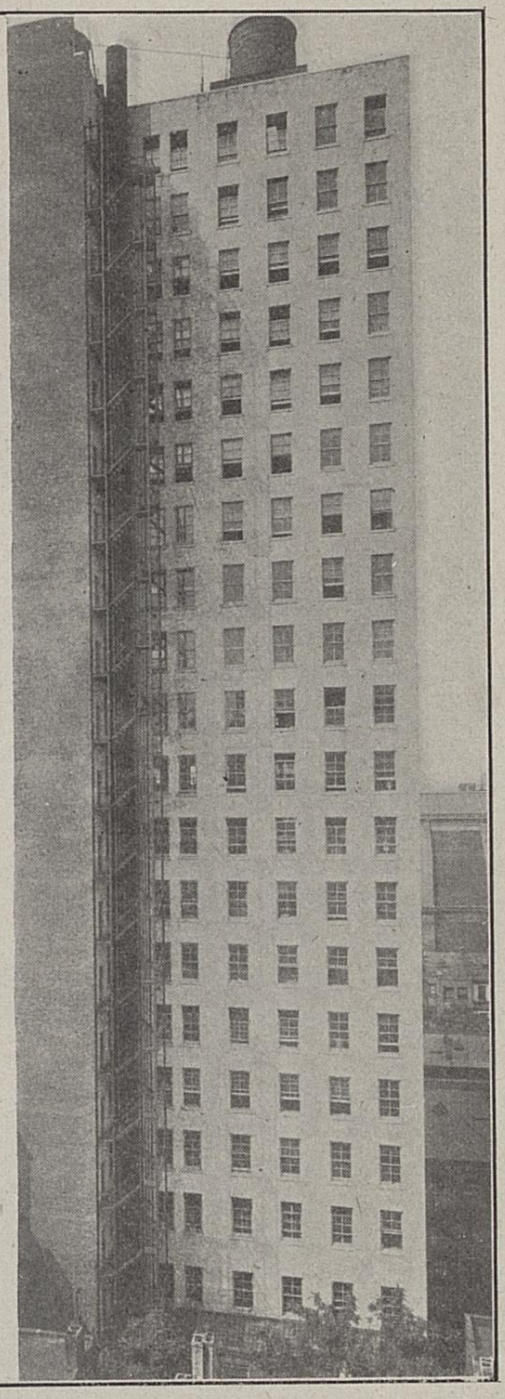


The RIGHT KIND OF FIRE ESCAPE, a tower enclosed in the building itself. Exit from the building is from the two side doors leading on to the balcony. Entrance to the tower is by the middle door from the balcony.



The WRONG KIND OF FIRE ESCAPE. It takes three minutes to get down when there is no fire, and fire in any of the lower stories would render it useless.

FIRE PREVENTION

BY

ARTHUR E. McFARLANE

(Reprinted from McClure's Magazine.)

New York is the largest factory town in America, but it has no factory district. Its manufactories are disguised behind façades of stone and marble—splendidly lodged in the tallest, most costly and imposing buildings that line Fifth Avenue and Broadway. The great skyscrapers which within the last ten years have shot up like a tropical growth—these are New York's factory buildings. They are factories in exactly the same sense as the brick and wooden buildings in Fall River and Lynn. But in this factory district there are no tall chimneys belching smoke, and the push-cart takes the place of the dinner-pail. In these splendid skyscrapers there are more factory hands at work than are to be found in Paterson, Lowell, and Fall River all put together. Their fronts are of granite, stone, terra-cotta, or ornamental brick, dressed with burnished copper and bronze. The agents' signs upon them describe them as "loft buildings."

Enter one of these buildings and explore. You will feel at once that you are looking at the most modern fire-proof construction. Everywhere is stone and tiling and metal sheathing; and there is a masonry-surrounded stairway which contains no wood whatever save its hand-rail. Go up in one of the elevators. While you are still in the car you will begin to hear a low, vicious hum, which, when the elevator door is opened, becomes a snarling roar. You stand bewildered, unable to see what is going on because of the wooden partitions that ramify in every direction. But, if you are allowed access to the "loft" itself, you will find yourself in a single great room, its floor area that of a concert-hall, filled from end to end with men and girls working at motor-driven machines—a hundred, two hundred, five hundred to a floor. You are now in one of New York's factories.

Loft Buildings Never Constructed To Be Factories.

Loft buildings were never constructed to be factories, and they first came to be used as such almost by accident. Some fifteen years ago certain garment-makers from the tenements of the East Side and the old dark warehouses of Canal and Grand streets began to look for factories in the regulation sense. The "tenement-made" label was coming, and they wanted cheaper light and power and insurance. They tried the loft buildings, and found exactly what they wanted. They got cheaper insurance, because loft-buildings were fire-proof. The installation of motors and shafting allowed them to use electricity instead of the old gasolene engines, and electricity was cheaper. There was daylight until five o'clock, even in winter, which meant a saving of gas. Their subcontractors, or sweat masters, could put a quarter more operatives into the same space, and for this reason: The New York factory laws say that every factory worker shall have 250 cubic feet of air. A tenement ceiling is not more than eight feet high; a loft ceiling ten or eleven. And obviously the more space there is above the worker, the less need there legally be around him. There was a saving on every side.

The cloak and suit-makers began the emigration into the loft towers. They were followed by the manufacturers of waists and white wear, by the hat and straw-braid makers, the celluloid manufacturers, the hair and feather workers, the furriers, the lace and necktie and novelty and fancy-goods manufacturers. They filled up all the lofts available, and the speculative builder began to erect more.

The Average Factory Employee in New York Works Seven Stories Above the Ground.

Under the building code, apartment-houses were limited to a height equal to one and a half times the width of the street. But loft buildings might go up to the sky. In September, 1910, there were 29,901 factories, in all, in Greater New York, and 611,738 employees—fifty thousand more than there are in the whole State of Massachusetts. Figures compiled at the beginning of the present year by the Women's Trade Union League indicated that the average factory worker in New York is now working seven stories above the ground. This condition made a new industrial problem.

No Fire Department Will Guarantee To Fight Fire Successfully Above the Seventh Story.

And, up to the time of the Triangle fire, New York did nothing whatever to meet it. The Committee on Congestion pointed out that this meant

congestion worse congested. The Fifth Avenue Association demonstrated that at the noon hour thirty-five thousand garment-workers crowded a short half mile of this chosen thoroughfare alone. But in the ten years between 1901 and 1910 neither the city nor the State enacted a single new building or factory law that recognized that there was a new situation to meet.

The most efficient of fire departments will guarantee to fight fire successfully only to the seventh story—the height to which water-towers can reach and throw their stream in *levelly*. Streams can be thrown much higher, but they then have no penetrating power. New York did, in the case of her loft factories, what it has become our national habit to do—decided that there really was no danger, or that, one could always "take a chance on it."

And this attitude was perfectly natural on the part of the New York Bureau of Buildings. For, officially, *there were, and are, no loft factories in New York.*

The structures that housed them were erected as loft buildings—buildings for "the storing or display of goods." As such they were inspected and passed. And, though the machinery was put into them the day after, loft buildings, in the opinion of the Bureau of Buildings, they immutably remained. The truckman and the elevator-man and the push-cart man on the corner knew that they had been turned into factories. But to know a thing officially it is necessary to be officially informed.

The Bureau of Buildings has not concerned itself about the height of the building as affecting the stairway—though it should rise twenty floors or more; nor about the number of people that might be upon these floors—legally there might be more than fourteen hundred; nor about the *width* of that single stairway. And in consequence we find the stairways averaging about three feet in width with "winders" or wedge-shaped treads at the turns, so that one can fall down even in the daylight.

Loft Factories Not Required To Have Any Fire Escape.

Regarding fire-escapes, the New York building code was non-committal. It is said that the above buildings "shall be provided with such good and sufficient means of egress in case of fire as shall be directed by the department of buildings." This is what, in law-making, is known as a "joker." Some speculative builders decided to build their loft buildings without any fire-escapes at all. Others put them in the air shaft, which in case of fire becomes its natural flue. Others bolted on the antique, all but vertical, eighteen-inch ladder escapes, such as could not legally have been placed upon even a three-story tenement house. In the Asch Building it was estimated by the Fire Commissioner that the occupants of the three upper floors could not have got down by the fire-escape in less than three hours.

Furthermore, in 1903 a decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court took the jurisdiction over factory fire-escapes in New York City—and consequently their *after inspection*—out of the hands of the State Department of Labor, and vested it, likewise, in the Bureau of Buildings. But, save for elevators, the Bureau of Buildings *does no after inspecting*. It passes upon a building, and the fire-escape appertaining thereto, when the building is opened. Unless some specific complaint is made, that fire-escape is held to be good for all times.

Passageways To the Exits Are Purposely Made Narrow.

Suppose you visit a loft factory of the most common type—one where waists or white goods are made.

You are stopped at first by the partitions about the doors,—flimsy oak veneer or plain deal board—turning the crooked alleyways leading to the exits into a kind of labyrinth. If there are two sets of stairways and elevators, you will soon learn that one is set aside, by caste prerogative, for the use of the management and staff. The machine operatives, cutters, and pressers have to use the second. And the partitions generally keep the operatives from knowing that there *is* any but the one exit. When the girls go home at night, they have to pass through a narrow door or down a narrow alleyway of their own, one by one; it is made narrow purposely, so that the watchman outside it can look into their open hand-bags as they pass.

Rooms Crammed With Tissue Paper, Lace, and Muslin Goods.

The labor laws call for a clearway of four feet around the exits. If the factory has only one floor, the space for twenty feet about this clearway will be occupied by the "stock- and shipping-rooms." And not infrequently they contain pasteboard boxes and pine packing-cases enough to fill a freight car. Box shelving is everywhere, loaded with rolls of flimsy lawn and muslin, cards of lace, and tissue-paper. At the windows hang great bunches of paper patterns. The wooden machine-tables, forty inches wide and stretching from one side of the room to the other, leave at their ends little more aisle space than is needed for the motors and the shafting.

And besides every operative stands a large paste-board or pine box, or a wickerwork basket, for the finished garments. Girls do most of the machine work, and there is so little room in the aisles that their chairs dovetail.

Wooden Floors Soaked With Oil.

In a loft factory containing two or three hundred machines a great deal of oil is needed. The shaft gearings act at high speed; they must be given oil frequently, and there is a constant drip from them to the floor, which up to the twelfth story may be of wood, becomes so oil-soaked that it will hold no more. The rags, too, which get under the tables or around the motors and oil cans, become oil-soaked. In some lofts they are swept up every night, or twice daily, and left at the door in bags. In some they are allowed to accumulate for a week or more. In others they are in the bins under the men's cutting-tables. Almost all of the cutters are inveterate cigarette-smokers. They smoke in the halls and washrooms and whenever there is an opportunity, they smoke at work. "You would get little work out of your men of you would prevent it," explained a boss on the floor below the Triangle factory.

Ninety-Seven Per Cent. of the Doors Open Inwardly, and In Many Cases the Doors Are Locked.

As you work your way back to the door you will see that it opens inwardly—in ninety-seven per cent. of the factories devoted to one trade it was shown that they opened inwardly. And in many cases the door is locked.

And, remembering all the while that you are a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet in the air, what do you think about it? In New York alone there are hundreds of factories like this. And, as always, other cities are already aping her. We are assured by the builders of these loft factories that they are the factories of the future. Manhattan has had them for more than ten years, and there have been countless little fires in them. Is it not by the pure mercy of Providence that, so far, there has been only one unspeakable holocaust? Newark gave us a fire in the factory that was not fire-proof, New York the fire in the one that was.

Ex-Chief Croker's Statement.

Chief Croker was present at the Triangle fire; and he says:

"There are certain things that should be done at once, things that do not require either new laws or building alterations.

"Every exit should be plainly marked, and all employees should be made familiar with every exit. All passages should be at least as wide as the door they lead to. And if in future any factory owner locks his doors in working hours, the case is one that calls for a penalty so prompt and drastic that there will no need of inflicting it a second time.

"Fire drills in factories should be made compulsory. They are so now in Pennsylvania. Five days after the Triangle fire there were two small fires in New York schools. Between them they contained more than 3,300 pupils. But, as a result of regular drills, both schools were emptied within two minutes. And what can be done by children can be done by grown people.

"Elevator-men should be instructed, in case of fire, to carry their loads *only to the floor below the fire.*

"In many factories, as they are built now, to make the doors open outwardly would only block the stairs. But it is an easy matter to install some simple form of sliding door.

Sprinklers Compulsory In Theatres—Why Not In Loft Factories?

"Sprinklers should be made compulsory. It is claimed that the first death is yet to be recorded in a sprinkler factory. No man can now build a theatre without them; and what is enforced by law for places of amusement ought to be enforced for places where people have to go to earn their living.

"Sprinklers add about four per cent. to the cost of a building. But they increase the renting value of a building, and they so decrease the price of insurance as to pay for themselves within five years.

"There is no excuse for passing upon the structure of a building and ignoring the contents. When we keep our library books in stack-rooms that contain no wood, why not our working-girls? Section 105 of the New York Building Code says that if a loft is divided for renting to two different tenants, the partition between them must be of fire-proof material. That means simply this: The use of any other material would allow one **tenant to put another to uncalled-for risk.** But what of inside partitions, and the tenant's own people?

How Inflamable Stock May Be Safeguarded.

"If it is necessary for a loft factory to keep a freight-car full of inflamables in stock, there is no reason why stock- and shipping-rooms should not be inclosed and divided off so as to constitute no risk. Partitions of metal and wire glass now cost very little; and wire glass will stand fire like metal itself. When every kind of office furniture is now reproduced in steel, and at a moderate price, why not plain machine tables? Those for the cutters could be given a half-inch skin of wood. Wicker baskets should be replaced by metal boxes. Cans for rags should have spring

covers; and the rags should be gathered twice a day. Oil and gasoline should in all cases be kept in safety cans. A loft factory so equipped would reduce the danger from fire to a quarter.

The Philadelphia Fire Tower—The Fire Escape of the Future.

"'Stores in which any of the stories above the second, have a clear floor-space of four thousand (4,000) square feet, and manufactories three or more stories in height, of the floor area, per story, of three thousand (3,000) square feet [the Asch building had more than 9,000], shall have *a tower stairway, completely inclosed, on the interior of the building,* with brick walls or other such fire-proof materials as shall be accepted by the Bureau of Building Inspection.'

"This is what is known as the 'Philadelphia fire-tower.' Lives are not lost in it. And when the building containing one burns down, the fire-tower stands up behind it like a monument. It is the form of fire-escape recommended by the National Fire Protection Association, the National Board of Underwriters, and by every architect, engineer, and fire chief who knows his business.

"On every floor the employees can walk out through floor-level, outwardly opening, fire-proof doors to a wide outside balcony, and in the middle of that balcony turn back into a solidly built stairway shaft into which no fire can possibly follow them. The stairway is wide and well lit and opens upon the street; and one such is worth three ordinary stairways, if only because of the sense of absolute security it gives. Moreover, it requires no more space. One Philadelphia department-store has five of them. Another has an excellent practice of making its employees use the 'tower' from time to time, instead of the regular exits.

Fire-Proof Partitions For Loft Factories.

"Under the Philadelphia laws, all loft and factory buildings, exceeding a certain area, must be divided verticallly by a fire-proof wall, pierced by fire-proof doors. This is, of course, another almost perfect form of escape. And both it and the Philadelphia tower have a double value from the fact that their principles can be readily worked out in loft and office buildings already erected.

"After every bad fire a certain number of buildings are voluntarily made right. After the Triangle fire the managers of the oldest hotel in New York decided to put up fire-escapes, But they had been seventy-nine years deciding to do it. We all of us just let things slip along. We need laws; and we have to be compelled, or we want to be able to compel each other.

Factory Owners Who Fight Fire Laws.

"For factory owners who *fight* fire laws there is one thing that can be done. On the New York East Side, when a baker continues to keep his premises in a filthy condition after he has had his warnings from the factory inspectors, they go down there with a square of red cardboard on which is printed the word 'Unclean.' It is nailed on his bakery door, the door is locked, and the trade of that bakery comes to an end. And that one red card is quite enough to reform all the dirty bakeries in the vicinity. Now, if a city has fire-trap factories, that city can be certain that its fire department knows about them. It has them marked, because, sooner or later, they are going to cause the death of some of its best men. And if, while State legislatures are passing general legislation, fire departments were provided with red labels reading 'Unsafe,' the work of State legislatures would be very greatly expedited. There is no 'fire-proof' building that can not be made death-proof as well."

EDITORIAL FROM McCLURE'S MAGAZINE

The Fire Question In the United States.

In 1910 the portion of the fire loss for the United States and Canada which came before the National Board of Underwriters, amounted to $234,470,650. The actual fire loss was more than $500,000,000, and this does not include mine, marine, and forest fires.

The Federal Government began, in 1907, an investigation, through our consulates, into fire conditions in Europe. Almost every consular reply stated that our fire-fighting methods are vastly superior, *but that fire losses in European countries are much smaller.* For example, in 1910 we find that thirteen of the largest cities in Germany, with a combined population of 5,616,822, suffered a fire loss of $1,067,205. Five American cities, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis and San Francisco, with a combined population one hundred thousand less, suffered a fire loss, in the same year, of $14,250,183! New York with a population of 4,766,883, added its $8,591,831—about five times the loss for London and nine times that of Paris.

Between 1901 and 1910 it cost every man, woman and child in the United States and Canada an average of $2.39 a year for fire. The European was paying thirty-three cents; the German, for his part, only nineteen. Between 1900 and 1909 our population increased 73 per cent; our fire loss increased 134 per cent. What is more sinister, the *number* of our fires *per capita* is steadily increasing. The puzzled foreigner may be pardoned for finding it hard to decide whether we are a nation of children playing with matches or a nation of incendiaries. We now burn up every year half the values of the buildings we errect in the same year.

But the loss of property is not the worst loss. Mr. Charles Whiting Baker, editor of the *Engineering News,* has reduced this to a gruesome statistical image. "The buildings consumed," he writes, "would line both sides of a street extending from New York to Chicago. A person journeying along this street of desolation would pass in every thousand feet, a ruin from which an injured person was taken. At every three quarters of a mile in this journey, he would encounter the charred remains of a human being who had been burned to death." Since 1903, five fires alone—the Collingwood schoolhouse, the Boyerton moving-picture show, the Iroquois Theatre in Chicago, and the steamer *General Slocum* and the Asch Building in New York—give a total of more than 2,100 deaths! What was merely a national waste has become a national shame.

And—human nature being substantially the same thing in America as it is in Europe—those who are in a position to know, place the blame upon our criminally lax fire laws, and upon the criminally bad construction of our buildings. "Most of the building laws now in force," reports the Chief Inspector of the Fire Prevention Bureau of St. Louis, "are inadequate and obsolete." And he is echoed by every fire chief, fire commissioner, and underwriting authority throughout the country. There is the same unanimity as to the remedy. In place of fire-fighting, heroic and inefficient, we need the quiet and effective methods of prevention. "New York is paying $8,000,000 for the maintenance of its fire department," said ex-Chief Croker recently, "and about $15,000 a year to prevent fires!" In that lies the whole situation. Modern medicine takes all its board and vital value from its power to prevent disease. Fires ought properly to be regarded as so many cases of a malignant disease, a disease fearfully contagious.

Nor is it any matter of having to wait for the proper serum or anti-toxin to be discovered. The fire disease has long ago had its Pasteur and Koch. The New York tenement was once unsurpassed as a fire-trap; but for ten years a "new model" has been compulsory, and the first loss of life by fire in it has yet to be recorded. The "picker-room" of a New England cotton mill was formerly held to be, as a fire risk, about the equivalent of a badly protected powder magazine. But now New England cotton mills, "picker-rooms" and all, can buy their insurance more cheaply than the palaces of our Newport millionaires. It is not so long since the breaking out of fire on shipboard meant almost certainly the destruction of the ship; and cotton was the most dangerous of all bulk cargoes. Baled cotton is still inflammable; iron bands still chafe together, and the "spontaneous combustion" gases still accumulate. All modern ships carry cotton, some of them representing a value of ten millions of dollars, and there are few long voyages in which fires do not break out at some time in one of the cotton holds. But the very heat they generate at once starts the machinery that puts them out again.

We have the preventive medicine for fire. It can be administered by the youngest civil engineer out of the institute of technology. And the same

logic which has compelled government, through its boards of health,—municipal, State, and federal,—to take up the practice of one sort of preventive medicine must in the end bring it to take up the practice of the other.

If women had the ballot, they could then vote for the kind of public servants, who would pass such laws and appoint such officials as would almost entirely prevent the horrors described in the above article and editorial.

In this, and in no other way, can they do equally efficient service.

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WHAT WOMEN MIGHT DO WITH THE BALLOT

REASONABLE POSTAL LAWS

By

JAMES L. COWLES

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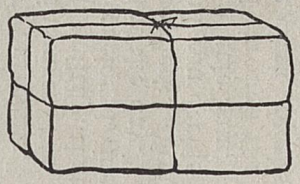
HEADQUARTERS: 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
Price, 5 cents

IS UNCLE SAM LOGICAL ?

THESE TWO PARCELS ARE THE SAME SIZE.
THEY WEIGH THE SAME – 4 LBS.
THEY ARE BOTH GOING BY MAIL FROM
SANFRANCISCO TO CHICAGO
THE COST OF MAILING EACH <u>SHOULD</u> BE THE SAME



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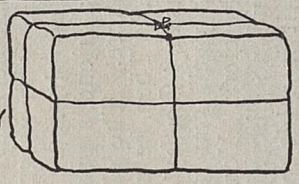
IT
ACTUALLY
COSTS



32 CENTS TO MAIL THIS ONE (A) AND 64 CENTS TO MAIL THIS ONE (B)

WHY ?

ONLY BECAUSE ONE CONTAINS <u>PRINTED</u> CARDS (A)
AND THE OTHER ONE, <u>UNPRINTED</u> CARDS (B)

IS THIS FAIR ?

Reasonable Postal Laws.

You are about to mail a parcel—of the sort of thing one marks "m'd's'e." The clerk at the post office weighs it and remarks—let us say, "Four cents." Then he pauses, looks sharply at you, and inquires, "Is there any writing in this package?" You admit, guiltily, that there is, remembering the visiting card that you enclosed inscribed with the words, "Many happy returns of the day." "That will be eight cents then, madam," says the clerk. You wonder vaguely why, but it is a small matter, and you decide to leave it to the high and inscrutable wisdom of Uncle Sam.

You wish to send through the mail a package of—let us say blank cards. The clerk weighs it, pronounces "Eight cents," and then looks at you and inquires, "Is there and printing on these cards?" You reply proudly, with a backward thought for the writing in the other parcel, "No, there is not." "Then, madam," he replies, "it will cost you sixteen cents." You stare, thinking that he must be mistaken, but he shows you his printed schedule with its governmental seal, and you are convinced, though nonplussed.

You are sending a friend a present of—let us say chestnuts, from your own tree. The clerk weighs them and announces, "Eight cents." Then he appears to be seized with a sudden thought and asks, "Oh, by the way, are these chestnuts roasted?" "Why, yes," you say. "They are." "Sixteen cents, then," returns the clerk. Your brain reels.

You cannot see—and no discredit to your powers of discernment either—that it is a bit more trouble or expense to Uncle Sam to carry your chestnuts roasted than raw, your package of cards without printing than with it, your parcel of merchandise with your inscribed visiting card than without. In each case the parcel is the same size, same weight, is going the same distance, and requires exactly the same amount of handling by Uncle Sam's employees.

And these are only a few examples of what looks, to the casual observer, like an utter lack of rhyme and reason in the postal schedules. There is a reason, though, for every one of these apparently irrational provisions—a reason directly traceable, in many cases, to the operation of special privilege, and, in others, merely to the persistence in our complex civilization of regulations that were worked out in the early days of this country and are suitable only for the conditions of frontier life.

But from whatever cause, it is a fact that our postal schedules lack both common sense and justice, and it is the aim of this article to show, by a survey of the development of our post-office laws, that their growth has not been a natural one based on the cost of the service and the invention of mechanical improvements but rather upon an unjust system of taxation which has crystalized into an adamantine bulk of precedent most difficult to dislodge.

The first postman in this country may be said to have been the Yankee peddler, travelling painfully, often on foot, from one little self-centered community to another; and in that day of utter lack of mechanical transportation and even of decent roads, the distance traversed did constitute a more or less just measurement of both the cost and value of the service—*as long as the peddler remained a private carrier.* The moment he became a common carrier—that is to say, when he undertook to deliver two or more letters on the same road—that moment *distance* became a false basis for the determination of transport charges and its application a public wrong.

To illustrate: Suppose our peddler charges ten cents for the delivery of one letter. This fairly measures both the cost and the value of the service rendered. But suppose he delivers a second letter on his way. He should now charge, approximately, only five cents for each letter since it is practically no more trouble to him to deliver two than one. The *cost* of the service is thus cut in half, while its *value* remains the same. It should be clear then, at the very outset of an organized mail service, that a schedule of charges based on distance robs the public in the interest of the carrier.

Suppose now our Yankee peddler becomes a regular professional letter and parcel carrier, with a wagon and team collecting and delivering at a hundred homes in a daily round of 24 miles. Does he take from each household along the route the sum it would cost to have a special team sent out on a single errand—a sum based, quite justly in that case, upon their distance from the base? Manifestly, his customers would not put up with any such system of charges. If we assume the regular livery charge for a single trip to the farthest point on the route to be $3.00, then a uniform rate of five cents per parcel, three cents for transportation and two cents for time and labor spent in stops, fully covers the cost of the service. The *value,* however, in each case, still remains as great as if a special vehicle had been sent out. It is seen, accordingly, that a system of rates based upon the distance traversed implies a hundred different charges.

Viewed in this simple way, the absurdity and injustice of such a system becomes perfectly clear; and it is only because our vision is confused by the complexities in which the matter has become tied up, that we cannot see this and become acutely alive to what it means to us.

Let us take an example: On its main line the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad has 626 stations, *each* with 626 different passenger rates and an equally complicated freight classification. The result is more than 2,500,000 different rates —which are, moreover, subject to change practically at the will of the railroad manager. The mere record of them requires some ten quarto volumes, each about two inches thick, and so complicated that it is difficult for even an expert to understand them. And just because they are so complicated—and a little, too, perhaps, because we do not mind what we are used to—we go on year after year paying tariffs much higher than there is any reason for whatever.

With the mechanical improvements that we have today, we might, if we would, have a system of organized transport—both for ourselves and for our parcels—covering the continent at a uniform cost per passenger—or per ton haul—less than that of the least single service of our old friend the Yankee peddler; but

we never shall as long as the system of charges is on a distance basis.

This system persists—except on street railways—despite the fact that organized mechanical transportation had hardly come into being before the great English economist Rowland Hill, announced to the world the economic law that THE CHARGE FOR PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SHOULD BE ALTOGETHER REGARDLESS THE DISTANCE TRAVERSED, BECAUSE THE COST IS REGARDLESS OF THE DISTANCE, and this law is applicable to a system of transportation covering the whole earth as to a city trolley service.

Upon this law, the English Penny Letter Post of 1839—the sure forerunner of a public service Post Office covering the entire business of public transportation and transmission—and except for the opposition of the English railway speculator, Mr. Hill would have quickly followed this up with a Parcels Post.

The news of the establishment of the English Public Service Post Office ran like wild-fire round the world. Colony after colony and state after state took it up. Postal rates were continually reduced, and *in nearly every instance the revenues at the reduced rate were higher than before.*

The year 1863 saw the establishment of the modern United States Post Office, with a uniform letter rate of three cents per half ounce; and the year 1874, which brought into being the International Postal Union with its uniform "world-letter" rate of five cents per half ounce, gave us our present Merchandise Parcels Post at eight cents a pound for unsealed four-pound packages, which is, incidentally, one-half our present rate, for the infant was scarcely a year old when powerful vested interests persuaded Congress to double the tax on this service.

The Congress of 1885, escaping for the moment from the influence of the all-powerful express and railway interests, established our unlimited Cent-a-pound Publishers' Post, and thus gave to one branch of American business the most extended Parcels Post service on earth, while furnishing our whole people at the same time with the cheapest and most efficient system of public education ever devised.

In 1893, David Lubin, Master of the California State Grange, advocated a similar service for the products of the farm; and in 1891, I proposed a Freight and Passenger Post covering the whole business of transportation, and on the 8th of December, 1897, my bill for its establishment was introduced in the United States House of Representatives, by Congressman Sperry of Connecticut; the same year saw the inauguration of our wonderful free rural service and of a system of postal insurance.

Right reason seemed to be making great strides in postal legislation, and, with the rapid growth of International Parcels Post Conventions and the suggestion of International Postal Transports, the time appeared close at hand when the Post Office was to cover the whole world's business of transportation and transmission.

But already, in 1896, the railway speculator had seized the Chairmanship of the Postal Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives, and for the next fourteen years, he prevented the enactment of any progressive postal legislation. Furthermore, it seemed at times as if he would secure the abolition of the unlimited Cent-a-pound Publishers' Post, which, in protecting the press from his control, has stood as the one great obstacle preventing the conversion of our National Government into a railway despotism.

The railway domination of Congress closed with the Parcels Post hearing of April, 1910; and the establishment of a system of Postal Savings Banks by the Sixty-first Congress inaugurated a new era of postal progress.

In their platforms of 1910, the Democrats of New York and the Democrats and Republicans of Massachusetts endorsed the rising demand for an extended Parcels Post. The New York Express Strike of November, 1910, aroused the business men of New York to its support.

The participation of the women of the country and of the Diplomatic Corps in the Postal Progress Conference of April 25-26, 1911, at the National Capital, marked a new epoch in postal history. At the Parcels Post Hearing of June 14, 1911, before the House Postal Committee of the Sixty-second Congress,

Miss Harriette J. Hifton and Miss Emma M. Gillett of the Washington Suffrage Association gave striking evidence as to the interest of the women in this movement. "The establishment of the free rural service," said Miss Hifton, "has done much to diminish insanity among the women who have hitherto been almost entirely cut off from the outside world."

At the hearings on "The Second Class Mail Service" of August, 1911, in New York City, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, Secretary of The National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Miss Leonora O'Reilly, Vice-President of the Woman's Trade Union League of New York, well completed the unanimous testimony against any increase in the rate of our Cent-a-pound Publishers' Post and in favor of a similar or cheaper service on all mail matter.

The Sulzer Bill (H. R. 14) provides for an eleven-pound General Parcels Post at eight cents a pound; a similar sealed parcels city service, and a local rural service (1 pound, 1 cent; 11 pounds, 5 cents; 25 pounds, 10 cents), with the insurance of all mail matter. The Chairman of the House Postal Committee of the Sixty-first Congress refused to allow the consideration of this Bill by the House, because its passage would mean the quick establishment of a Freight and Passenger Post. But this Bill will surely become law this winter and will prove a special boon to the women on the rural routes. It will far more than pay its way.

At the recent Postal Hearings in this city, I suggested the consolidation of all mail matter in one class at a common rate of 1 cent a pound, with the provision that a 2-cent stamp affixed to small sealed parcels up to—say, eight ounces in weight, and up to 1-24 of a cubic foot in bulk, should insure their preferred delivery. With the general insurance of mail matter against loss or damage and with travelling Auto Post Offices in our residential districts—town and country—with men on board, assorting, delivering and collecting to and from reasonably located mail receptacles, we would then have a fairly reasonable Postal Service, which, with a reasonable use of modern mechanical appliances, would pay its full cost.

The women of some European countries enjoy a collection

and delivery postal service which only requires the use of the telephone to enable them to supply their wants and dispose of their wares on reasonable terms, without even leaving their homes. There is no reason why we should not have in this country postal facilities equally good, if not infinitely better. There is no reason, in fact, why we should not have a Passenger, Freight and Information Post, with machinery so efficient and at so low a cost that the weakest hand, the most timid voice, should not reach to the ends of the earth and command its richest treasures. It is quite within the limits of possibility for us to have—and within the legitimate function of the Post Office to give us—a fast transcontinental Limited with a uniform fare of $1.00 per person for the whole or any part of the trip; a transcontinental accommodation—slower and making more stops but still reasonably rapid—with a uniform fare of twenty-five cents per person, irrespective of the distance he may be going; and local trains galore with a uniform rate of five cents per ride—just like an ordinary street car. If the whole transport business could be brought under the Post Office, we are certain that a common rate of—say, ten cents on parcels of—say, 200 pounds occupying four cubic feet space; and fifty cents a ton on parcels of freight occupying forty cubic feet of space, would meet the common cost of the station-to-station freight service of our entire railroad system.

All we need do is set about it. But improvement here, as in so many other matters nearly affecting our happiness and our pocketbooks, can be obtained only through legislation, and legislation can be obtained only through legislators with the will and the intelligence to carry out the wishes of their constituents.

To secure for their country—for themselves, if you will—the great and signal benefits of a truly modern postal service, is not the least of the ways in which enfranchised women might well use their vote.

JAMES L. COWLES,
Secretary-Treasurer, Postal Progress League,
125 E. 23rd Street, New York City.

The Co-Operative Press 119 15 Spruce St., New York

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WHAT WOMEN MIGHT DO WITH THE BALLOT

THE ABOLITION OF THE WAR SYSTEM

By

LUCIA AMES MEAD

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Price, 5 cents

NOTE—This is one of a series of booklets on various social problems affecting the welfare of this country which should be the concern of every woman. Some have already been published and more will be issued from time to time. All are written by experts on the several questions treated. Send to headquarters for complete list and further information.

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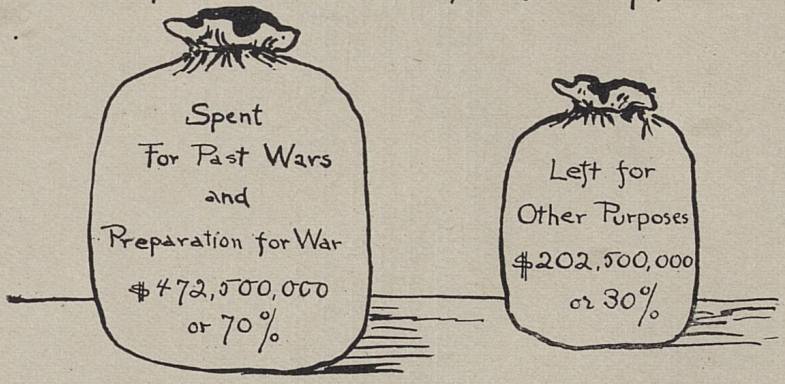

Do you want your country's money spent THIS way?

The Abolition of the War System

By

LUCIA AMES MEAD

In most regions where people no longer tattoo their bodies and eat with their fingers, it is wasting time to preach that war is an evil. Outside of the circle of men who have guns to sell or who will get glory and promotion from using them, one might as well argue that cholera, famine and Triangle fire horrors are an evil. Since we have figured out that we can put the whole population of the globe into Texas and allow half an acre per family, we have ceased hearing the blasphemy that "war is useful to kill off surplus population."

Even Richmond P. Hobson, who daily prophesies war and who wants us to have the biggest navy upon earth, admits that war is an evil. All women hate war; but, alas! millions of pious, respectable women who couldn't hurt a dog uphold the War System, that is, the fabulously costly preparations for war and the recognition of war as having legal status. They forget that the military man is usually the last one capable of giving impartial advice and that one might as well ask his grocer whether he would better have another jug of vinegar as ask false-prophet Hobson and his ilk whether more huge armaments are needed "to keep the peace."

But the woman who wants the ballot is bound to do her own thinking and is commonly one who has the imagination which enables her to deal with cause and effect in the human world as men do in the realm of physics. Whether a woman be a suffragist or not, it is the human world which always has and always will most interest her. It is the children, the old, the sick, the oppressed who appeal to women's thought. Men may study canals in Mars, or the fourth dimension, or

may seek the South Pole, or dredge and chart the seas, but thoughtful women care little for these things. They want to lessen the sum of human misery, to make men sober and chaste, women brave and self-supporting, to send wan little children to playgrounds and schools instead of to factories, and to bring justice and order into a disordered world.

How do they go to work to accomplish this? By "efficient management," the slogan of our time? Not in the least. They see many evils—the white slave traffic, intemperance, an overplus in our cities of stunted, illiterate Russians, Italians and Syrians to be Americanized; they see the problems of land and tariff and labor, of race prejudice, of greed and graft. It seems a maddening maze of things and a snarl impossible to entangle, and so it is to those who do not see how these problems are correlated. Like most men, women fall back on sporadic philanthrophy, trying to help a bit this club, or class, or settlement, or wasting time in roundabout, uneconomic methods of charity.

Thousands of women who will never take the trouble to study out the causes of the evils they deplore will spend thousands of hours in crocheting tidies for charity bazaars to pay someone to do something for victims of injustice. All told, their profits in fifty "sales" won't equal the annual cost of repairs on one little torpedo-boat. But out of this chaos of feeling, feeble thinking and vague effort, gradually a few main points are becoming clear. Woman suffragists more than others have seen these, and as soon as they learn both the appalling and hopeful facts, it will be clear to all women—the givers and nurturers of life—that their first task must be to overthrow that hoary system which involves the grossest injustice to life which still survives from the barbaric past. The peace movement must not be classed with philanthrophies or other reforms. It is the primary one, a prerequisite to the success of many others. The mother who finds her children playing with matches or daddy's pistol must rid the home of danger before she is free to dust the piano or even feed the baby. In like manner, womankind must first suppress what

may either endanger the world family in a conflagration, or through fabulously costly "preventions." drive it into bankruptcy.

THE MAIN POINTS.

The greatest obstacle to human progress to-day is the War System; and, *mirabile dictu*, it is the one that can be first removed. The "system" includes not only war, but, as has been said, those stupendous preparations for war "to preserve the peace" which are as costly now as war itself. We are spending as much to-day upon armaments as we spent twelve years ago in war time. The war **system** is not ingrained in human nature, as licentiousness, and intemperance so deeply are. It must be removed a thousand years before we can talk about a millenium when lynchings, murders, and gross meanness and cruelty will have disappeared. Civil war is sporadic, unexpected, and not included in the "system." Vast confusion has been wrought by platform, press and pulpit in jumbling indiscriminately together past war, future war, civil war and international war, which belong each to a separate category.

The War System is not only the first great evil that can be removed, but the first that will be removed. Our immigration problems will not end until Europe's war burdens are lifted. Our problems of insufficient production cannot be removed until the millions of strong, non-productive young men who spend from one to three years learning the art of killing are lifted from the taxpayers' backs and set to earning their own living and creating markets for things that will give life instead of things that produce death. Stability of business, necessary to the full dinner-pail, will not come until war-scares cease to affect stock markets. Ignorance, the poor man's curse, will in a generation largely disappear when, instead of building short-lived battleships, costing $12,000,000 each, we quadruple our trade schools, agricultural and technical schools, and get so that we can pay teachers more than we do street-sweepers.

The War System will undoubtedly end in this century, perhaps in a few decades, not because human nature will essentially change, though it is changing, but largely because of commercial and economic necessity and because the spread of representative government and world organization makes now possible what never was possible before. While Mexican and Chinese revolutions may occur indefinitely when despotism passes the limit, wars for foreign markets and territory must end as soon as the elementary facts of modern political economy become known by our business men.

When investors the world over are putting their money into Siberian railroads, South American mines, Cuban sugar, etc.; when manufacturers, like McCormick, are sending machines and products to every market on the globe, this new, complex interchange of interests makes war anywhere disturb business everywhere. This is a new situation, and its significance is not yet realized.

The woman who spends her time in little economies and round-about charities may be as oblivious as the tide is of the moon of the great international forces which may cut her income in two; but it behooves her not to remain oblivious. She must bestir herself to study and explain to her "menfolks" who think that a great navy is a protection to business that:

1. **Success in trade to-day has no relation to size of country or to its armaments.** The trade of small nations **per capita** exceeds that of large nations. Norway has **per capita** nearly three times the carrying trade of England.

2. **The safety of investments to-day is not increased by armaments.** J. P. Morgan finds that Belgium's 3 per cents are quoted at 96 when Germany's are at only 82. Russia's 3½ per cents are quoted at 81 when Norway's are at 102.

3. **..Ownership of colonies to-day gives no financial advantage.** Trade does not follow the flag. Except for sentimental and social reasons, England would be better off without her three great colonies.

4. **No nation can conquer another to-day and not lose more than it gains.** All nations are to-day interdependent. Each is competitor and rival, buyer and seller, debtor and creditor and market. Franklin's dictum should be taught every Twentieth Century school boy: "The worst thing you can do to a customer is to knock him on the head." Prosperity for our nation depends on confidence and credit and our having prosperous customers. All of these facts are admirably elaborated in Norman Angell's "Great Illusion," which valuable book, translated into eight languages, every wife would do well to present to her husband on his next birthday. It is the amazing ignorance by the educated classes of what constitutes their own real self-interest which perpetuates the war system and the high tariffs and artificial barriers which create friction.

The breakdown of the war system would in a generation cut off the occasion of half of the charities of the world; for charities are always a sign of disorder in the body politic. It would leave over **Two billions of dollars annually** for constructive work, valid charities, for education and commerce which would eventually wipe out poverty even in China and Congo land. It would mean the first fair chance for civilization the world has ever had; for mankind would no longer be working with one hand tied behind its back. Suffragists must overcome woman's natural tendency to put her energies into palliatives and poultices and, like a good doctor looking for permanent results, they must learn how to give "constitutional treatment" which goes to the root of the matter. Every woman, whether she thinks she needs the ballot or not, needs to know the following facts:

NATIONAL DANGERS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE.

1. **We have had in our 123 years of national history only three foreign wars. We began them all, and they could all have been avoided.**

Had we possessed a cable and learned of the concessions

made by England, we should probably not have begun the war of 1812. Our Mexican war, as Gen. Grant who fought in it declared, was an iniquitous war. Our Spanish war, as President Taft admits, could have been avoided. Spain would have been glad to yield to truce and to almost any demand touching Cuba to have prevented war. By the loan of a few millions, a tiny fraction of what we later spent, we could have lent a hand and uplifted Cuba as a strong elder brother should have done. To get her on her feet in the blundering, bloody fashion we employed cost in the end upwards of $800,000,000 and the forcible taking over of an unwilling, alien people in the Pacific. "Had we waited forty-eight hours," said Minister Woodford, "there would have been no Spanish war."

2. **These three wars cost us, all told, in lives killed in battle less than 15,000 men.**

So little is this fact understood that some leading suffragists, when asked to guess the number, have guessed hundreds of thousands. Our losses have been marvellously slight from all the outside world.

3. **Our losses are enormous from attacks at home upon life and property. Every ten years, twice 15,000 men are killed in mines. Every year, ten times 15,000 are killed by tuberculosis. Every year about two-thirds of 15,000 are murdered. Every year we destroy seven times as much by fire as does all Europe.**

4. **We are putting our chief defense where it is least needed and our least defense where it is most needed. We are spending 70 cents out of every dollar in paying for past wars and in preparation for future wars, while we have not an enemy upon earth and no prospect of war except when, as in the past, we ourselves begin it.**

Were every housekeeper to pay seventy cents out of every dollar of her family income to build high walls, dig moats, hire private detectives and buy bull-dogs and pistols so that she might be safe in spending her remaining thirty cents, she would better comprehend our national situation.

5. **The increased cost of living the world over is largely due to the fabulous increase of military expenditure.** (See Report of Mass. Commission on Increased Cost of Living.)

Despite Secretary Meyer's misleading statement that our navy is our "cheapest insurance" of the nation's wealth, averaging for all our history "only $.0012 a year" on the nation's combined capital, the fact remains that our war debt per family averages about $185, and our average annual outgo per family for all military expense, including pensions, is over $20. The average family income in America is only a little over $400.

Secretary Meyer gets his average annual naval expense by dragging down the colossal increase in the last decade with the very low average of a hundred years before. Instead of comparing even this false average annual outgo with our national **income,** which is the only fair comparison, he compares it with our whole wealth: of forests, mines, oil wells, Chicago skyscrapers, etc., most of which are out of reach of a foreign gunboat's shot. He of course knew the very important fact that unfortified towns, since the Second Hague Conference in 1907, cannot be bombarded but may prevent landing troops by mines. All of which shows that our navy might sometime be of service merely in defending the few spots on our coasts that are fortified, and that we are paying vast sums for this defense which could better be secured by such treaties as President Taft arranged with Great Britain and France; and it also shows that in reading official statements it is very easy to be misled.

6. **The "Yellow Peril" is a delusion.**

China has always been a peaceful nation and therefore is the one nation of antiquity that has survived. Japan counts our friendship her greatest asset. Her face looks westward where all her ambitions lie. She is putting many millions of dollars into Formosa and Korea, is herself heavily burdened with debt, and would commit national suicide if she should try to seize the Philippines, as some fanatics here have loudly

accused her of desiring to do. With a navy devided between attack on these islands and defense at home, she would lose her grip on Manchuria and perhaps Korea. We have got nothing but loss from our island possessions and she would lose even more. Only venom or crass ignorance could attribute such insane ambitions to our friend, Japan, with whom we have now a recent admirable treaty.

Let it be admitted at the outset that no ballot, man's or woman's, can prevent Congress declaring war if representatives, as at present, continue to take their seats thirteen months after their election, and war issues, as just before our Spanish war, arise thereafter. One of the first efforts of women, before as well as after receiving the suffrage, should be toward securing a much more effective ballot than any man has to-day when the will, even of the majority of men, is often defeated owing to our antiquated political machinery. But, this being said, let it be admitted that much, even under present limitations, could be done by women's ballots to abolish the War System.

It is unjust to deprive the mothers of all continental Europe of the labor of millions of conscript sons and to drive them into the field to do men's work for the support of these non-productive sons. It is unjust to cripple whole nations by burdens of military taxation which prevent millions from rising above the starvation line. It is unjust to drive thousands of innocent Italians to shoot down thousands of equally innocent Turks and Arabs because a hundred diplomats and greedy capitalists, or men with antiquated views of their nation's interests imagine that modern nations may, like Attila, play the brigand and gain anything by it to-day. It is to remove these great injustices that woman needs the tool which civilization has evolved to use against the injustices which affect property, liberty, life and death.

WHAT BALLOTS CAN DO.

Ballots can elect the President and Senate who have sole power to make arbitration treaties. The President can appoint

members of the Hague Court and Hague Conferences and can prevent a vast amount of friction by wise diplomacy.

Ballots elect Congressmen who may lessen our extravagant expenditure for armaments and presently save $150,000,000 annually and still leave us an adequate army for police purposes. They can put this enormous saving into schools, forests, and vast constructive works that are sorely needed. Congress can neutralize the Philippines by securing the consent to this by other nations in the same manner as has been done for Belgium, Switzerland, etc. This would free the islands from all danger from attack and remove our chief excuse for a great navy in the Pacific; it would involve granting independence*, but would not prevent the employment of American experts. Neutralization would relieve us with honor from an incubus and potential danger.

In states where women have the ballot, they can demand of candidates pledges for a peace policy, and votes for reduction of armaments.

All voters and prospective voters can help bring the peace party's program into politics and secure planks in every convention's platform.

For sample literature and suggestions apply to

LUCIA AMES MEAD,
Chairman of Peace and Arbitration Department,
National American Woman Suffrage Association,
39 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.

* Independence would imply no less money for sanitation, roads, schools, and civic government, inasmuch as the United States has never paid anything for these. They have been paid by the islands' revenues.

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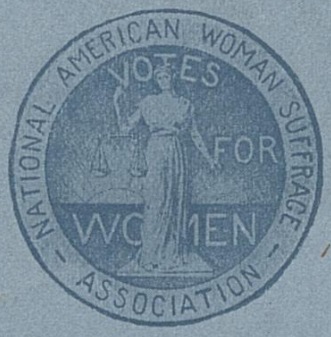
WHAT WOMEN MIGHT DO WITH THE BALLOT

THE ABOLITION OF THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

By
CLIFFORD G. ROE



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The Abolition of the White Slave Traffic.

By CLIFFORD G. ROE.

The white slave problem is becoming more important every day. People everywhere are thinking about it and discussing ways and means to bring about the abolition of white slavery.

In considering this movement it is well to point out what women might do with their ballot to help bring success.

Right now political battles are being waged for and against vice, and the traffic in girls.

Great political movements are being launched against politicians who have connived at and even encouraged vice and its right hand partner, white slavery, in order to gain personal, selfish power and perhaps wealth at the expense of the nation's manhood and womanhood.

Women, having cast aside the mantle of affected prudery and false modesty, are aroused the world over. They are important factors in this great crusade for better civic morals. And that they may be spurred on to even greater efforts is the hope of the writer.

What is the white slave traffic?

It is the widely accepted term for the procuring, selling or buying, inveigling or encouraging of women for the purpose of holding, forcing or enticing them into a life of prostitution. The term white slavery, perhaps, is a misnomer, and not really descriptive, since the traffic reaches to every race and color, originating in Europe, where its victims are white; however, it is generally used to designate the business by which the vice merchant is kept supplied.

The white slave market is the traffic in girls for immoral demands. This market is governed by the laws of supply and demand. There are various social and economic causes for this

supply and demand and the result has been the opportunity for trading in the bodies and souls of our daughters.

They are procured into disreputable lives with or without their consent, and they are held slaves by the conditions which surround them. These conditions range from forcible detention to ingenious deception with discouragement and disease as intermediary stages. "They become slaves to their keepers, slaves to their patronage, slaves to the habit of drink, slaves to cigarettes, slaves to drugs, slaves to the very despair that shame and moral wreckage bring."

Those creatures, both male and female, who trade in human flesh to fill resorts of vice are called panders, procurers and white slave traders. The methods employed by these traders are varied. In fact all the ways and means for luring victims to shameful occupations have not been fathomed. Each day one who studies the question becomes more appalled at the magnitude of the problem and the innumerable and intricate avenues that must be followed to reach those engaged in this despicable business.

By appealing to the love instinct in girls, flattering their vanity, and promising employment to the poor are the more common methods used.

Perhaps the best way to ascertain how the procurers work is to go to court records. There one will find indisputable facts, and the greatest progress made thus far in the abolition of the white slave traffic has been brought about by giving these facts to the public. Hard, cold facts must convince.

All one has to do is to pick up a daily paper in almost any city, to read an account of the arrest, prosecution and conviction of a procurer. The average reader will immediately say, that case is exceptional. To prove that these cases are not exceptional let us glance for a moment over the list of cases tried in the courts of Chicago since the middle of May, 1911.

It should be understood that it is not suggested that Chicago is worse than any other large city. In fact Chicago, in proportion to its population, has less vice than many other cities, and white slavery is practically broken up there.

That investigations are being carried on there, and that hundreds of vice vendors have been convicted proves that Chicago is trying to become cleaner and better.

Note the various methods used by the panders in the following cases.

Adam Lewicki is the owner of a disreputable resort in South Chicago. He met a girl in a chop-suey restaurant on Monroe street, and offered her money and other inducements to become an inmate of his house. She refused and he had her arrested on a charge of stealing fifteen dollars from him. His plan was to pay her fine and thus have her in his power. She told all of the details to detectives who caused Lewicki to be arrested. He was convicted by a jury for an attempt at Pandering and sentenced to imprisonment.

A case which shows how the love method is used effectively is that of Edward O'Brien. This fellow persuaded a girl to believe that he had fallen in love with her and even went so far as to marry her. After the marriage ceremony was performed he placed her in a house on the West Side of Chicago. She testified in court that he compelled her to lead a life of shame, and to give him the money she received from it. He was also sentenced to imprisonment and to pay a large fine.

Often the methods used by procurers are very simple. That is the very reason their business is so dangerous to society. Lawrence Mangano and Ernest Pagano knew how susceptible to flattery most girls are, so in this case they appealed to this human weakness. These two fellows procured a girl to become an inmate of a vice resort. She was working in a restaurant on the South Side, and one of these men was very attentive to her for several weeks, taking her to theatres, praising her beauty, and buying clothes for her. The case against Pagano was dismissed because he furnished the evidence to convict. Mangano was sentenced to imprisonment and pay a large fine. What became of the girl? She was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd.

How the girl seeking honest employment is lured to ruin was brought out at the trial of Samuel Davidson. This is the

most frequent method the white slave traders employ to trap innocent girls.

On July fourth Davidson became acquainted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, with a sixteen year old girl who is the daughter of one of the city employees there. Her mother died three years ago, and the little girl has been her father's housekeeper since then. Davidson learned from her that she was growing tired of working at home, and wanted to find employment where she could save some money. Davidson gave her his card and told her that if she would come to Chicago he would find employment for her. He corresponded with her after that until he at last induced her to go to Chicago. She went there on the fourteenth of August, and met him by appointment. There was an aviation meet going on at that time, so he took the girl to see the airships, then to a theatre, and later took her to a resort of shame where he said she could stay until he secured employment for her. She was not acquainted with Chicago, but soon found out the character of the place, got away and reported the case to the police that same night. Davidson was arrested and waived a trial by jury, and was sentenced by Judge Uhlir to serve six months' imprisonment and pay a fine of three hundred dollars, the minimum sentence in Illinois for Pandering. The girl was sent back to her married sister in Milwaukee.

The most dangerous and the meanest of the white slave traders are the women who have entered this lucrative vice field. Snug fortunes have been made by these beasts who prey upon their sisterhood. Women panders are often creatures of superior culture and intelligence, who carry on their wretched business with cunning and dispatch. Even a former school teacher, Dora Douglas, was convicted and sentenced to prison in Chicago in December of 1908, for procuring girls from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and other places.

One would think that women who are naturally more sympathetic than men would shrink from such a business. However, transactions which involve outrages such as cannot be surpassed in the worst annals of historic misrule, these women

procurers often will perform without the quiver of a lip, or the droop of an eyelash. Richly attired, of fascinating manner, sometimes possessing remnants of former beauty, and withal keen as razors, and sharp as steel traps, these women are almost the most dangerous creatures extant in the civilized world. They gain the confidence of girls more readily than do the men procurers. They may be "Madams" procuring for their own resorts; or they may be mere agents, getting a stipulated price for every girl they "land."

Alma Kendall, who kept a house in Chicago, induced two girls to leave their homes in Memphis, Tennessee, and go to live in her house. They were there for two weeks before the facts came to light, and the Kendall woman was arrested. She was tried in court, convicted and sentenced by Judge Hopkins to serve six months in prison, and pay a fine of three hundred dollars.

In all, during the summer months, eleven persons were convicted in Chicago for pandering. The total prison sentences was five years and ten months, and the total fines, twenty-seven hundred dollars. This simply means that even in Chicago, which thus far has been unique in its ardent prosecution of white slave traders, in most cases minimum sentences have been imposed. In the city where the leading men and women, both socially and commercially, are using money and influence against vice, and are supporting an office that will not compromise in its fight against white slavery it is quite the exception to have the maximum sentence meted out by the courts.

What is the reason? It is the same reason which keeps other cities from instituting any prosecutions at all. It is the same reason which has nourished this white slavery in its infancy and unwittingly encouraged it to wax fat and grow powerful. The reason is a sleeping public conscience. In the nerve racking race for money and power, the dollar has been glorified above all things else. Let some one steal a pocket book containing a dollar, and this some one is very likely to get the limit when he or she stands before the judge for sentence. But let this same some one steal one of our daughters and sell her

body and soul, and in the great majority of cases the sentence is the lowest possible.

It is not the judge who should be blamed for this. He is human and interprets the laws according to the standards of life about him. The trouble lies with the people who create and mould these standards, the people who allow public officials to value a dollar bill at a higher rate than they value a human being.

The foregoing number of cases prosecuted in one city within a few months, proved by court records, demonstrates that white slavery is a real issue. These cases illustrate the more common artifices used by the procurers. They show us how subtle is the evil business. They prove how futile are prosecutions alone. Prosecusions serve only to focus the public mind on an atrocious evil that has crept into our social structure.

It is not our belief that by prosecuting white slaves they will be exterminated. We do know that in so doing we cut off the source of supply of new recruits and thereby diminish the total number. However, the abolition of the white slave traffic is impossible, under existing conditions, through court prosecutions alone.

Those who have consistently and honestly fought white slavery fully realize that to convict the slave traders is but to scratch at the surface of the problem. This has been but the first great task. The next is to arouse the public conscience to its duty.

Women have aided so far, and cannot but be important factors now in the complete abolition of the white slave traffic. When we look at the question squarely we know that the only effective way to abolish white slavery is to abolish the whole social evil. One goes with the other. White slavery furnishes the fuel that feeds the flame of the social evil.

In this new era when men and women who stand for a higher moral tone in society are beginning to take the reins of government into their own hands, great things will be accomplished, perhaps not all at once, but speedily.

The vice problem has perplexed all ages and all peoples, but

in the past men alone have ruled. Now that women are coming into their own right let us see what they may do toward the solution of this problem.

Professor Zueblin said two or three years ago in Boston: "Three great movements are shaping society at the present day, the political movement, the labor movement and the woman movement."

All these movements must work for a better moral standard. To accomplish this we must not only plan for present day needs, but we must look well to the future.

In the past few years a vigorous educational and legal campaign against the dealers in vice has been going on.

Laws both national and State have been passed and are now being enforced to some extent.

Some States have as yet not legislated against the traffic in girls. Women in those States should organize a systematic campaign to secure this legislation. If they find the road rough and filled with thorns they should proceed cautiously and perhaps not ask for too much at once.

In Illinois where the first law against panders was passed, we first pushed a law through which was fairly effective, then at the next session we amended that law and made it more broad and more effective. We have yet to ask there for a higher penalty for the first offense.

Having secured a law against the traffic in girls, see that the public officials enforce the law. Too often political influence will be used to prevent the active and sincere enforcement of these laws.

Does one for a moment believe that this white slave business could have grown to such importance if it had not been protected by officials who often maintain systems of blackmail, graft and tribute as revolting as they are dangerous to the general welfare of society. It is fairly safe to say that wherever houses of vice are operating in defiance of the laws, and most of them are so doing, some one is getting protection money. This is the political sore which women should help cure.

More important than the law against panders is the Injunc-

tion and Abatement Law which has been passed by Iowa and Nebraska, because it gets right down to bed-rock, to the very source of the white slave evil. This is the house of disrepute itself.

The writer is informed that in the two above States white slavery has been abolished. Therefore, if both the Pandering Law and the Injunction and Abatement Law can be passed, you will have excellent weapons for the attack you should make in your State. The women of Idaho having helped to pass a law against pandering, are now busily working to secure an Injunction and Abatement Law.

Women have played an important role throughout the United States in launching and conducting campaigns for laws which will help abolish white slavery.

It was the women of California who caused the recent laws to be passed there. They employed an attorney to draft laws suitable to the needs of the State. Women of other States have successfully backed similar laws. The next step is to demand their enforcement.

In Seattle, where it was believed that the laws against vice were not enforced, the women shared honors with the men in electing officials pledged to rigidly enforce these laws.

In our efforts to abolish the traffic in girls, it does not seem fair to fight the unfortunate women who either gravitate or are tricked into lives of shame. The persons to fight are those who encourage, maintain and protect the social evil. That is where the laws of supply and demand enter into the question.

White slavery is the outgrowth of a stimulated demand, incited and encouraged by men and women, low and degenerate as they are grasping and avaricious.

Newspapers and court records for several years past tell of the vast number of girls that are inveigled into disreputable resorts. Therefore, we must assume that the voluntary supply is not sufficient to meet the demand.

We should remember that if there is no demand there will be no supply.

Why not wage relentless war against those who create the

demand as well as those who make up the supply?

Why not insist upon the arrest and conviction of those who visit immoral houses, as well as those who fill them as inmates?

These are practical questions.

They concern the double standard of morals which men and women have established and maintain.

Social ostracism of men who encourage the social evil has never been more than very faint-heartedly attempted, owing perhaps to the "whip-hand" men have held until recently in the world's economics.

Women have felt that they had to marry; it was their economic necessity, or they thought it was. And men, knowing this, have not felt the need of being scrupulous. Therefore, girls of the tenderest up-bringing, the most unquestionable purity, have been willingly given by ambitious parents, or have given themselves, in marriage with men whose relations to the social evil were notorious.

However, that time is now passed, at least in America. No longer are women the serfs, nor the toys of men, but through education and changed economic conditions they have entered into the commercial and industrial life and are becoming more and more independent.

It seems the time has arrived when women should insist upon a single standard of morals for men and women.

More important, however, than all the laws against procurers of women and the social evil; more important than the enforcement of these laws are the plans which are being developed for the education of our children regarding public morals. These are preventive. They look toward the future.

Vice is a moral fault, a defect of the natural character, or a defect as the result of training and habits.

The social evil of the present age and the white slave traffic which springs from it are the results of generations of mistaken training.

An American author living in Paris is quoted as saying: "The usual American girl of today is a half-sophisticated, wholly self-assured babe, with too much knowledge of the world before

she is married, and not enough of it after she is married." It would seem that just the reverse is true. Most American girls have too little knowledge of the world before marriage, and too much afterward. Knowledge of the right sort has been veiled too much with mystery both for the boys and the girls. Mothers and fathers have inherited affected prudery, false modesty and hypocritical innocence. Casting all these aside is the greatest step forward to better morals and cleaner citizenship which the public men and women and the progressive educators of our time have made. Of course, education in this direction must be conducted along safe and intelligent lines. It may take generations to mould the habits and train the minds in the right channel. But it is possible of accomplishment. In the homes and in the schools and colleges the knowledge of life that young people deserve to know should be given them. Young men will then have a higher respect for womanhood. To boys and girls life and its wonderful development and its holiness should be explained in the right way and at the right time.

Mighty things are waiting to be accomplished, and these things women might help accomplish with their ballot.

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AN ANTI-SUFFRAGE MONOLOGUE

BY

MARIE JENNEY HOWE



National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 Fifth Avenue New York City

THE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS



15 SPRUCE STREET, N. Y.

An Anti-Suffrage Monologue

By
MARIE JENNEY HOWE

PLEASE do not think of me as old-fashioned. I pride myself on being a modern up-to-date woman. I believe in all kinds of broad-mindedness, only I do not believe in woman suffrage because to do that would be to deny my sex.

Woman suffrage is the reform against nature. Look at these ladies sitting on the platform. Observe their physical inability, their mental disability, their spiritual instability and general debility! Could they walk up to the ballot box, mark a ballot and drop it in? Obviously not. Let us grant for the sake of argument that they could mark a ballot. But could they drop it in? Ah, no. All nature is against it. The laws of man cry out against it. The voice of God cries out against it—and so do I.

Enfranchisement is what makes man man. Disfranchisement is what makes woman woman. If women were enfranchised every man would be just like every woman and every woman would be just like every man. There would be no difference between them. And don't you think this would rob life of just a little of its poetry and romance?

Man must remain man. Woman must remain woman. If man goes over and tries to be like woman, if woman goes over and tries to be like man, it will become so very confusing and so dif-

ficult to explain to our children. Let us take a practical example. If a woman puts on a man's coat and trousers, takes a man's cane and hat and cigar and goes out on the street, what will happen to her? She will be arrested and thrown into jail. Then why not stay at home?

I know you begin to see how strongly I *feel* on this subject, but I have some reasons as well. These reasons are based on logic. Of course I am not logical. I am a creature of impulse, instinct and intuition,—and I glory in it. But I know that these reasons are based on logic because I have culled them from the men whom it is my privilege to know.

My first argument against suffrage is that the women would not use it if they had it. You couldn't drive them to the polls. My second argument is, if the women were enfranchised they would neglect their homes, desert their families and spend all their time at the polls. You may tell me that the polls are only open once a year. But I know women. They are creatures of habit. If you let them go to the polls once a year, they will hang round the polls all the rest of the time.

I have arranged these arguments in couplets. They go together in such a way that if you don't like one you can take the other. This is my second anti-suffrage couplet. If the women were enfranchised they would vote exactly as their husbands do and only double the existing vote. Do you like that argument? If not, take this one. If the women were enfranchised they would vote against their own husbands, thus creating dissension, family quarrels, and divorce.

My third anti-suffrage couplet is,—women are angels. Many men call me an angel and I have a strong instinct which tells me it is true; that is why

I am an anti, because "I want to be an angel and with the angels stand." And if you don't like that argument take this one. Women are depraved. They would introduce into politics a vicious element which would ruin our national life.

Fourth anti-suffrage couplet. Women cannot understand politics. Therefore there would be no use in giving women political power, because they would not know what to do with it. On the other hand, if the women were enfranchised, they would mount rapidly into power, take all the offices from all the men, and soon we would have women governors of all our states and dozens of women acting as President of the United States.

Fifth anti-suffrage couplet. Women cannot band together. They are incapable of organization. No two women can even be friends. Women are cats. On the other hand, if women were enfranchised, we would have all the women banded together on one side and all the men banded together on the other side, and there would follow a sex war which might end in bloody revolution.

Just one more of my little couplets. The ballot is greatly over-estimated. It has never done anything for anybody. Lots of men tell me this. And the corresponding argument is,—the ballot is what makes man man. It is what gives him all his dignity and all of his superiority to women. Therefore if we allow women to share this privilege, how could a woman look up to her own husband? Why, there would be nothing to look up to.

I have talked to many women suffragists and I find them very unreasonable. I say to them, here I am, convince me. I ask for proof. Then they proceed to to tell me of Australia and Colorado and other places where women have passed excellent laws to improve the condition of working

women and children. But I say, what of it? These are facts—I don't care about facts. I ask for proof.

Then they quote the eight million women of the United States who are now supporting themselves, and the twenty-five thousand married women in the City of New York who are self-supporting. But I say again, what of it? These are statistics. I don't believe in statistics. Facts and statistics are things which no truly womanly woman would ever use.

I wish to prove anti-suffrage in a womanly way. That is, by personal example. This is my method of persuasion. Once I saw a woman driving a horse, and the horse ran away with her. Isn't that just like a woman? Once I read in the newspapers about a woman whose house caught on fire, and she threw the children out of the window and carried the pillows downstairs. Does that show political acumen, or does it not? Besides, look at the hats that women wear! And have you ever known a successful woman governor of a state? Or have you ever known a really truly successful woman president of the United States? Well, if they could they would, wouldn't they? Then, if they haven't doesn't that show they couldn't? As for the militant suffragetttes, they are all hyenas in petticoats. Now do you want to be a hyena and wear petticoats?

Now, I think I have proved anti-suffrage; and I have done it in a womanly way; that is, without stooping to the use of a single fact or argument or a single statistic.

I am the prophet of a new idea. No one has ever thought of it or heard of it before. I well remember when this great idea first came to me. It waked me in the middle of the night with a shock

that gave me a headache. This is it. Woman's place is in the home. Is it not beautiful as it is new, new as it is true? Take this idea away with you. You will find it very helpful in your daily lives. You may not grasp it just at first, but you will gradually grow into understanding of it.

I know the suffragists reply that all our activities have been taken out of the home. The baking, the washing, the weaving, the spinning are all long since taken out of the home. But I say, all the more reason that something should stay in the home. Let it be woman. Besides, think of the great modern invention, the telephone. That has been put into the home. Let woman stay at home and answer the telephone.

We antis have so much imagination! Sometimes it seems to us that we can hear the little babies in the slums crying to us. We can see the children in factories and mines reaching out their little hands to us, and the working women in the sweated industries, the underpaid, underfed women, reaching out their arms to us—all, all crying as with one voice, "Save us, save us, from Woman Suffrage." Well may they make this appeal to us, for who knows what woman suffrage might not do for such as these. It might even alter the conditions under which they live.

We antis do not believe that any conditions should be altered. We want everything to remain just as it is. All is for the best. Whatever is, is right. If misery is in the world, God has put it there, let it remain. If this misery presses harder on some women than others, it is because they need discipline. Now, I have always been comfortable and well cared for. But then I never needed discipline. Of course I am only a weak, ignorant woman. But there is one thing I do understand

from the ground up, and that is the divine intention toward woman. I *know* that the divine intention toward woman is, let her remain at home.

The great trouble with the suffragists is this; they interfere too much. They are always interfering. Let me take a practical example.

There is in the City of New York a Nurses' Settlement, where sixty trained nurses go forth to care for sick babies and give them pure milk. Last summer only two or three babies died in this slum district around the Nurses' Settlement, whereas formerly hundreds of babies have died there every summer. Now what are these women doing? Interfering, interfering with the death rate! And what is their motive in so doing? They seek notoriety. They want to be noticed. They are trying to show off. And if sixty women who merely believe in suffrage behave in this way, what may we expect when all women are enfranchised?

What ought these women to do with their lives? Each one ought to be devoting herself to the comfort of some man. You may say, they are not married. But I answer, let them try a little harder and they might find some kind of a man to devote themselves to. What does the Bible say on this subject? It says, "Seek and ye shall find." Besides, when I look around me at the men I feel that God never meant us women to be too particular.

Let me speak one word to my sister women who are here to-day. Women, we don't need to vote in order to get our own way. Don't misunderstand me. Of course I want you to get your own way. That's what we're here for. But do it indirectly. If you want a thing, tease. If that doesn't work, nag. If that doesn't do, cry—crying always brings them around. Get what you

want. Pound pillows. Make a scene. Make home a hell on earth, but do it in a womanly way. That is so much more dignified and refined than walking up to a ballot box and dropping in a piece of paper. Can't you see that?

Let us consider for a moment the effect of woman's enfranchisement on man. I think some one ought to consider the men. What makes husbands faithful and loving? The ballot, and the monopoly of that privilege. If women vote, what will become of men? They will all slink off drunk and disorderly. We antis understand men. If women were enfranchised, men would revert to their natural instincts such as regicide, matricide, patricide and race-suicide. Do you believe in race-suicide or do you not? Then, isn't it our duty to refrain from a thing that would lure men to destruction?

It comes down to this. Some one must wash the dishes. Now, would you expect man, man made in the image of God, to roll up his sleeves and wash the dishes? Why, it would be blasphemy. I know that I am but a rib and so I wash the dishes. Or I hire another rib to do it for me, which amounts to the same thing.

Let us consider the argument from the standpoint of religion. The Bible says, "Let the women keep silent in the churches." Paul says, "Let them keep their hats on for fear of the angels." My minister says, "Wives, obey your husbands." And by husband says that woman suffrage would rob the rose of its fragrance and the peach of its bloom. I think that is so sweet.

Besides did George Washington ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Did the Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Did Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Hezekiah,

Obadiah and Jeremiah ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Then that settles it.

I don't want to be misunderstood in my reference to woman's inability to vote. Of course she could get herself to the polls and lift a piece of paper. I don't doubt that. What I refer to is the pressure on the brain, the effect of this mental strain on woman's delicate nervous organization and on her highly wrought sensitive nature. Have you ever pictured to yourself Election Day with women voting? Can you imagine how women, having undergone this terrible ordeal, with their delicate systems all upset, will come out for the voting booths and be led away by policemen, and put into ambulances, while they are fainting and weeping, half laughing, half crying, and having fits upon the public highway? Don't you think that if a woman is going to have a fit, it is far better for her to have it in the privacy of her own home?

And how shall I picture to you the terrors of the day after election? Divorce and death will rage unchecked, crime and contagious disease will stalk unbridled through the land. Oh, friends, on this subject I feel—I feel, so strongly that I can—not think!

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CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

Would the Extension of Suffrage to Women Raise the Standard of Christian Citizenship? If so, should not our Clergy and the Church Give their Support to this Reform Movement?

By

MARY E. CRAIGIE

Chairman of the Church Work Committee

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CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

By

MARY E. CRAIGIE

"The Twentieth Century religion," says a recent writer, "is undergoing a change as remarkable as that of the industrial world. Religious teachers are beginning to realize that the highest end of Christianity is to show men how to live in right and harmonious relations with their fellow men. The Golden Rule of religion is becoming the keynote of social conditions."

"To do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you" can surely be interpreted as a command for equal justice and equal rights. In this personal application of Christian principles to everyday life, we are outgrowing the idea of the Church as a mere form of public worship, centered in the persons who administer it in certain consecrated buildings!

We are learning to think of Christianity, not as an external element, introduced here and there into human affairs, but as a great redemptive force, generated for the uplifting of mankind, and our clergy are realizing, more and more, that they have a part to play in all those great movements that sway the thoughts and actions, and destiny of men and women!

The newer interpretation of Christianity recognizes that it must deal with the root of things; with the heart and life of the people whom it is seeking to uplift by its teachings.

The Church is learning to hold sacred the aspirations and the needs of both men and women, and to recognize the rights of the individual without regard to social distinctions, but as members of one universal brotherhood—the great human family!

Christian teachers in the past prayed earnestly and devoutly, "Thy Kingdom Come!" and thought they had discharged their full duty; but in the present day Christian teachers are also becoming Christian workers, and they are beginning to realize that they have a personal responsibility in doing their part to set up among men what Christ and His disciples called "The Kingdom of God."

Those words of Saint Paul, "Righteousness, Peace and Joy," find their parallel in the present day qualities, "Justice, Equality, Fraternity." Establish these on earth and there will result, "Righteousness, Peace and Joy" among men.

Paul further taught that for *Christians* there should be no *discrimination* because of race, condition, or sex, but that we are all members, one with another.

Thinking men are beginning to realize that the only power that can unify and harmonize the great cosmopolitan life of this country is the "Power of the Christian Religion."

"Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreign-

ers, but fellow-citizens, with the Saints and of the household of God; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy Temple in the Lord."

Under this conception of the power of Christianity, as a vitalizing, harmonizing force, in all human affairs, it becomes our duty to consider, not merely what is to be done, but what part we as Christians must take in helping to advance the reign of righteousness and justice on earth!

In the light of such a broad conception of the power of Christianity, the Church can no longer be regarded as a separate body, the organ of a special faction, but becomes the moral leader of the whole human society, whether considered as a church, a community, a city, or a nation! Nothing, then, that pertains to the welfare of, and the righteousness of this great human family, or to the individual members of it, can be a matter of indifference to the true Christian who believes in the ideal of "One flock and one shepherd." He will find nothing to make him hesitate to give his support to any cause that is founded on truth and justice, for the underlying principle of God's Kingdom for which the Christian prays, and for which he should work, must be absolute justice and equality to all.

The whole agitation of the question of human rights which has led to the emancipation of one class after another by the granting of the franchise has been but the *evolution of justice,* whereby each section of a community has in time come to recognize its responsibility, and to demand equal power to express its needs and to protect its rights.

Has the Church done its part in the past, in helping on this progress of human liberty? Has the Church and its followers taken a fair and just view of the long continued struggle women have made to secure their civil liberty? Has it been loyal to women and given to them its moral support in their efforts to secure their enfranchisement, or has it, in its indifference and persistence in clinging to senseless traditions of the past regarding women, fulfilled the prophecy of Scripture "Ye have made the commandments of God of non-effect by your traditions?"

Many earnest and consecrated ministers of the Gospel have declared their belief in the absolute "justice" of the cause of woman suffrage, and have publicly supported the movement, but many others are seemingly temporizing and fail to realize that no teacher of Christ's religion ever lowers his ideals, except when he temporizes with his conscience as to what is right, to accommodate the intellectual limitations, or the moral prejudices of those who he knows differ from him on the subject under discussion.

A prominent clergyman said not long ago: "If I was satisfied that this was a question of absolute right, I would willingly consider it!"

It is with a hope of inducing this good man and many others who, like him, are either indifferent to, or prejudiced on this subject, to consider the justice of the woman suffrage cause, and the duty of the Church toward it, that has led the writer to prepare this leaflet on the subject.

Regarding the "justice" of equal suffrage, I would not so disparage the moral perception of any minister of the

Gospel as to assume that a man sufficiently intelligent to expound the doctrine and principles of the Christian religion could not recognize the absolute justice and right of the demands for political equality between men and women to-day. The conscientious minister needs, in searching for truth, to recall only the words, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice, and ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free!"

Truth to some persons is whatever is *most profitable,* most *comfortable,* to believe. It is not always recognized when it beckons and calls for support to that which is unpopular and uncomfortable to follow because it is unpopular. To bear witness to truth against those whose good opinion we wish to keep, to bear witness to truth when it means to oppose some of our dearest friends; this is the supreme test of Christian courage!

Unfortunately we have sometimes in the pulpit as well as in politics men who have not the courage of their convictions, who do not live up to what their consciences dictate. Such men mislead themselves and make it their business, either for peace, or for policy, to interpret their "truth" or "right" to conform to the views or the consciences of their constituents rather than to be true to their own convictions.

They are those "which say to the seer, see not! and to the prophets, prophecy not unto us right things; speak unto us smooth things. Prophesy deceits!"

There is needed to-day a courage of the pulpit as well

as a courage of the Senate. There are times when our sole prayer should be, "Oh, God, let us thy servants dare thy truth in all its power to tell!" One of the prominent clergymen who has dared to advocate the right of equal suffrage is Dr. David Gregg, for many years pastor of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. Writing on this subject, he has said: "There is no cause that has so many axioms in its creed, as the cause which demands equal opportunity for women, and the full privilege of the ballot for women as well as for men; I have no fear of the results; neither does the true Church, neither does true Christianity! Let the bogus Church fear and let bogus Christianity fear! Like the false everywhere, these are tyrants, and their tyranny and injustice to women is the meanest and most cruel part of their tyranny and injustice.

"The Woman's Missionary circles numbering hundreds of thousands of women are the deepest and fullest springs of civilization through modern missionary life.

"The Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, numbering also hundreds of thousands of earnest women, have been for over half a century trying to fight the great 'liquor evil' without the proper weapon—the ballot.

"The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, with its hundreds of thousands of young men and women, equalizes the influence of young men and women in a way the church has never before witnessed.

"They speak, vote, and hold office equally. It is the *Church of the future,* and it is only a step from the *equality between man and woman in the Church* to the *equality* between man and woman *in the State!*

"Equal opportunity for man and woman in all spheres of human life, that is the grand humanitarian doctrine that the Woman Suffrage Association gives to the Church, and I for one, as a part of the Church, accept the doctrine with gratitude and openly acknowledge that there is no grander humanitarian doctrine in all the creed of the Church!"

"In view of the terrible corruption of our politics, people ask—'Can we maintain universal suffrage?' I say no, not without the aid of the women."

—Bishop Gilbert Haven.

The ballot in the hands of men means what?

It means honest or dishonest government.

It means honest or dishonest officials. It means just or unjust laws. It means the proper or improper administration of our educational, benevolent and reform institutions, and the betterment of general social conditions.

Have the women no interest in all these things?

Have they no right to some voice in saying what conditions shall be for themselves and their children?

It is impossible that any reasonable person should deny that the State exists for its women as well as for its men! But some claim, I know, that women are already represented in government by their fathers, husbands or sons, and that by this *indirect* influence they have as much power as they would have through the actual casting of the ballot.

That is all false argument. If men were given the power to cast as many votes as were represented by the

women in their families, and would cast them according to the wishes of their women, there might be a show of justice in this method of indirect representation, but so long as a man casts only one vote, he votes for himself and for his own conscience, and represents no one by his franchise *but himself!*

On this question of the indirect influence of women, Henry Ward Beecher said:

"It is open direct applied force that abates evil or promotes good.

"The general influence of commerce never added much to any man's bank account, no more than the general influence of husbandry ever drained a swamp, or the general progress of health protective ideas ever cleaned a street! It is the theory of cultivation applied that brings our harvests, and sanitary theories, *put into operation* that cleans our streets!"

While we appreciate to the fullest the value of indirect personal influence in the great affairs of life and especially the influence of good women, we feel that in civic and political affairs it is a power that does not count; only votes count in the turning of the wheel that shapes the destiny of the nation.

"I believe that the great vices in our large cities will never be conquered until the ballot is put in the hands of women."—Bishop Hearst.

The woman with influence plus the ballot is a far greater power as a moral reformer than the woman without the ballot, and the wise woman, who wishes to make

her influence felt in giving patriotic service to her country, must demand for herself the power to make her influence a direct and not an indirect and ineffective force.

In seeking to know their duty toward this great question our clergymen and Christian workers must ask regarding it.

First—Is what the women are asking just and right? And, if so, should we not support them in their struggle to secure their political rights?

Second—Will not the power of the Church be greatly advanced by the extension of the franchise to women? Will not the accession of millions of new voices raised for righteousness and civic betterment greatly aid in all those measures of reform now advocated by the churches?

Third—The saloon element on all occasions opposes woman suffrage. Is not something wrong when we join hands with the saloon against the women of our land?

Of all the questions that stand to-day in need of the support and approval of the churches, the woman suffrage question is the most vital in its relation not alone to women, but to the churches and to society! It is not a sociological or a political question, as many thoughtlessly claim it to be, but it is a great composite subject that includes within it many other moral and ethical questions. It is above all a question of human justice, and even the early pagan philosophers taught that what was just must be supported by religious teachers. "Stand fast to justice when you witness before God," they said.

At a recent meeting of the Federation of Church Clubs interested in civil betterment in New York City, over

forty church clubs of that city were represented. On the subject of "The Church and Morality in Public Life," one of the speakers said: "If the great Church of Christ cannot or will not aid in the awakening of the public conscience by throwing its influence on the side of public honesty and show the moral courage to stand for the right, it will, in my opinion, be untrue to itself."

The Rev. Charles Aked is one of those clergymen who for a quarter of a century has openly advocated the cause of woman's enfranchisement. He recently said in a sermon: "I have continuously from my pulpit urged my deep conviction that nothing since the coming of Christ has ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the intellectual, moral and political emancipation of women."

This appeal for more practical efforts from Christians to work unitedly for the welfare of the community, comes not alone from women, and those who are seeking to reform the evils of society, but many conscientious public officials are pointing out the need of a higher standard of Christian citizenship to support honest officials.

President Taft, in a recent speech in Augusta, Ga., before an assemblage of protestant clergymen, said: "In carrying on the burdens of government which with its increasing usefulness entails greater tasks, they who are charged with its execution need every assistance and sympathy.

"The moral awakening that is manifest all over the country is an indication of the healthful state of our civilization, and in such moral efforts our clergy should

take an important part. It comes over me sometimes when I am charged with accomplishing some work for the betterment of humanity, how absolutely essential it is that we should have the Church and the influence of all Christian people behind *all great reforms!*"

Again, in another address on Christian Missions, President Taft said: "No one can study the progress of the times from an utterly impartial standpoint and not realize that Christianity and the spirit of Christianity is the only basis for the hope of modern civilization, and the growth of popular self-government.

"The spirit of Christianity is pure *democracy.*

"It is the equality of man before God. The equality of man before the law, which is the most God-like manifestation that man has been able to make."

Under exclusive manhood suffrage only a small proportion of the constituency of the Church is the constituency of our lawmakers and governmental officials!

Women are to-day, and always have been, the mainstay and chief supporters of the churches, and the leaders in all great normal reforms, yet as a disfranchised class they are powerless to give any material aid in bringing about social and moral reforms that depend upon legislative or governmental action, because they have no power to elect their rulers and lawmakers and those whose duty it is to enforce the laws.

The Church is therefore deprived through the disfranchisement of women of more than half its power to help extend civic righteousness throughout our land!

May we not hope that when our clergymen come se-

riously to discuss this question and their responsibility toward it, that they will conscientiously admit that woman's influence has been for good in the home, in the church and in society, and cannot fail to be a power for good in the State, as well, and that they will be found willing to give their approval and support to this great moral reform that will result in doubling the forces for righteousness throughout our land, and in raising the standard of Christian citizenship.

MARY E. CRAIGIE,
Chairman, National Church Work Committee.

295 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.

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WILLIAM B. FEAKINS

(SUCCESSOR TO CIVIC FORUM LECTURE BUREAU)

23 WEST 44TH STREET, NEW YORK

PRESENTS

BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON



IN LECTURES ON

THE DRAMA (*With Illustrative Readings*)

AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON comes of the well-known English family of that name. She is the granddaughter of the late Joseph Knight, F. S. A., celebrated as the editor of "Notes and Queries" (London) and the best known art and dramatic critic of his day; a daughter of Ian Forbes-Robertson, the well-known English actor, and a niece of Johnston Forbes-Robertson, the famous Shakespearean actor and the remarkable "Stranger" of "The Passing of the Third Floor Back." But she has not had to depend upon her family connections, having made a place for herself upon the stage by her own gifts. She first appeared with Sir Henry Irving in his revival of "Robespierre," and has played under Sir Herbert Tree, Sir Charles Wyndham,



Miss Forbes-Robertson as she appeared in her own play "The Quest of the Star."



Miss Forbes-Robertson as she appeared in "Anthony and Cleopatra" at the New Theatre.

Sir John Hare, George Alexander and Arthur Bourchier. She has played Ophelia, Desdemona, and other leading parts with Mr. Forbes-Roberstson, and Ophelia with Sir Herbert Tree. She played Muriel Eden in the revival of "The Gay Lord Quex" with the original cast, and created the part of Marion Allerdyce in Pinero's "Letty." She came to America in 1907 as a member of Ellen Terry's company, and has since been under the direction of Charles Frohman, and a member of the New Theatre company. She is the author of two pastoral plays which have been produced in London.

During the season of 1910-11 Miss Forbes-Robertson made a number of speeches on woman suffrage. They were so successful that requests for addresses were received by her from all parts of the United States. On one of these occasions she met Mr. Swinburne Hale, a New York lawyer, and soon afterwards became Mrs. Hale.

By special request, she has prepared two lectures for the season of 1911-1912, entitled "The Drama of Yesterday and Tomorrow" and "The Drama as a Social Teacher," which will be given with illustrative readings; together with a lecture on the English political situation, on which she is peculiarly qualified to speak.

... SUBJECTS ...

THE DRAMA OF YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW
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THE DRAMA AS A SOCIAL TEACHER
(WITH ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS)

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT IN THE DRAMA
(WITH ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS)

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

... COMMENTS ...

THE FORECAST

"As an actress Mrs. Hale has won fame both in this country and England, and as a lecturer she possesses unusual charm. The gods have indeed smiled upon her, giving her personal beauty of face and form, a keen intellect, scintillating wit, dramatic expression, and above all a large humanity, which have proven to be the complete line of qualities needed to produce a brilliant speaker."

ALBANY (N.Y.) EVENING JOURNAL

"Miss Forbes-Robertson destroyed any impression that 'a real suffragette' must be mannish the moment she rose to address her audience. She is quick and graceful, with quantities of fair hair, and the clear color of a healthy English girl. Throughout her address of nearly two hours she kept to a very broad basis of argument."

ROCHESTER (N.Y.) HERALD

"The cause of woman suffrage had a brilliant and stirring presentment in an address last night by Miss Beatrice Forbes-Robertson, the talented English actress, before the Political Equality Club at the Powers Hotel. Miss Robertson addressed an audience which filled the banquet hall, and spoke for an hour and a half, during which she hurled an untermittent battery of argument against the bulwarks of the anti-suffragist in this country and abroad."

BALTIMORE AMERICAN

"Miss Forbes-Robertson's address was to the point, and many times during her talk she was interrupted by the applause of her audience."

PHILADELPHIA PRESS

"At the regular Thursday afternoon meeting of the Pennsylvania Suffrage League, at the Plastic Club, Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, of New York, niece of Forbes-Robertson, the actor, delivered an interesting talk on 'Some Sentiments in Connection with Woman Suffrage.' Mrs. Hale gave 'gentle analysis' of the arguments used by Miss Margaret Doane Gardiner in her recent lectures in this city in behalf of the anti-suffragettes.

Mrs. Hale spoke to a large assemblage of working people at 8 o'clock last evening at the Lighthouse Settlement, Third and Lehigh Avenue. This meeting was held for the benefit of the working women in the Kensington mill district and the hall was crowded. When Mrs. Hale arose to speak she was greeted with cheers."

BALTIMORE SUN

"The noted actress, a niece of the eminent Englishman who is said to be the best portrayer of Shakespearean roles today, talked to a large gathering of women at the Arundell Club yesterday afternoon, under the auspices of the Equal Suffrage League. The visitor was introduced by Mrs. William M. Ellicott, who spoke of her rare ability as a woman of letters and a connoisseur of art."

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THE MILITANT SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

BY ANNIE G. PORRITT



The Procession to Welcome Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel, and Mrs. Leigh, on their Release from Prison, December 19, 1908.

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THE MILITANT SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND



MRS. PANKHURST.

The outbreak of militant tactics in London on Tuesday, November 21st, 1911, when over two hundred women were arrested for resistance to the police and for breaking windows of public buildings, came as a surprise to many Americans who had thought that these methods of the Women's Social and Political Union were entirely of the past. It was equally a surprise and a very disagreeable surprise to the women who have carried on the militant movement that there should be any necessity for further suffering and sacrifice on their part in their long struggle for the vote. But the challenge was thrown down by Mr. Asquith. By his announcement on November 9th that the government intended to bring in a bill sweeping away all the various property and occupation qualifications on which the vote is now based, and conferring the suffrage on all the men in the United Kingdom, the Women's bill, for which the Prime Minister had publicly and repeatedly pledged the government to grant facilities, was rudely swept aside.

From the time that the Liberals came into power in 1905, there had been a majority in the House of Commons for woman suffrage. The Cabinet was not unanimous on the question; but in the Cabinet also there was a majority favorable, and only a small but determined minority opposed. Woman suffrage was not a party question, and on the Conservative side of the House of Commons there was strong and influential support for the women. Mr. Balfour had spoken and voted in favor of the Women's Bill in the Commons, and in the House of Lords, the Earl of Selborne and Lord Lytton were strenuous and enthusiastic champions of the women. All these had been united in favor of the bill which passed its second reading in July 1910, and for which the Prime Minister had promised time and facilities in 1912.

One member of the Cabinet was, however, strenuously opposed to the moderate bill which had been framed to meet the views of Liberal and Conservative supporters of Woman Suffrage. Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could see nothing in the bill but a measure which might strengthen the ranks of the Conservative party. While loudly professing himself an advocate of the enfranchisement of women, he spoke against the Conciliation when it was before the House of Commons, and in a speech at Bath on November 24, 1911, after the announcement of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, he said that the Conciliation Bill and the measures of limited suffrage put forward by the women would have been grossly unfair to Liberalism. To Lloyd George party was the one consideration, and for the sake of party he was willing that the Government should be false to its promise, and should betray the women who had relied on the publicly pledged word of the Prime Minister of the UnitedKingdom. "The bill has been torpedoed," was Mr. Lloyd Geroge's exultant description of the honorable tactics employed by the Government to clear away the troublesome question of Votes for Women. It could scarcely be a matter of surprise, that the women did not show themselves eager to accept Mr. Lloyd George's offer of leadership, when he tried to make them believe that he was desirous to make himself the champion of a "broad democratic extension of the franchise to women."

The suffragists of all parties took action immediately on Mr. Asquith's announcement of the intention of the Government to bring in a Manhood Suffrage Bill. A deputation of women composed of representatives from all the Women's Suffrage Associations in Great Britain at

once approached the Prime Minister to ask the inclusion of women in the Government Bill. They met with an emphatic refusal. "I am the head of the Government," said Mr. Asquith in brave words that could not be outmatched by the most despotic king in history, "and I am not going to make myself responsible for a measure which I do not believe to be demanded in the interests of the country."

Following up this assertion that he believed woman suffrage to be injurious to the women and to the empire, Mr. Asquith expressed his willingness to accept an amendment to the bill for the inclusion of the women. Mr. Asquith well knew that such an amendment was impracticable. A large proportion of members of Parliament who favored the Women's Bill, and were willing to admit one million householding women to the franchise, would not vote for a measure which would at a stroke put the women electors in a majority over the men.

Even Mr. Lloyd George's leadership could not restore to the women the majority that they had been able to count upon for the Conciliation Bill. The Manhood Suffrage Bill was announced as a Government measure. It would have all the advantage that accrues to a bill in the English Parliament through being under the conduct of a Cabinet Minister, through having the right of way over private member's business, and through the Government whips lining up the supporters of the government to vote for the bill at every division.

An amendment to bring women into the bill would have none of these advantages. The Conservatives, as a party, are opposed to the whole measure, and while a few Conservative supporters of woman suffrage might vote for such an amendment, their number would be more than neutralized by the Liberals who either from personal feeling, or in deference to the known opposition of Mr. Asquith, would vote against the amendment. A careful count of the members of the House of Commons failed to disclose a majority for woman suffrage as an appendage to a great measure enfranchising every man in the United Kingdom; and the women were faced with a repetition of the fate they had twice before encountered. In 1867, when the narrow franchise of 1832 was extended to working men living in the boroughs, the amendment for the admission of women was rejected. Again in 1884, when the hopes of the women were high, the franchise was extended to two million more men — the working men living outside the boroughs; but the amendment admitting women, was by the action of the Cabinet ruthlessly swept aside.

Unless the women were included from the first in the Government Bill the hope of speedy enfranchisement for the women was indeed, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, "torpedoed." The apparent concession of permission to amend the bill was wholly illusory, and after the answer of the Prime Minister, there was but one course for the women to pursue. Unless the movement for woman suffrage was to slip back into the condition of academic and fruitless discussion in which Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel had found it in 1905, resort must again be had to the methods by which it had been lifted into the arena of living political questions. However hard it must have seemed to the women who had already answered the question "Do Women want the Vote?" by going to jail in order to gain it, to be again called upon to undergo pain, privation and suffering such as are entailed upon them by arrest and imprisonment, there was no hanging back, and the fact that over 200 women were arrested, tried and subjected to punishment in connection with the raid on the House of Commons of November 21st, showed conclusively that the zeal, enthusiasm and devotion of the woman had not lessened during the period of quiescence of the months of truce.

Not until the ballot has been granted to women will England ever again be at peace within herself, nor will her Government rest upon the only sure basis — the consent of the governed. It is impossible for the Ministers to hope that the movement of the women can be crushed by severity, or quelled by sentences of imprisonment, for the courage, the endurance, the heroism of the women have been tried and tested, and there will be no drawing back from their demand for justice, and for the equal protection of the law for their sex, until these demands are recognized by Parliament and the Cabinet, and placed upon the Statute Book.

The militant movement began in the autumn of 1905. At that time the Conservative Government which had been in office since 1905 was obviously about to lose control of Parliament. Its popularity had been waning for several years and it was the general expectation that at the approaching general elections the Liberals would be returned to power. The Liberal party has always professed a belief in democracy and self-government. Its cry has been liberty and the government of the people by the people. After it came into power in 1905 it was continuously engaged for several years in the struggle with the House of Lords. It was then championing the rights of the people against the privileges

of the peers, who by a mere accident of birth were enabled to rule their fellow countrymen; and every high-sounding phrase concerning human rights and the abolition of special privileges could be seized upon by the unrepresented women as entirely applicable to them — even more so than to the members of the House of Commons who resented the over-ruling of their measures by the House of Lords.



A Typical Scene.
The Arrest of a Suffragette.

Judged by its principles and traditions, the women had apparently a good basis for hoping that the Liberal party would include woman suffrage in the programme on which the elections of 1906 would be fought. They were, however, quickly undeceived. On the 13th of October, 1905, Sir Edward Grey made a speech at Manchester, and after the meeting Miss Cristabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney ventured to follow the immemorial custom of addressing a question to the speaker. The question was, "Will the Liberal Government give votes to working women?" To

this question the Liberal leader would give no reply, and after a scene of wild confusion, the two women were turned out of the meeting, and once outside, were arrested for causing an obstruction in the streets. For this offence, Miss Pankhurst went to prison for seven days and Miss Kenney for three days.

This was the beginning of the militant campaign. It must be remembered that going to jail in order to win from the Government some right, or some concession to a conscientious scruple, is no new thing in England. The example had been set by the Pilgrim Fathers who refused to conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England before the sailing of the Mayflower to a freer land. Every right of dissenters had been won through the painful process of imprisonment. Through the acceptance of punishment and suffering for conscience sake, the Quakers gained the privilege of affirming in courts of law, instead of taking the oath; of marrying and burying their own members in their own way; and of exemption from service in the militia. In the years from 1840 to 1868, many men and women went to prison rather than pay the rates levied for the upkeep of the Church of England, and later still, men were willing to go to jail rather than comply with the law compelling them to have their infants vaccinated within three months after their birth; and also as a protest against paying the tax levied under Mr. Balfour's Education Act of 1902 to defray the cost of religious teaching of which they disapproved in the schools of the Church of England and those of the Roman Catholic Church.

Another point which must be kept in mind, if the English militant movement is to be understood, is that the women were constantly told that they must prove to the leaders of the political parties that women really wanted the vote. How could they prove this fact to an unwilling listener? Education, persuasion and argument had been tried for years. Bill after bill for the enfranchisement of women had been introduced in the House of Commons Many had passed their second reading by large majorities. Not one had ever been voted down; but the Government in power never permitted any woman suffrage bill to advance further than second reading. Enormous petitions had been sent to Parliament; and women had for generations proved their fitness for a share in political power by taking a deep interest in politics. They had acted as canvassers at every election,

and had become recognized as the best and most effective campaign orators on whom a party manager could rely in any election.

All this political activity and serviceable usefulness counted for nothing with the Liberal party when the women came to its leaders with a plea on their own behalf. Women were quite competent to address meetings in order to persuade men to vote for the candidates of one or other party; but such ability was not held to be a proof of their fitness to cast a ballot. It was quite suitable that they should give their work and their services on behalf of a man or a party of men; but to demand a place for themselves in the political system was a proceeding of such unheard-of selfishness as to call forth a howl of execration from the very men who had most profited from the devotion of their women supporters.

The women must find some means of showing that they wanted the vote, and that they were, moreover, determined to obtain it. What better way was there to give proof of their earnestness in their demand than by showing that they were willing to go to jail in support of it? Every woman who had suffered imprisonment because she had insisted on preferring petitions to Ministers, on making her way through the lines of police to the House of Commons, or had picketed through weary hours the residences of the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet, or even because she had flung her message wrapped around a stone through the windows of the hall or building to which all access was barred to her, was a living irrefutable proof that women wanted the ballot; and every sympathiser who subscribed money for the expenses of the campaign showed her endorsement of the demand.

It is impossible here to take in order all the incidents of the militant campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union from October, 1905, to the 17th of June, 1911, when after the magnificent Coronation procession of the women of Britain in which suffragists of every shade of opinion took part, Miss Christabel Pankhurst was able to announce at the great meeting held in the evening in Albert Hall that Mr. Asquith had given his solemn pledge that the Conciliation Bill should be allowed ample time for all its stages during the next session of Parliament. This historic announcement was greeted with wild enthusiasm and twenty-five thousand dollars were raised on the spot for the further expenses of the campaign, the end of which then seemed clearly in sight.

The Conciliation Bill was a measure upon which women suffragists of every shade of opinion had agreed. For a number of years there has been a majority in the House of Commons in favor of Woman Suffrage. This majority has included men of all parties — Conservatives, Liberals, Labor men and Irish. The Labor men naturally desire a democratic measure while the Conservatives do not wish to see a general enlargement of the electorate. To meet all objections, a bill was framed extending the suffrage to women on one only of



Mrs. Pankhurst in Prison.

the many qualifications on which men have been voting since 1885. This is what is known as the occupation franchise. It confers the right to vote on every man occupying a house or tenement on which taxes are paid for the relief of the poor. If this franchise were extended to women and every woman who occupied her house in her own name were permitted to vote, it would admit to the electorate about one

million women, largely of the working classes and chiefly either single women or widows.

From the point of view of the suffragists this was not an ideal measure. It failed to include the married women or the daughters who remain at home. It failed to take in the working women who have no house of their own — the factory workers who board out, or the domestic servants who live with their employers. But it was not a measure enfranchising wealthy women to the exclusion of the working classes. It was a bill which in respect of this one qualification swept away the distinction of sex; and most important of all, it was a measure for which the women knew that there was a majority in the House of Commons.

With the Premier's pledge of facilities for the Conciliation Bill, it seemed as though there was to be no further need of militant tactics. At a word from the leaders of the movement, all demonstrations of a militant character immediately ceased, and a truce was proclaimed which was strictly observed all over England until it was publicly ended after Mr. Asquith's rebuff of the women, on the 18th of November. In the six years during which the women had carried on their campaign, over seven hundred women had suffered imprisonment, many had been seriously injured, and two at least had died from the effects of the hardships they had undergone.

For some months the authorities had resorted to forcible feeding, in order to break the hunger strikes which were instituted by the women as a protest against the extreme severity of their sentences. In England, as in all European countries, respect is usually shown to political prisoners. They are granted special privileges and are not compelled to wear prison clothes or to associate with criminals while undergoing their sentences. The authorities, however, steadily refused to extend these privileges to the suffragettes. They were treated exactly on the same level, though not with the same leniency, as drunken men who create disturbances or destroy property. When they broke the prison rules to which, as they held, they ought not to have been subjected, they were punished for mutiny, and the terrible treatment meted out to these heroic women, as narrated simply and with scarcely a comment by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst in *The Suffragette* is enough to convince the most obdurate sceptic that in England some women at least really

do desire the vote. All this suffering on the part of the women was not without its effect. The country was aroused to the situation and to the necessity of some measure to allay the rising tide of anger and indignation that was sweeping through the womanhood of the nation; and it was generally held that the question of woman suffrage had been definitely brought into the field of practical politics.

In the meantime the Liberal Government and Cabinet Ministers individually, had suffered in prestige and reputation almost as much as the women had suffered in physical pain and in womanly susceptibilities. The great Liberal majority which had backed the new Government in 1906 was reduced in January 1910 to practically nothing, and Asquith only continued to hold office through the favor of the Irish and the Labor party. At the second election fought on the question of the veto of the House of Lords, Mr. Asquith's position was not improved. A large majority there was for the passage of the measure, but this majority was not composed of men who owned allegiance to the Liberal leader. At the time that Mr. Asquith so proudly asserted that, "I am the head of the Government," the government of which he was the head was actually in a minority in the House of Commons, and only by the assistance of his temporary allies was he permitted to retain his position as Prime minister.

The worst sufferers in the Cabinet had been the men who had successively held office as Home Secretary. Mr. Herbert Gladstone incurred so much odium through his support of forcible feeding and his obstinate refusal to acknowledge that there was anything political in the agitation carried on by the women, that it was deemed wise to raise him to the peerage and to send him to South Africa as Governor General. Mr. Winston Churchill who succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Home Secretary was particularly detested by the women on account of his lip service to democracy and his inveterate opposition to extending his principles to the other half of the human race. He began his term at the Home Office badly by giving orders to the police not to arrest the women at the demonstration in November, 1909. These orders were apparently taken to mean that the police might use any violence they pleased against the women, and that they were not to afford them the protection of the law against hooligans and roughs who are always on the spot in London when any

excitement offers. The result was a scene of violence and of injury to the women which was a disgrace to any civilized country, and Mr. Winston Churchill's term as Home Secretary was discredited from its very inception. It was in vain that Mr. Churchill tried to retrieve himself by reforming the rules of prison management and by practically conferring on the militant suffragettes in jail the privileges for which they had struck under Mr. Gladstone's regime. The women were obdurate in their antagonism to him, and at the present moment, Mr. Churchill is about the best hated man in the English Government.

In November, 1911, Mr. Churchill followed Mr. Gladstone's example and relinquished the office of Home Secretary, taking refuge in the lesser dignity of the Admiralty, while Mr. Reginald McKenna took his place at the Home Office. It must have struck dismay into the heart of Mr. McKenna when he found that immediately after taking office he had to cope with the difficulties arising out of the arrest of two hundred resolute women, ready again to go to prison rather than to submit any longer to be governed by a Parliament in the election of which they were denied all share.

The hope of peace and speedy victory for the modest measure of enfranchisement for which the women were pressing came abruptly to an end when Mr. Asquith made his announcement that in the next session of Parliament, the Government intended to press through the House of Commons a bill for manhood suffrage. If all the old qualifications for the franchise were to be swept away, there could be no enfranchisement of women "on the same terms as men" without extending the bill to all the women of the nation. For such a measure the women have no assurance of a majority in the House of Commons. Their friends among the Conservative party would desert them on a bill of this character, and many men who have favoured the admission of a small proportion of women into the electorate are openly opposed to a suffrage measure which would place women in the majority among the electors. The fact that there are in England a million and a half more women than men seems very alarming when it is a question of enfranchising women generally, and there are many among the friends of woman suffrage who are honestly afraid of so sweeping a measure.

It is for these reasons as well known to Mr. Asquith as to Mrs. Pankhurst — that the women felt that they were

being cheated and mocked when the Prime Minister announced to the members of Parliament who favoured votes for all men and women, that he was prepared to give the vote to two million men who had never asked for it, who had not held a single public meeting or sent a petition to Parliament on behalf of such an extension of the franchise while he refused to include the women who had spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in their campaign for the vote, who for six years had toiled and suffered and even died in the effort after freedom, and who had patiently, resolutely and persistently pressed their claims on a Government in the hands of the party which professed the principles of democracy and self-government. Who can wonder that militant tactics were at once resumed?



Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence's Release
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"Militant Methods"

By

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"MILITANT METHODS"

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

The extraordinary situation that led to the militant suffrage tactics in England could not possibly arise here, and can with difficulty be understood by Americans. It cannot be understood at all by those who have read only the garbled and misleading cablegrams in the daily press.

The fundamental grievance of the English women is that the woman suffrage bill has never in forty years been allowed to come to a decisive vote in Parliament. For more than a generation, a majority of the members of the House of Commons have professed themselves willing to give votes to women. The suffrage bill has passed its second reading over and over again—in the early years by small majorities, of late years by very large ones—but it has never once been allowed to come up for third reading and final vote. The cabinet controls the time of the House, and the cabinet has always taken the ground that all the time was wanted for more pressing measures.

About six years ago, some of the women got out of patience and made up their minds to convince the cabinet

ministers that their question was really pressing. When their bill was blocked in Parliament, they protested from the ladies' gallery. The ladies' gallery was closed. Their male sympathizers then protested from the men's gallery. The men's gallery was closed. The women sent delegations to interview the Prime Minister. An old law, obsolete for more than a century, was revived to stop them. It forbade any procession or public meeting within a mile of the Houses of Parliament. Whether the women went in procession or small groups, they were forcibly turned back, and if they tried to push their way through, they were arrested for "obstructing the police." Great numbers of highly respected and respectable women were sent to prison, and were given heavier sentences for a purely technical offence than culprits who were drunk and disorderly.

Still the women tried to get into the Houses of Parliament with their protests, and, as their peaceful deputations had been stopped by force, they resorted to all kinds of strategy. Furniture vans driving past suddenly opened, and let out a band of women who made a dash for the doors. A steam launch crowded with suffragists came up the Thames to the water side of Parliament House and delivered the suffrage message. Thousands of police guarded Parliament on the land side, while police boats patrolled the water; and still in all sorts of ways the members and the public were kept reminded that women

wanted to vote. A monster kite bearing the words "Votes for Women" flew for days over Parliament House. One morning London woke up to find the whole city placarded with invitations to the public to come at a certain hour and help the suffragists "rush" the House of Commons. A huge crowd gathered, and for this Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter, Christabel, were sent to prison, after a memorable trial at which Christabel conducted the defence, and compelled several cabinet ministers to come into court and be questioned as to whether they had not helped to provoke the riot.

Whenever a cabinet minister addressed any public meeting, he was asked what the cabinet was going to do about woman suffrage. At first the women waited till the end of the speech before putting their question; but as the statesman always hurried away without answering, they began to question him in the middle of his address. Men who asked questions on other subjects received a civil answer, but the women were thrown out of the meetings with great violence.

Finally all women were excluded from public meetings where any cabinet minister was to speak. The women showed endless ingenuity in getting in. For days in advance they hid themselves on the roof, in the cellar, or under the platform; and at the psychological moment they emerged and asked their question. If they could not get

in, husbands and brothers in the audience asked the question for them. The cabinet ministers went everywhere under a strong police guard to protect them from women who wanted to question them. The Prime Minister was smuggled out of one meeting with his head under a horse blanket to keep him from being recognized, and on another occasion he had himself shot through the pneumatic tube for parcels in the postoffice, to avoid venturing into the street.

As the leaders of the party in power were responsible for refusing to let the suffrage bill come to a vote, the women fought the candidates of that party at the elections, spoke and electioneered against them, defeated a number of them, and greatly reduced the majority of many others. Mrs. Pankhurst on one occasion was knocked down and brutally kicked by partisans of the defeated candidate, and left in the street half dead. Several times her daughters almost lost their lives.

Upon successive refusals of the cabinet to let the suffrage bill come to a vote, the women smashed the ministers' windows, or the windows of government buildings. This has been the customary way of expressing popular disapproval in England for centuries.

Mr. Asquith refused to receive any deputation of women who wanted to talk to him about suffrage. This led to "the silent siege" of the House of Commons. Women

stood in silence at all the doors of the House, holding suffrage petitions as a sign that they wanted to interview the Prime Minister. Many of the most highly esteemed women in England took part in the siege—women socially prominent, women illustrious for good deeds, working women who could ill spare the time and strength—women of all sorts. They stood there day and night, in all weathers, for a length of time aggregating more than 10,000 hours. Mr. Asquith, with true British obstinacy, still refused. No public man in America would keep the most highly-respected women of this country standing at his gate in sun and rain for 10,000 hours rather than allow a deputation of them to interview him for ten minutes. It was as a protest against this refusal that two of the women finally went and poured a mixture of ink and photographic chemicals (falsely described in the cablegrams as corrosive acid) into the ballot boxes at Bermondsey. It was not a wise way to protest; but it did not compare with the foolishness shown by the Prime Minister.

The women sent to prison for suffrage demonstrations claimed that they ought to be given the food and treatment customary for prisoners guilty of political offences. When they were given instead the food of common criminals, they went on a "hunger strike," submitted to the painful ordeal of forced feeding, and in several cases were brought to death's door.

One of the latest deputations of women attempting to see the Prime Minister was both brutally and indecently handled by the police. They had been ordered not to arrest the women, but to drive them away. As the women refused to go without seeing Mr. Asquith, the police for hours knocked them about, kicked and trampled on them, and took personal liberties with them of the most offensive character. In consequence, the nephew of the Postmaster General of England took a dogwhip to Winston Churchill, the Home Secretary, under whose orders the police were believed to have acted. More than a hundred witnesses testified to the outrages. Members of Parliament demanded an investigation. Mr. Churchill refused it. No public man in America would have dared to refuse an investigation under such circumstances.

All this had made woman suffrage not only a pressing but a burning question. A committee of sixty members of Parliament, made up from all parties, had organized themselves into a Suffrage Association within Parliament itself, to try to get the suffrage bill brought to a vote. They called themselves the Conciliation Committee, because they wanted to conciliate the differences of opinion between the Tory, Liberal and Labor members of Parliament as to the form which the woman suffrage bill should take. The Committee made a careful canvass of the House, and found that the largest support would be given to a bill enfranchising women "householders," who have

had municipal suffrage in England since 1869. There anyone is classed as a householder who occupies a house, or any part of a house—even a single room—over which he or she has full control. The only exception is when the landlord lives on the premises. Then he is classed as the householder. The poor in England immensely outnumber the rich, and an extensive canvass made several years ago by the Independent Labor Party proved that eighty-two per cent of the women having municipal suffrage were women of the working class.

These sixty members of Parliament drew up a manifesto pointing out that every House of Commons which had met since 1870 had had a majority in favor of woman suffrage, and that the reform was long overdue. They urged that the question should be allowed to come to a decisive vote. The anti-suffragists implored that it should not. Mr. Asquith finally promised to grant time next year for the bill to go to third reading and final vote; and in view of this promise the militant tactics were discontinued.*

Throughout the struggle the trans-Atlantic cablegrams have systematically distorted the facts, and always to the disadvantage of the suffragists. The violence done by them has been grossly exaggerated, the violence done

*Since this was written they have been resumed by one of the two militant societies, in consequence of action on Mr. Asquith's part which they regard as a breach of faith.

to them passed over without mention, and the nature of their grievance left wholly unexplained.

The most extreme militancy of the women has been nothing to what the men of England have done under far less provocation. The women have neither killed nor seriously hurt anybody. In 1832, when a bill widening the franchise for men was held up in Parliament for a short time, there was widespread rioting and bloodshed. In my father's native city of Bristol alone, the mob burned the custom house, three prisons and forty-two private dwellings. In comparison, as Israel Zangwill truly says, England has reason to be grateful to the women for "the feminine mildness of their methods."

Almost every cablegram on the subject has been distorted and colored. Take as an example the story about Lady Constance Lytton and her "little hatchet." In almost every daily paper in America, she was represented as something like an exaggerated caricature of Mrs. Carrie Nation, and her supposed assault upon her opponents with a hatchet was made the subject of innumerable anti-suffrage editorials. As a matter of fact, she never used a hatchet. The members of the cabinet had refused to let the woman suffrage bill come to a vote. They were questioned upon the subject by women at every public meeting which they addressed. To avoid answering, they adopted a rule that women should be excluded from the

meetings. High wooden barricades were erected and guarded by police to keep the women out. Women who tried to get in were arrested and given severe prison sentences, out of all proportion to the punishments inflicted on men for disorderly political demonstrations.

The women so treated were "commoners." Lady Constance Lytton was indignant against the sentences, which she thought excessive and illegal. She and her friend, Mrs. H. M. Brailsford, resolved to take part in a demonstration themselves, and see if the courts would venture to treat women of high social position in the same way. Lady Constance was the sister of an earl. Mrs. Brailsford was the wife of an influential journalist, was much beloved for her charities, and had distinguished herself in raising a relief fund for the Macedonians, and going out with her husband in person to distribute it. Lady Constance threw a stone at the automobile in which a cabinet minister was riding. She aimed it carefully at the car and not at the inmates, having no wish to injure anyone. Mrs. Brailsford would not throw a stone, because she was doubtful of her aim, and feared she might hurt somebody. Instead, she hid a meat-chopper under a bouquet of chrysanthemums, and made her way through the crowd close up to the wooden barrier that stretched across the street. She chose a spot in full view of the police; then she suddenly dropped her bouquet, made one chop at the barrier, and was immediately arrested. From this mild and

trifling incident grew the Great Hatchet Myth, and the descriptions of Lady Constance running amuck with her dangerous weapon. Many other incidents have likewise "suffered a sea change" in crossing the Atlantic, and have come out fantastically different from the original facts.

In this case the expectation was justified that the drastic sentences imposed on women of the plain people would not be meted out to women of the aristocracy. Lady Constance and Mrs. Brailsford were let off easily, Lady Constance being declared to have a heart trouble which would endanger her life if she were forcibly fed. Later, learning that some suffragist prisoners were being treated with great brutality in the Liverpool jail, Lady Constance cut off her hair, dressed herself in poor clothes, took part in a suffrage demonstration before the same jail, gave her name as Jane Warton, a seamstress, and was promptly sent to prison and subjected, without ceremony, to forcible feeding and other rough usage. The authorities were dismayed when they found out whom they had been abusing, and Lady Constance proved up to the hilt her charge that in dealing with suffrage prisoners there was one law for the rich and another for the poor. This chivalrous lady, represented in the American press as a dangerous and ridiculous virago, is the person to whom Olive Schreiner dedicated her recent book, "Woman and Labor."

"I have inscribed it to my friend, Lady Constance

Lytton; not because I think it worthy of her, nor because of the splendid part she has played in the struggle of the women fighting to-day in England for certain forms of freedom for all women. It is, if I may be allowed without violating the sanctity of a close personal friendship, so to say, because she, with one or two other men and women I have known, has embodied for me the highest ideal of human nature, in which intellectual power and strength of will are combined with an infinite tenderness and wide human sympathy."

Another anti-suffrage myth, telegraphed to the press all through the United States, was that the suffragists kicked Augustine Birrell and seriously hurt his knee. According to Mr. Birrell's own statement, he was not kicked, but accidentally twisted his own knee in making for a cab after he had been surrounded by a bevy of protesting suffragettes. The cruelty of kicking and laming an old man was made the subject of editorials by the score. But no mention was made in the press of the fact that Mr. Alfred Hawkins, an old man with a medal for bravery in the royal navy, was fiercely assaulted and had his leg broken by the anti-suffragists for asking a question at a public meeting. He was confined to the hospital for weeks, and was awarded substantial damages. Other suffragists had arms and ribs broken, and women without number were beaten, kicked and subjected to the grossest ill-usage. The press reports have deceived the American public into the

belief that the suffragettes have been in the habit of kicking, scratching, biting, hurling hatchets and corrosive acid, and generally conducting themselves like furies; whereas the great bulk of the violence committed has been committed on the other side. If the press despatches had told the truth, the sympathy of the American public, irrespective of their views on suffrage, would be strongly with the women.

—The Woman's Journal.



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