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MINISTERS ON VOTES FOR WOMEN

According to Mrs. Howe's Census of Clergymen in Equal Suffrage States

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, a short time before her death, sent a circular letter, asking whether the results of equal suffrage were good or bad, to all the Episcopal clergymen, and to the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist and Baptist ministers in the suffrage states; to all the Congregational Sunday school superintendents (the other denominations do not publish the names of the superintendents in their religious year-books), and to the editors of the newspapers. In all 624 answers were received. Of these, 62 were opposed, 46 in doubt, and 516 in favor.

The replies from the Episcopal clergymen were favorable, more than two to one; those of the Baptist ministers, seven to one; those of the Congregational ministers, about eight to one; of the Methodists, more than ten to one, and of the Presbyterians, more than eleven to one.

Of the Sunday school superintendents, one was opposed and one in doubt; all the rest were favorable.

The editors expressed themselves in favor, more than eight to one.

The ministers and editors are practically unanimous in saying that equal suffrage has made women more intelligent companions for their husbands and better able to instruct their children. Almost all are agreed that it has broadened women's minds and led them to take more interest in public questions. A large number say that it has helped to obtain liberal appropriations for school purposes and for humanitarian objects, and has made it harder for notoriously corrupt candidates to be nominated or elected; that equal suffrage does not lead to divorces, and that women enjoy increased influence because of having the ballot. Most of the ministers emphatically deny that immoral women control the elections.

The testimony is practically the same from all four states and from all parts of those states. Some of the opinions are as follows:

REV. FROST CRAFT, Methodist Episcopal, Denver—Woman's influence is far stronger with the ballot than without it. Practical politicians are obliged to take her opinion into account. The great majority of the women go to the polls quietly, cast their votes and return at once to their homes. Women show a greater tendency than men to scratch bad candidates. The vast majority of women who vote are women of good character.

REV. LEON C. HILL, Presbyterian, Cheyenne, Wyo., former chaplain of the House of Representatives—Women are more independent voters than the men. Equal suffrage has been beneficial to the state in very way.

REV. ROBERT ROBINSON ADAMS, Methodist Episcopal, Pueblo, Colo.—As a result of fifteen years' residence in Colorado, possibly with some prepossessions against woman suffrage due to a life in Philadelphia, I heartily endorse woman suffrage.

REV. C. E. HELMAN, Methodist Episcopal, Shoshone, Idaho—I was opposed to woman suffrage when I left Ohio. I have been in Idaho for fourteen years, and am convinced that it has been an excellent thing. No righteous cause or good person fears woman suffrage.

REV. CHARLES H. POWELL, Episcopal, Rock Springs, Wyo.—The fact that women vote in this state has helped to put politics on a higher level in many particulars.

REV. M. BRAMBLET, Baptist, Moscow, Idaho—Woman suffrage has been a great blessing to our state in every sense of the word. Women do not vote for bad candidates if they know it.

REV. FRANK L. MOORE, Congregational, Cheyenne, Wyo.—It would be political suicide for any man or party to raise the question of repeal.

REV. J. G. COWDEN, Presbyterian, Caldwell, Idaho—None but politicians of the baser sort would think of doing away with woman suffrage.

REV. S. W. GRIFFIN, Presbyterian, Littleton, Colo.—The more I see of the results of woman suffrage the more I am convinced that the cleansing of politics demands that it should be nation-wide.

REV. ORRIN W. AUMAN, Methodist Episcopal, Pueblo, Colo.—In no case have I found a wife or mother who was less efficient in household duties because she was interested also in the public welfare and was privileged to cast her ballot. Much good legislation has been accomplished in Colorado from the initiative of women since they have had the ballot.

REV. J. C. ANDREWS, Baptist, Salt Lake City—Woman's influence for good is largely increased by the right to vote. I wish every state in the Union would give suffrage to women. I believe it would be a power for good.

REV. C. A. QUINN, Methodist Episcopal, Heyburn, Idaho—I cannot see any evil of any sort connected with woman suffrage. I long to see the day when women will vote in every state of the Union.

REV. G. M. DU BOIS, Episcopal, Canyon City, Colo.—The feeling in Colorado, so far as I can report it, is of satisfaction with woman suffrage and a conviction that it has come to stay.

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A Suffrage Answer to An Anti Platform

PLATFORM ADOPTED BY CERTAIN ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

We, American women, citizens of the State of Maryland, protest against the proposal to impose the obligation of the suffrage upon the women of the state, for the following, among other, reasons:

1. Because suffrage is to be regarded not as a privilege to be enjoyed, but a duty to be performed.

2. Because hitherto the women of this state have enjoyed exemption from this burdensome duty, and no adequate reason has been assigned for depriving them of that immunity.

3. Because conferring suffrage upon the women who claim it would impose suffrage upon many women who neither desire it as a privilege nor regard it as their duty.

4. Because the need of America is not an increased quantity, but an improved quality of the vote, and there is no reason to believe that woman's suffrage by doubling the vote will improve its quality.

5. Because the household, not the individual, is the unit of the state, and the vast majority of women are represented by household suffrage.

6. Because the women not so represented suffer no practical injustice which giving the suffrage will remedy.

7. Because equality in character does not imply similarity in function, and the duties and life of the men and women are divinely ordered to be different in the state as in the home.

8. Because the energies of women are engrossed by their present duties and interests, from which men cannot relieve them, and it is better for the community that they devote their energies to the more efficient performance of their present work than divert them to new fields of activity.

9. Because political equality will deprive women of special privileges hitherto accorded them by the law.

10. Because suffrage logically involves the holding of public office, and office holding is inconsistent with the duties of most women.

PRINCIPLES FROM THE PLATFORM OF SUFFRAGISTS

We, American women, citizens of male suffrage states, demand that we, as well as the million and a half women of the six equal suffrage states, be admitted to the right of suffrage for the following, among innumerable other, reasons:

1. Because suffrage is a duty of such transcendent importance that it should not be shirked by any patriotic citizen, man or woman.

2. Because the conditions under which women might claim exemption from this duty have changed. Impure foods, sweat-shops, child labor, polluted water, inadequate schools, dark tenements, fire-traps, the spread of contagious disease, lack of parks and playgrounds, unequal pay—all these are adequate reasons for the use of direct political power by women. Most men do not find the duty of voting burdensome, and neither do women in equal suffrage states.

3. Because, while giving women the right to vote does not impose upon any one of them the obligation to vote, it does arouse in them a sense of civic responsibility and does make them desire the suffrage and regard it as a duty, as proved by experience in equal suffrage states.

4. Because the need of America is for an increased quantity as well as improved quality of the vote, since true democracy demands the participation of all the people, and actual experience proves that giving the vote to women raises the quality of the electorate.

5. Because it is impossible for men to represent women—even the women of their own families. The household is not the unit of the state. If it were, the father should cast a vote for his grown sons—who would then need no vote of their own, and a widow should cast a vote for herself and her children, and a bachelor should cast no vote at all. One man—one vote, is the rule of democracy.

6. Because there are 8,000,000 women in industry who are suffering from injustice that only the ballot can remedy. In 32 states, women are not legal guardians of their own children; in nearly all states, marriage and property laws are unfair to women. Nothing but law can correct this, and nothing but the ballot can elect law-makers.

7. Because experience proves that the interests of the state are best served when the special gifts of both men and women are brought to bear upon the business of the state as well as that of the home. Voting is a human function, not a sex-function.

8. Because the energies of women are required now, as in the past, for certain traditional duties, and unless they follow their work into the world and do it in the way made necessary by modern civilization, men will have to attempt the impossible task of doing it for them. Women can achieve the efficient performance of their present work only through the use of the best tool yet devised by society—the ballot. The ballot will not divert, but direct the energies of women.

9. Because women need the justice that is accorded from equals to equals, and will gladly resign the privileges accorded to them as dependents and inferiors. These have mostly been given by custom rather than by law, and the few that have been secured by law have not been withdrawn in the equal suffrage states.

10. Because only through the suffrage can women acquire the right to hold those offices which require women's particular abilities. The few who are fitted for office-holding are quite as able to adjust their duties to meet the occasion as are men, which is amply proved by the hundreds of women already holding office to their credit and the nation's betterment.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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A Woman Suffrage Catechism.

QUESTION. What is the difference between the property laws that govern men and the property laws that govern women in Iowa?

ANSWER. The laws consider that all the property accumulated after marriage, by the united efforts of the husband and wife, belong to the husband. The wife whose time, labor, and ability are all spent upon and within the home, has no legal right to anything but maintenance during the life time of her husband. If she work outside of the home, she can receive the pay therefor. But if her husband becomes possessed of it, she cannot make him refund it. If she had acquired property before marriage, or inherited property after marriage, provided she keeps it in her own name, such property is governed by the same laws that man's is.

Q. Is property in which the title is in the wife's name liable for the support of the family?

A. Equally with that of the husband's. And at the same time she is adding all the products of her labor and time to the property in which she has no share while he lives.

Q. Can he sell the real estate that is in his name?

A. Not without her signature releasing her "thirds." But she cannot sell her "thirds."

Q. Can she claim one-third of the proceeds of the land sold?

A. No. If the husband likes he can give away, gamble away, or drink up every penny of it.

Q. Can he sell personal property without her consent?

A. Yes. He has absolute control over it.

Q. Can she sue and be sued by her husband?

A. Yes, for maintenance or divorce. For nothing else unless she own property of which the title is in herself.

Q. Can she make a contract with her husband?

A. Not if the contract pertains to maintenance. The law declares it is not in accordance with public policy to hold over the husband any other weapon than that of appealing to the law, which provides that he shall supply her with the necessities conditioned to the station he occupies. And as appeal to law costs money, and the law gives him all the money, it has made him tolerably safe from appeal.

Q. If the husband use fraud in making, or in fulfilling conditions upon which the wife has loaned him money, has she legal remedy?

A. She can appropriate so much of any security she may have taken as will repay her. But in no case can she deprive him of personal liberty.

Q. Can a husband force his wife to sign a deed or mortgage?

A. The wife in signing has to affirm that she has not been intimidated by her husband to the act. But as he can without overt act of intimidation make her life so miserable that without perjuring herself in the letter of the law, he forces such perjury in spirit by the signing. If she refuse to change her place of residence at his bidding, she loses her right to support from him, and he can take her children from her. Or he can strip the property of all the improvements and put them upon a place, which, with the title vested in a third person, he can sell without her consent. And money is power, and he has the money.

Q. If a woman dies, what effect does such event have upon the husband's control of the property they have earned in common?

A. It is his now with full title in the real estate. The personal property is his as it was before her death.

Q. Could she, by will, have disposed of any part of it?

A. Not a penny's worth without her husband's consent.

Q. If the husband dies what effect does such event have upon the wife's control of the property they have earned in common?

A. If he dies without making a will the probate court takes charge of it until the minor children, if there be any, become of age. Or if no minor children, till all indebtedness is paid, and the property divided among the heirs.

Q. Suppose the wife has not borne children, how much less than one-third does she receive?

A. She receives one-half of all unencumbered property possessed by her husband in the state.

Q. Supposing the husband makes a will?

A. The widow can choose between what the law would give her and accepting the provisions of the will.

Q. What is the first step to be taken after the husband's death?

A. To seek an attorney who shall interview the court and have appraisers appointed and an administrator. If the court sees fit and the widow can give bonds equal to twice the value of the personal property, she can be appointed administrator. Not till an appraisal of the personal property is made by appraisers appointed by the court, and the appointment by it of an administrator, can a dollar be used or an article sold, even to pay the husband's funeral expenses. The court sets aside such amount as it deems fitting for the widow to keep the home for one year. As administrator she must obtain an order from the court before she can make a sale of realty, even to pay the debts of the estate. She must keep an exact account of all property sold, and what was done with the proceeds, and at the end of the first six months, and yearly thereafter until the minor children are of age, (if the funds last till then) must present through an attorney a report to the court of all the proceedings, for its approval. She is liable for all discrepancies.

Q. How is the court paid for its labor?

A. From the undivided estate.

Q. How the attorney whom she is forced to employ?

A. From the undivided estate.

Q. What remuneration has she?

A. An administrator is allowed five per cent. on the first $1,000 taken in by an estate, and two and one-half per cent. on each $1,000 thereafter. But as one-third of the expenses come out of her, she can get but two-thirds as much for her work as an uninterested administrator.

Q. What relationship to the children she has borne does the law recognize?

A. By taking the children into the care of the state so long as the money in the estate lasts, and giving to the children twice the amount that the mother receives, the law teaches the children that the child or children have twice the value in the eye of law that the mother has. By obliging her to fulfill the same conditions to become guardian of the children as to become administrator of the estate, (the father, however degraded, having been regarded by law as having an incontestable right to both estate and children,) the law not only impresses upon children the sense of inferiority in which woman is held by law, but takes away the sense of any meanness in them, of trying to appropriate the mother's funds. The law has taken from the mother the prop of power to support her love in leading the child into right paths, that prop having been afforded the father unquestioned.

Q. What are her duties as guardian?

A. She must make a comfortable home for the children, see that their moral training is good, provide them with at least necessaries, and submit an itemized account of all expenditures for them to the court, which it acts its pleasure in allowing. If the court does not allow the account of course the mother has to foot the bill.

Q. Is there a guardian or administrator always appointed when a father dies?

A. Never, unless there is property to be administered. The law has kindly decided that the mother is the natural guardian after the father, and when there is no property to pay for looking after her, or when her children are illegitimate, the mother is permitted to use all the power which the teachings of the law have left her in the upbringing of her children, unquestioned.

Q. Does the court administer in the same way whether there are children or not?

A. Except that the widow has one-half the estate, and can by the administrator appointed, sell and adjust the proceeds of the estate in much less time and at less cost than when a guardian is appointed.

Q. Can a husband adopt a child without the consent of the wife?

A. Yes.

Q. Can a wife adopt a child without the consent of the husband?

A. She cannot.

Humanitarianism and Woman Suffrage.

If the world and woman were made for man,—if the function of reproduction and of service to man make the necessity of her existence,—if she has not been a powerful factor in the development of the human race,—in the world beyond where the spirit is set free from the bondage of material wants, there will be no necessity for woman's existence.

The tradition recorded by Moses gives to woman in the evolution of the human race the *receptive* faculty which first gathered knowledge that caused the dawn of intellect. This germ of intellect given by her to man destroyed the paradise of animal content in which his senses had been steeped. The brief narration of how, in the thousands of years before the deluge, the powerful physiques and embryonic mental powers of men wrought out their own destruction by transgression of physical laws in seeking sensual indulgence, is no more striking than that of how the descendants of the man "who walked with God" remained to work out the problems that would preserve upon the earth an abiding place for man. Reproduction was still man's governing motive, but the "rainbow of promise" against future destruction lay in the knowledge that had been gained that abuse of bodily functions wrought out its own punishment. In the story of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob we see a recognition of woman as an individual, and note by the side of this recognition a growth of mentality that evinced itself in improved methods and means used in tilling the land, in something of mercantile enterprise, and in the spirituality which was incited, inducing desire for study of the heavens. Sodom and Gomorrah repeated the lesson of the flood,—and Abraham laid the ground work of the laws which Moses afterward embodied in the decalogue. But men ruling because the burden of reproduction falling upon woman made her less muscular, she, as a subject, could influence only by the gentleness that often excited the passion that destroyed her, causing lapses backward toward spiritual decay in the race. And yet, to the mother-love which rebelled against the murder of her infant and protected his young life until, in the care of his sister, she could place him under the protection of another woman equally determined to save his life, Moses owed the attributes of his character that made him the leader of his people from captivity, the law-giver of a nation that has retained its characteristic individualism to the present time, prospering despite oppression in the measure those laws were obeyed, and in which from obedience to those laws a mother was developed that could become the mother of Christ, whose blameless life and perfect teachings have benefitted the world in proportion as His Golden Rule has been obeyed.

Always, as in the beginning, intelligence must be possessed by woman before it can be given to her children. In the struggle upward from poverty to wealth, from ignorance to intelligence, by a nation or family, woman is called upon by man to exercise all her physical and mental abilities. Ruled over *physically*, only in the degree her mind has been untrammeled have nations grown out of the barbaric into the civilized state. Rome's prosperity in its upbuilding was due to recognition of, and respecting the power of woman to transmit virtue and intelligence to prosperity. Rome paid woman homage that placed the Roman nation in the niche of fame wherein benefactors of the race are immortalized. But, when national wealth and strength had been attained by the exertions and talents of mothers and sons, man's rule over woman physically,—that curse that from the first retarded the world's progress,—became aggressive. The spirit of accumulation still active, pride of possession increased man's domineering spirit, and, accustomed to regard as his own the services of his family, the services of the weaker of his own sex were absorbed by him when possible. Had right, instead of might, been the governing motive in his own family, it would have been the governing motive in the collection of families. And Rome fell from its high estate to depths proportionate to the standard imposed upon its women. The history of every nation gives in its rise and fall a corroboration of the same producing cause and its constant effect.

Growth of general intellectual activity has ever been slow because opportunities of acquiring knowledge have been sedulously denied women. Centuries passed in which the promulgation of new theories but subjected the authors to persecution in his own

generation. Christianity flourished and grew apace because women embraced it eagerly. Man's lust of power and flesh sank its bright star till the "dark ages" lowered over the world. Out of those "dark ages" sons of grand mothers arose to strike a feeble light, which, growing gradually stronger, induced the desire to emigrate to the wilds of America "to worship God as their consciences dictated" by men and women, for both sexes were victims of the Inquisition. Amid dangers and privations, few in number, man was forced to rely upon woman for the protection of the family in his absence, to consult with her as to defense. With this new stride toward equality with man in power, woman gained in self-reliance, in self-respect, and in ingenuity by her desire to add to the comforts of her family. In a century and a half of outgrowth of these faculties, she had given to the world the sons who had demanded and consummated by shedding their blood and treasure the acknowledgment of the demand for life, liberty and happiness as *man's* inalienable right;—sons whose ingenuity soon worked a revolution in every branch of mechanics. In another half-century the loom and the wheel were remanded from the homes to the factories. Women were relieved from the arduous duties of preparing clothing from the raw material. Unrest began. To be idle in the home was galling. The demand for teachers and sewing girls very limited. Foreign help was driving the American girl from the kitchen. Foreign mothers who had had no training to give them the American mothers' superiority, were bringing their children here to lower the standard of American character. The next generation had less executive ability, more *nerves*. The hand of woman again pointed out the way of safety. Her persevering efforts to stand by the declaration that the sister was entitled by justice to equality before the law with her brother opened the doors of one occupation after another to women, aided as these efforts were by the desire of men for cheaper labor, and the desire of women not to be burdens at home.

Man's love of ruling originated in the bravado of barbarism and nurtured through the ages by unholy desire,—caused him to ignore the right of the mother, who had given him the power to command liberty for himself, to the means he considered necessary for the defense of liberty, *the ballot*. So fatally regardless was he of the immutableness of Nature's laws that all his tory had testified to, so oblivious of woman's individualism as controlling the character of the race, that his own womankind must meet as competitors with themselves in all kinds of business foreign women, to whom naturalization was not even necessary.

With a government where every man is the equal of every other man in political power,—where every man has a spirit of absolutism cultivated by being legal king in his own family,—where the foreigner without a drop of blood by inheritance that has been consecrated to love of liberty is given all the privileges of American men,—where the foreigner accustomed to seeing women hitched to the plough and cart, rushes on return to despotism by using the ballot against American women who helped so greatly in earning the blessings he enjoys without appreciating their cost,—where, having come hither for gain and without thought of self-restraint, the foreigners by the cry of "personal liberty" and the value of their votes to party have engrafted means of gratification of habits that are weighing down the mothers in the nation with grief,—when women are forced to deprive their children of an inborn love of liberty because for the sake of peace in the home they must strive for content in submission,—where mothers with the same love of self as their brothers secure its gratification by stealth, deceit, and flattery, and give those traits to their children and strengthen such inheritance by daily example,—where the inherited desire for stimulants in mothers has constantly increased and is being satisfied with drugs, or rounds of pleasure and excitement that is debilitating themselves and adding woe to the heritage of her children,—wherethe right to govern being determined by sex has forced mothers to become illogical and to fill the country with illogical sons that defy the government and theatens the nation with anarchy because they cannot see that it is lack of ability in themselves that prevents their accumulating property in a land where one man is protected just the same as every other man in its accumulation,—in the humanitarian interests of such a government, is it not best to make woman equal in power with man, that having that power she may love liberty,—that having equality she shall not be reduced to using liberty by stealth, deceit, and flattery,—that having equality she can protect herself and family from abuses now sanctioned by law or custom,—that having equality she shall feel the responsibility of her acts toward humanity, and endow her children with qualities that shall make this nation a permanent one,—that having equality she adds to her influence that which all men and women bow to, *power*?

C. HOLT FLINT.

Des Moines.

The Newspapers On The California Victory

In capturing the important State of California, the woman's suffrage movement has achieved its greatest victory so far. This movement, for years more active in debating societies than elsewhere, soon passed out of the realm of academic discussion into the realm of actual test. It is even now leaving that stage and becoming a real, vital issue in American life and politics. Its Californian victory has added greatly to its standing and prestige. It cannot longer be ignored by any thoughtful student of our institutions and the trend of their development. The result of the California election carries with it many lessons well worth study and reflection.—*Atlanta Georgian.*

Whatever one may think of the movement, there's no denying that it is gathering force. Next year at least half a million women will be qualified to vote for President. That is more than the usual presidential plurality, and if these women voted solidly they might decide the presidency. It is almost equal to the total vote for Andrew Jackson in 1824. It is as many women as there were in the whole thirteen original colonies at the time of the Revolution. The United States now has one-third of the women voters of the world, the remaining two-thirds being chiefly in Australia, New Zealand, Finland and Norway. And the fraction will probably grow pretty fast from now on, in spite of the efforts of scornful men and hostile women.—*Boston Traveller.*

San Francisco voted against woman suffrage because San Francisco at heart still is in bondage to the superstition that vice pays and a wide-open town "is good for business." San Francisco opposed the bestowal of the ballot upon women because of a fear that, if women were given the [illegible] the to vote, women would insist on the expression in government of [illegible] to decencies and moralities of life. . . . The prospect of the addition [illegible]ce the electorate of a great body of voters who would be guided by conscien[illegible]o and high beliefs at the polls frightened thousands of voters in San Francis[illegible] who would sacrifice progress for profit and principle for pelf every time.—*Los Angeles Call.*

President Taft delivered a parting address in San Bernardino, Cal., in which he exhorted the women to be faithful to the new trust imposed upon them. . . . Women have voted in Colorado, Wyoming and other States, and they have shown that they vote fully as understandingly as men. The effect on the whole has been good. They have taken hold of the many civic problems and have demonstrated that they are in favor of an honest and a clean government.—*Peoria (Ill.) Star.*

It assuredly will not be long before candidates for national offices will no longer dare flout suffrage sentiment, and this will be as true of the eastern as of the western man. Eastern States will presently begin to give way. Some breach will be made by the suffragists, and then they will overrun this section pell-mell.—*Woonsocket (R. I.) Call.*

California is the latest to raise the flag of universal suffrage. But she will not be the last. Massachusetts is beginning to primp for it, and if it were submitted in New York and Pennsylvania this Fall there would be a tremendous vote for it.—*Pittsburgh Press.*

The victory in California will undoubtedly pomote ther cause of woman suffrage as no other single occurrence has done. It may, indeed, become a sweeping movement.—*Birmingham (Ala.) Herald.*

Woman suffrage has become a reality in this country, and is spreading so rapidly it will soon become a factor to be reckoned with in national elections. Material government is coming on.—*St. Louis Dispatch.*

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Why the Working Woman Needs the Vote

By MRS. MARY KENNEY O'SULLIVAN

Every year more and more women are going into industry. Why is this?

1. **COST OF LIVING** is rising, and in many families the woman's wages are needed to eke out the family income.

2. **THE STANDARD OF LIVING** is rising, and workingmen's families demand better conditions, and **MUST** have a larger income to meet them.

3. Women living in cities can no longer help sustain the family by farm work, dairy work, or by spinning and weaving; therefore their only ways of helping to provide for the family are

EITHER to take work home, which in most cases produces the evil results of sweat-shop work with poor conditions of work and poorer pay;

OR to go out to work in factory or shop.

Now, **IS** the woman's work a help to the family in the long run?

NOT SO LONG AS WOMEN ARE CHEAP LABOR.

Every union man knows how dangerous and harmful is the competition of child labor; it is dangerous **BECAUSE IT IS CHEAP,** and cuts down the man's wages.

Women's labor, **AS LONG AS IT IS CHEAP,** is just as dangerous, and for just the same reason. When women organize and vote they will get **EQUAL PAY** for **EQUAL WORK,** and they will no longer compete unfairly with men. Then men's wages will improve, and, though fewer women will be employed at the higher wages, this will not be a hardship, because the increase in the man's wages will give the family the larger income needed, without its being necessary for so many women to work outside the home.

Woman suffrage has been endorsed not only by the American Federation of Labor, but also by the State Federations of Labor of California, Connecti-

cut, Colorado, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia.

Workingmen, protect your own interests and demand **VOTES FOR WORKING WOMEN.**

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TESTIMONY FROM COLORADO

Colorado gave votes to women in 1893. Since that time practically every public man of importance in the State has placed himself on record as commending the measure, while not six persons of standing have been induced to assert over their own signatures that woman suffrage has brought about one single evil, or even that it has failed to effect improvements.

Owing to the fact that conditions are more like those in the typical American commonwealth than conditions in any of the other States that have enfranchised women—with the exception of Washington and California, in which the measure is too recent to have yielded marked results—Colorado has been chosen for most of the investigations that have been made into the workings of equal suffrage. The few unfavorable reports that have appeared —all, it must be said, in publications of known anti-suffrage tendencies— have called forth an avalanche of indignant refutation from the most representative men of the State.

In 1898, as a result of certain misrepresentations, a statement approving equal suffrage was issued, signed by the governor, three ex-governors, both United States senators, two ex-senators, both members of Congress, the chief justice and two associate justices of the Supreme Court, three judges of the Court of Appeals, four judges of the District Court, the secretary of state, the state treasurer, the state auditor, the attorney-general, the mayor of Denver, the president of the State University, the president of Colorado College, and the presidents and officers of numerous women's clubs.

In 1899 the Colorado legislature passed, by a vote of 45 to 3 in the House and 30 to 1 in the Senate, a resolution declaring that during the time that equal suffrage had been in operation women had used the vote as generally as men, with the result that better candidates had been selected for office, election methods had been purified, and the character of legislation improved, civic intelligence increased and womanhood developed; and recommending the adoption of the measure by all the states and territories of the Union.

In 1901 equal suffrage, which had come in as a legislative measure in 1893 by only a little over 6,000 majority, was carried as a constitutional amendment by a majority of 35,000.

In 1911, as a result of an attack upon the workings of equal suffrage in Colorado, the men of the State formed the Colorado Equal Suffrage Aid Association, in order to supply accurate information with regard to the system, and to correct misrepresentations. Its president is Ex-Governor Alva Adams, and its vice-president and secretary are Hon. I. N. Stevens and Hon. Omar E. Garwood, both leading lawyers. On its executive committee are United States Marshal Dewey C. Bailey, Congressman John A. Martin, District-

Attorney George A. Carlson, Ex-Judge Grant L. Hudson, Judge Harry C. Riddle, Congressman Edward T. Taylor, Congressman A. W. Rucker, District-Attorney Walter M. Morgan, Deputy City Auditor Joseph J. Vick Roy, Dr. Barton O. Aylesworth, formerly president of Colorado Agricultural College, and Hon. W. W. Garwood, a leading lawyer.

Following are a few out of the innumerable testimonials that have been given by the leading people of the State:

GOVERNOR JOHN F. SHAFROTH—In Colorado the principle of equal rights for women is irrevocably determined. Submit the question to those who have tried it, and scarce a corporal's guard will be found to vote against it.

EX-GOVERNOR ALVA ADAMS—Even the most virulent enemy of woman suffrage cannot prove that any harm has come from the experiment. All fair-minded observers are justified in predicting a higher standard of morals and of political life as a result of equal suffrage.

EX-SENATOR HENRY M. TELLER—Woman suffrage has been beneficial to the people of my State. If the question were resubmitted to the voters today the opposition would be negligible.

EX-SENATOR T. M. PATTERSON—Women's legal rights have been improved in Colorado since they obtained the ballot, and there are now no civil distinctions. Equal suffrage tends to make political affairs better, purer and more desirable for all who take part in them.

JUDGE B. B. LINDSEY, of the Denver Juvenile Court—We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and of children. We owe this to woman suffrage more than to any other one cause.

MRS. HELEN L. GRENFELL, for three terms State Superintendent of Public Instruction—Instead of thinking less of their homes after women were granted the ballot, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these close corporations something of the scientific spirit of the age. Interest in the old-fashioned womanly arts has increased instead of diminished.

GENERAL IRVING HALE—Experience in Colorado has done much to dispel the various theoretical and sentimental objections that have been raised against the extension of this manifest right. I have no hesitation whatever in stating as my own positive conviction that woman suffrage is both right and beneficial.

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California Enlightens the World as to Woman Suffrage

Before California adopted woman suffrage the scoffers and scorners cried that women didn't want to vote, wouldn't vote if they had the chance, and weren't qualified to vote anyway.

The scoffers were confounded as soon as the elective franchise was extended.

Refutation to all of these allegations was instantly afforded as soon as the first elections were held, for the women actually outvoted the men. They carried the day. They showed the very highest intelligence and interest in the questions before them for election.

Instances multiply to show that, now that women are admitted to the electorate, they are taking more interest in many civic affairs and various state reforms than the men. They are organizing, studying, comparing notes, acquiring information and making themselves a power in political influence in the community.

Already the Secretary of State admits that the vote of the State will be doubled—to a million votes—because of woman suffrage.

The women are taking up in their various clubs many questions of both local and national importance.

At a conference held under the auspices of the Women's Progressive League of Los Angeles the women actually launched a movement to solve this serious problem of the future: How shall we prepare for assimilation of the tide of immigration which will set in to California with the opening of the Panama Canal?

The men of Los Angeles had **TALKED** about it. The women initiated **ACTION.**

Women's clubs mean something more here and now than the exchange of gossip about maidservants and other domestic troubles; much more than the discovery of Ibsen or studying out the meaning of Browning.

Not that these things are not well enough in their way—and always were—but they are "in the way" in another sense today. They impede the progress of woman in the study of civil government and affairs of State. They are laid aside to take up these greater matters.

And it is to be observed that when women do organize they show a genius for organization which was highly unexpected by the average male.

They not only **organize,** but they **federate.** They **OPERATE** and also **CO-OPERATE.** They are becoming a powerful factor in self-governing.

The Civic Association has taken up a plan evolved by its president providing for clean and wholesome entertainment to be afforded in schoolhouses

and public halls throughout the city for the moral purpose of occupying the minds of young people and turning them aside from unhealthy channels of doubtful amusement.

The Woman's City Club has taken up the subject of intelligent censorship of the stage, that plays or shows having immoral teachings or improper suggestions may be censored or—better still—prohibited from showing.

The president of the Wednesday Morning Club has formulated plans for a municipal campaign against unsightly city lots, beautifying and utilizing them as gardens for the production of flowers or vegetables.

Other members are active in promoting reforms in the methods of garbage collection—a question which men have dawdled and dallied over with disgraceful ineptitude for years. These women will show what is to be done, and get it done in less time, probably, than the men could get started.

If the women were to have their way about it, does anyone suppose that there would be longer delay about selling the old city hall and building a new one when the site and the building fund are both practically provided?

Suppose the women **DO** take up this matter? Or suppose that they **DO** insist that the quarreling over harbor plans shall cease, and that work be begun on constructing our new harbor to have it completed in time for the canal traffic in 1915. Who shall dare oppose them?

Nor are these clubs and associations less mindful of their charitable work among their own sex, or of relief of the poor, the sick and the needy.

Women's activities have been multiplied by woman suffrage.

By reason of having a voice and vote in public affairs they have been aroused to take interest in subjects which heretofore were left to the men to settle—and which (many of them) never were settled.

The example which California is affording the world of the **benefits of woman suffrage is most illustrious. It annuls much of** opposition to it. We are glad it is so. We take pride in saying so.—From an Editorial in The Los Angeles Herald.

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States confining the right of suffrage to men, and restored to women that right to vote for State officers and for members of Congress and Presidential Electors which they exercised in New Jersey upon equal terms with white and black men until 1807.

For the Judges of the Supreme Court who rendered the Minor vs. Happersett decision of 1875, in speaking of the rights of Mrs. Virginia S. Minor, of Missouri, in that decision declared that she had "always been a citizen from her birth and entitled to ALL the privileges and immunities of citizenship."

That the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment had "prohibited" the State of which she was a citizen from abridging ANY of her privileges and immunities as a citizen of the United States:

And that if the Constitution of the United States did confer the rignt of sugrage upon ANY ONE, and suffrage was therefore one of the necessary privileges of citizens of the United States, "then the Constitution and laws of Missouri confining it to men are in violation of the Constitution of the United States as amended, and consequently void."

In view of the fact that the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States have held that Congress can only make laws providing punishments for the protection of persons in the exercise of rights which are granted or secured by our National Constitution, we members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association are not asking Congress to protect the female citizens of the United States in the right to vote for State officers, but simply in the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors, which, as the Judges of the Supreme Court have now affirmed in their Yarbrough decision is "conferred by the Constitution of the United States" upon the "citizen" and guaranteed AGAINST the statutes of the States by the 1st Section of its 14th Amendment.

Most Respectfully Yours,

RICHMOND, KY. SARAH CLAY BENNETT.

Federal Suffrage.

MESSRS. EDITORS:

Please call public attention to the fact that at the last annual convention of the National American Women Suffrage Association its Executive Committee resolved to urge its members to be careful in their speeches, resolutions and hearings before Congress, to draw a distinction between the OLD "right to vote" for members of Congress and Presidential Electors, which women and black men exercised in New Jersey until 1807, and the NEW "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," which the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States have declared that the 15th Amendment of our National Constitution conferred on both the male and the female citizens of the United States when it was adopted in 1870.

And that the delegates to its last annual convention accepted my report, saying that as Chairman of its Federal Suffrage Committee I had memorialized Congress, in the name of the members of the National American Women Suffrage Association to protect the white and black female citizens of the United States equally with its black male citizens against State denial of the old right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors by a law made in pursuance of the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment of our National Constitution in accordance with the combined Minor vs. Happersett and Yarbrough decisions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Judges of the Supreme Court who considered the right of women to vote at public elections under the late Amendments of our National Constitution in the Minor vs. Happer-

sett decision of 1875; also considered the right of black men to vote under these Amendments in the Reese and Cruikshanks decisions of 1876. And these gentlemen affirmed in these decisions in the case of women and of black men that those privileges which were derived from our National Constitution were the "necessary" privileges of citizens of the United States, and those which were derived from the Constitutions of the States were not:

That Congress could protect citizens in the exercise of the new "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," which was derived from the Fifteenth Amendment of our National Constitution, but it could not protect citizens in the exercise of the old "right to vote" for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the States, because the right to vote at all public elections in the States came from the States and not from the United States, and Congress had no right to make laws providing punishments for the protection of citizens in the exercise of any right which was not granted or secured by the Constitution of the United States.

They refused to protect some black men in the right to vote at "any election to be thereafter by law had and held by the people of and in the said State of Louisiana, or by the people of and in the Parrish of Grant aforesaid," under the 6th Section of the Enforcement Act of 1870, by using the following words in their Cruikshanks decision of 1876: "In Minor vs. Happersett, 21 Wall. 178 (88 U. S. xxii, 631) we decided that the Constitution of the United States has not conferred the right of suffrage upon any one, and that the United States have no voters of their own creation in the States. In U. S. vs. Reese just decided, we hold that the 15th Amendment has invested the citizens of the United States with a new constitutional right, which is exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. From this it appears that the right of suffrage is not a necessary attribute of National citizenship; but that exemption from discrimination in the exercise of that right on account of race, etc., is. The right to vote in the States comes from the States; but the right of exemption from the prohibited discrimination comes from the United States. The first has not been GRANTED OR SECURED by the Constitution of the United States; but the last has been. Inasmuch, therefore, as it does not appear in these counts that the intent of the defendants was to prevent these parties from exercising their right to vote on account of their race, etc., it does not appear that it was their intent to interfere with any right granted or secured by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

But in 1884 the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, who rendered the Yarbrough decision, upheld Section 5520 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, (which provides imprisonment with hard labor as a punishment for the protection of citizens in exercising the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the States,) by affirming that BOTH the new "right of exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," and the old "right to vote" for members of Congress and Presidential Electors had been granted and secured by the Constitution of the United States. That the right of exemption from the prohibited discrimination had been granted and secured by the 15th Amendment, and the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors in the States had been "conferred by the Constitution of the United States" upon the "citizen," and guaranteed against the Statutes of the States by the 1st Section of its 14th Amendment.

And by declaring that the right to vote for members of Congress and Presidential Electors had been "conferred by the Constitution of the United States" upon the "citizen," these gentlemen indirectly affirmed that the 1st Section of the 14th Amendment had made void the Constitutions and laws of the

To Working Men!

MAZZINI, the Great Reformer, on the Rights of Women.

"LOVE and respect Woman. Seek in her not merely a comfort, but a force, an inspiration, the redoubling of your intellectual and moral faculties.

"Cancel from your minds every idea of superiority over Woman. You have none whatsoever.

"The Upper Classes that withheld education from you, the sons of the people, excluded you on the grounds of that very want of education from the rights of the citizen, from the sanctuary wherein laws are framed, and from that **right of vote which is the initiation of your social mission.**

"Now we men have ever been and still are guilty of a similar crime towards woman. Avoid even the shadow or semblance of this crime: there is none heavier in the sight of God for it divides the human family into two classes, and imposes or accepts the the subjugation of one class to the other.

"Your complete emancipation can only be founded and secured upon the triumph of a Principle—the principle of the Unity of the Human Family.

"At the present day one half of the Human Family, —that half from which we seek both inspiration and consolation, that half to which the first education of Childhood is entrusted,—is, by a singular contradiction, declared **civilly, politically, and socially unequal, and excluded from the great Unity.**

"To you who are seeking your own Emancipation, to you it belongs to **protest on every occasion** and by **every means** against this negation of Unity.

"The Enfranchisement and Emancipation of Woman then, must be regarded by you as necessarily linked with the Emancipation of the Working Man. This will give to your endeavours the consecration of a Universal Truth."

JOSEPH MAZZINI,
The Duties of Man
(published 1858).

Working Men! How long must Working Women wait for Justice?

You can make us Citizens ——Will you do it?

WOMEN'S SOCIAL & POLITICAL UNION,
MANCHESTER.

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11 Leicester Street. HIGHER BROUGHTON.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. SCOTT,
Woodbine, FLIXTON, Manchester.

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TO

Working Women!

Advocates of **FREE TRADE** and **PROTECTION** respectively are in fierce conflict, each side declaring the policy of the other to be a danger to the country, but both sides alike are prepared to undertake the responsibility of deciding this momentous question **without you.**

Free Traders and Protectionists both admit that their policy stands or falls according as it affects the labouring classes. If a mistake is made in choosing between the alternatives of Free Trade and Protection, the poor will suffer most from the evils which result. The Fiscal question is primarily a worker's question and, since women form the worst paid section of labour, it is above all things a **woman's question.** Yet, notwithstanding the fact that you, the working women of England, have more at stake than has any other class of the community, you are, since you have **no votes,** powerless to intervene in this matter. How much longer are you to remain without the means of protecting your interests? Every crisis such as this is a new lesson as to your need of political power.

During the old Anti-Corn Law Campaign the Chartists refused to allow the great question of political enfranchisement to be obscured by that of the tax upon corn. To those who expressed a desire to help the workers by lowering the price of bread, they said: "Help us to help ourselves! Give us

the vote that we may protect our interests—so can you best serve us!"

Since that time working men have obtained the parliamentary vote while you are still unrepresented. Turn then to these men, your fellow-workers (they form the majority of the electorate) and demand of them that they grant to you the rights they themselves possess.

There are those who, although they are ready enough to make political capital out of the fact that you are poor and oppressed, do not attempt to arm you with the political power which would enable you to improve your condition. Tell them that what you want is the enactment of

THE WOMEN'S CHARTER:—

"That for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at Parliamentary Elections, words in the Representation of the People Act importing the masculine gender shall include women."

As a result you will cease to belong to a class outside the Constitution. You will have power to improve your conditions of labour, to defend your interests generally, and to take part in directing the government of your country.

Working Women demand your rights! Uphold your Charter!

Issued by the Women's Social and Political Union.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. SCOTT, Woodbine, FLIXTON.

Hon Treas.: Mrs. HARKER, 11 Leicester Street, HIGHER BROUGHTON.

[n.d.]

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS
CONSERVATION DEPARTMENT
MRS. EMMONS CROCKER, CHAIRMAN, 48 MECHANIC STREET, FITCHBURG, MASS

Keep The Streams Clean and Pure!

STREAMS:

Are beautiful and should not be made otherwise by throwing rubbish into them or upon their banks.

PURE WATER:

Is necessary to all human and animal life.

RIVERS AND BROOKS:

Are the natural purveyors of water.
Respect them.
Throw nothing into them.
Prevent all foul waters from reaching them.

RUNNING WATERS:

Are life givers.
Make them not life takers by allowing foreign matter to render them poisonous to man, beast, bird, and fish.

PICNICKERS:

Leave no refuse in or near the springs, brooks, rivers, ponds, or lakes which have contributed to your day's pleasure.
The baskets which brought all are large enough to carry away the fragments.

FISHERMEN:

Do not put fish cleanings back into the water.

HOUSEWIVES:

Empty no dish-water or other slops where it can find its way into a stream.

FARMERS:

Do not let your vault or barn-yard drainage seep away to the nearby streams.

CAMPERS:

Bury or burn all rubbish.
Select carefully and judiciously the spot on which to build a fire.
Watch constantly the fire while burning.
Extinguish every spark before leaving the site of the fire.
Do not contaminate the streams by washing soiled clothes in them. Carry the water for this purpose in pail or tub to a place at some little distance from the shore.

MANUFACTURERS:

Poison not the stream with chemicals, refuse, or dross of any kind.

CITIES AND TOWNS:

Send your Sewerage Commissioners to Croydon, England, (ten miles from London), to study the oldest and most successful sewage filtration plant and sewage farm. If this is impossible, at least write for information.
Pollute not the streams with your sewage.

LET THE PURITY OF STREAMS BE JEALOUSLY AND SACREDLY GUARDED FROM THEIR SOURCES TO THEIR MOUTHS BY YOUNG AND OLD THAT THEY MAY BE THE BLESSINGS WHICH GOD INTENDED.

Mrs. Crocker thanks Josephine Kinney Walker, chairman Purity of Streams Committee, Civic Department of the California Club, San Francisco, for suggestions.

SAMPLE COPY
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Judge Lindsey on Suffrage

The results of woman suffrage in Colorado, since its establishment more than ten years ago, have been so satisfactory that it is hard to understand how it encounters opposition in other States. I have never observed one evil as the result. I have never heard a criticism directed against woman suffrage that ever worked out in practice, or, if it did, was not equally applicable to male suffrage.

It used to be said that the women would not vote—that they were not intelligent. I believe, in proportion to population, nearly as many, if not more, women voted at the last city election as men. In no important election has less than forty per cent. of the entire vote been cast by women, and, considering that there are more men than women in this Western city, it is no more than fair to say that the women are equally interested in the affairs of government, and vote as intelligently and as independently as the men.

One of the greatest advantages which has come to us from woman suffrage is the fear on the part of the machine politicians to nominate for public office men of immoral character or to defeat those who have maintained a reputation for honesty and decency. Again, at critical times and in important elections, when some great principle is at stake, especially with reference to local conditions, where the home and family are involved, the women of the State have always come to the rescue. The powers of evil realize that they have a powerful moral force to deal with when it is once aroused, and they also realize that, when it is aroused, it has the power to strike a blow.

We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundation of the Republic. These laws, in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of women, which, at all times, has been back of them and those who have conscientiously and faithfully administered them.

I know that the politicians in both parties reckon seriously with the woman vote, and I know that men of immoral character have been refused places upon party tickets because of the fear inspired by the woman vote if it

is aroused; and when it is aroused, as it generally is in proper cases, it can always be counted upon to be on the side of righteousness.

We believe we have the best juvenile court law, the best child-labor law, the best compulsory education law, the best laws for the prevention of cruelty to children and the enforcement of the obligations of fathers to support wife and child, and the best administration of these laws when once upon the statute books, of any city in the Union.

I believe I only voice the general impression of the best informed as to such matters when I say that we owe this condition more to woman suffrage in Colorado than to any other cause.



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SHALL WE COMPROMISE?

BY MARIA GOODELL FROST.

Some form of suffrage is desired by all thinking women. The most conservative, when brought to the point of debate, admit that upon some questions they would like to vote. Thus we find some form of suffrage in twenty-two States.

Our best men assert that they would be glad to have women vote on moral issues. What is a moral issue? We reply that every issue that involves a question of right and wrong, of the ought and the ought not, is a moral issue. Upon such questions then as concern moral obligation women ought to vote.

The separation of these from the vague, indefinite issues that concern men alone, and have no bearing upon women's interests, or the good of society, would leave very little cause for contention. But it is these very moral issues that keep women disfranchised.

Women are disfranchised in order that men may make all the laws that govern marriage, that they may carry on the liquor traffic, and the brothel, to the destruction of the family, and the home. This is the whole object of male suffrage; it has no other foundation to rest upon.

Now that woman suffrage has been in operation twenty years in Wyoming, and is an established fact, incorporated into the constitution of the State, with the sanction of the best citizens; now that the successive Governors of Wyoming, for twenty years past, give their unqualified approbation of its results; all objections vanish. The old arguments are demolished. Women vote in Wyoming, homes are *not* broken up. Husbands and wives do *not* quarrel. Families are *not* neglected. The *best* women go to the polls.

The best moral men are supported by women, who consider carefully the character of candidates, so that both parties are obliged to put up their best men for office, in order to obtain women's votes. Thus we have before us a demonstration of the fallacy of all objections.

The names of Governors, Ministers and Senators are given, testifying to the good effects of woman suffrage, as a fact, in the State of Wyoming;—the quiet of elections, the better institutions, the better morals, and higher social conditions than could otherwise exist.

Conservative women who desire the ballot upon special questions may be summed up briefly in the following classes:

1st. Lovers of virtue desire a voice in the laws that regulate marriage, protect the innocent, punish the guilty; thereby making pure homes possible.

2nd. Peace women ask the ballot that they may use their power to avert war, and promote peaceful arbitration, thus rescuing their sons and brothers from the demoralizing effects of war.

3rd. Temperance women ask the ballot in the interest of home protection, from the ravages of the liquor traffic.

4th. Patriotic women are ready to vote, that their country may be preserved from the dissolution and decay that inevitably results from a departure from the underlying principles of republican government.

5th. Christian women who wish to do something for Jesus, ask to give their testimony to his pure principles where such testimony will have most weight.

6th. Mothers seek the ballot that they may obtain the legal custody of their children.

7th. Educators—that our schools may have the wisdom of motherly counsel in all that relates to child culture.

8th. Working women—that they may protect their productive industries.

9th. Tax payers—that their money may not be taken without their consent.

10th. Sabbath observers—that their day of rest may not be disturbed by the lawless and profane.

These, and other classes of women, outside of the ranks of suffragists, see some reason why women should vote.

[OVER]

To discriminate and allow suffrage on the particular issues of temperance and purity, as some good men suggest, would be unjust to other women who as conscientiously desire to vote on other issues that appear to them to be the unquestionable prerogative of women.

The full ballot would include all measures of reform, and all earnest women would avail themselves of it, for the good of society, as they do in Wyoming. Therefore we should not be satisfied with partial suffrage, although we would accept it for what it is worth, as a temporary relief, feeling that it would fail of its fullest effect, through the tricks of wily politicians.

The Australian ballot system removes the most plausible argument against woman's presence at the polls, and is being adopted in many States. So we are assured by Senator Carey "it will be with woman suffrage, which is no longer an experiment in Wyoming; it will be adopted by different States until it becomes accepted throughout the nation."

There is no obstacle, since it is now recognized that every State has the right under the Federal Constitution to give woman the elective franchise.

Bad women give no trouble in Wyoming, as the majority of women are not bad. This is doubtless true in Ohio, and other States.

We know there are some women who do not feel the burden of disfranchisement as their sisters do; they consider their individual happiness sufficient; the burdens of other women are not their concern. The same sentiment prevailed toward the colored race, among many who were not personally affected by the curse of negro slavery. Such people would find it for their *eternal interest* to consider the Scripture injunction "Remember those that are in bonds as bound with them."

The worst features of negro slavery are involved in woman's disfranchisement. Working women, dependent upon their male employers, are subject to insults that they will be freed from, when they have the ballot. It is more for the protection of person than property that good women demand the ballot.

The security of property is an important feature toward that independence of position that is the means of placing women beyond the reach of temptation. The stigma that is put upon the laboring woman comes from her utter dependence on man for a subsistence.

The young man who does the family chores for his board is still eligible to the highest office in the land; he is subject to no insult. He is not ashamed of his position. The young woman is ashamed of being a hired girl, because she is thus put on a level with a class subject to insult.

But what has voting to do with it? asks a young lady graduate who expects to teach, and who could not be hired to keep a house at any price. If she were married she would be delighted to have the care of an establishment. The protection of marriage would raise her above the class subject to insult. An unmarried woman who does domestic work feels disgraced.

The ballot is not only the key to independence, but it is a *leveller*. The enfranchised servant girl holds in her hands a *weapon of defence* against insult; she is no longer a *slave*. As sure as the Lord reigns, every vestige of slavery will be uprooted in this land, and throughout the earth.

The good of society demands equality, and the placing of poor girls in as safe positions as poor boys. The maintenance of virtue is necessary to the endurance of a Republic. The enfranchisement of women is necessary to the maintenance of virtue.

Therefore the enfranchisement of woman is necessary to the endurance of this government. Thus it becomes evident that no compromise can be made with respect to the temperance issue. Temperance, in a broad sense, covers the whole ground. Temperance involves purity; purity implies free agency; free agency, equal share in the government. This is Woman Suffrage.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN.—I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.—I have always believed in woman suffrage to the same extent as man suffrage.

DR. HARVEY W. WILEY.—If woman suffrage were not desirable for any other reason, it would be worth while merely because it would ensure better pure-food legislation.

JANE ADDAMS.—City housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.—Everything in the movement to give women the suffrage appeals to my reverence and sense of justice.

TOM L. JOHNSON.—A truly enlightened and democratic form of government would, of course, recognize the equal rights of women.

PRESIDENT M. CAREY THOMAS, of Bryn Mawr College.—It is only necessary for generous and unprejudiced women to realize the present economic independence of millions of women workers for woman suffrage to seem to them inevitable.

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY.—Until women are enabled to perform their full duty in the selection of officials who enforce laws, their efforts to persuade legislators must remain in a large degree fruitless.

JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY.—Outside of the corrupt and self-seeking, the vile and venal, the man cannot be found in Colorado who would do away with equal suffrage.

PRESIDENT FRANCIS E. CLARK, of the United Society of Christian Endeavor.—I have seen the operation of woman suffrage in New Zealand and other parts of the world, and my belief in it has been strengthened.

LINCOLN STEFFENS.—All democrats believe in woman suffrage, and whoever does not believe in it is not a democrat.

MRS. ALICE FREEMAN PALMER.—The higher duties of women will be assisted, not hindered, by intelligent discipline in the others.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.—I believe in votes for women just as I believe in votes for men, and for the same reasons.

MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH.—All the evils that affect the home are largely dependent upon politics. Women should have the power to deal with these.

JOHN MITCHELL.—It's a sure thing that any adult who is amenable to the laws should have a voice in the making of the laws.

JULIA WARD HOWE.—The claim of woman to an equal opportunity with man was seen to be just when Plato so stated it, in terms which the subtlest of his hearers could not gainsay.

REV. CHARLES AKED.—Nothing since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the political emancipation of woman.

PRESIDENT MARY E. WOOLLEY, of Mt. Holyoke College.—It seems almost inexplicable that changes, surely as radical as giving women the vote, should be accepted as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance.

BRAND WHITLOCK.—I believe that women should vote because they are women, just as I believe that men should vote because they are men.

PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN, of Stanford University.—Equal suffrage should tend to broaden the minds of women and to increase their sense of personal responsibility.

PROFESSOR SOPHONISBA BRECKENRIDGE, of the University of Chicago.—A woman has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless the officials of the city are as much responsible to her as the domestic servants she selects.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS.—I am convinced that for the solution of our social problems we need all the people—women as well as men.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN FINLAND

By FRANCES MAULE BJÖRKMAN

In Finland, where for years men and women together have struggled against a foreign oppressor, the municipal franchise has been exercised by tax-paying women living in the country since 1863, and by tax-paying women living in the cities since 1872. In 1906, after a great uprising of the people, a new constitution was granted by the Russian Czar, and the full Parliamentary suffrage for women was included among its provisions.

In the first elections after the women were enfranchised, taking place shortly after the passage of the measure, no separate records were kept of the women voters; but in 1908, when, the Diet having been dissolved by the Czar, new elections were held, 19,640 women registered as opposed to 15,516 men. Fifty-seven per cent. of the women entitled to vote cast their ballot. In Helsingfors, the capital city, the women voters outnumbered the men by more than four thousand.

Nineteen women, representing all four of the political parties, were elected to the first Diet, and during the short period before its dissolution proposed no less than twenty-six measures. Among these were a woman's property act, three different measures for the abolition of the guardianship of the husband over the wife; one for more rights of mothers over their children, four for raising the age of protection for girls, two for raising the age of legal marriage for women from fifteen to seventeen, four in regard to the legal status of illegitimate children, two for more extensive employment of women in state service, one for a state subsidy for schools of domestic training, one for a subsidy for temperance measures, one for a subsidy for the distribution of free meals to school children, for a maternity insurance fund, for the appointment of an authorized midwife in each parish, for the encouragement and extension of coeducation, for the appointment of women as sanitary inspectors, for giving women the same rights as men in regard to legal assistance, for the abolition of disciplinary punishments in prisons, for pardoning the Finns that took part in the Sveaborg revolt, for making insults to women a penal offence, and for the construction of a certain local railway.

In the elections of 1908, twenty-five women—again from all four parties—were elected to the Diet. Practically all the measures enumerated above, only three of which had been acted upon, owing to the summary dissolution of the first Diet, were reintroduced with several others of similar character. Once again, however, the Diet was suddenly dissolved by the Czar, and in 1909 elections were held for a third Diet, in which twenty-one women were elected, but this also was speedily dissolved.

In the meantime an edict had been issued giving the Russian Imperial Coun-

cil the right to revise or reject practically all the legislation passed by the Finnish Diet, and this had the effect of causing the already discouraged people practically to abandon all further efforts for measures bearing upon their own social conditions until their political differences with Russia had been settled. The voting for the members of the fourth Diet was apathetic, and only sixteen women were elected, the people arguing, apparently, that since the special measures in which women were chiefly interested had no chance until the political crises was over, there was no use in making any special effort to send them to Parliament.

Even under these well nigh impossible conditions, however, the women voters of Finland have been able to make their influence felt. To them is largely due certain new laws regulating the liquor traffic that have already done much to raise the national curse of intemperance. They were chiefly instrumental in securing a large governmental appropriation for rescue work among women and children in cities. In the last Diet they introduced measures providing that women should have the right to be advocates, for heavier sentences for the crime of rape, for the abolition of punishment for blasphemy, for the erection of homes for helpless children and their mothers, for amendments to the law respecting the rights of married women to their children, for the protection of clerks and shop assistants, and for the establishment of labor bureaus.

The women members have come from all classes of society. Among them have been teachers, writers, editors, seamstresses, doctors of philosophy, state officials, social workers, and wives of peasants, mechanics and professional men. Most of them have been over forty, and most of them have been married women. Three have had husbands sitting in the Diet with them. Three have given birth to children during their term of office, but without absenting themselves from the sessions for more than a few weeks.

Summing up the experience of Finland with woman suffrage, the Baroness Alletta Van Reypen Rorff, an American woman living in Finland, writes: "The experience of Finland has proved, I think, beyond a doubt, that the emancipation of woman is not a thing to be feared or dreaded, but merely a natural step in the evolution of society."

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND MUNICIPAL REFORM.

BY HENRY B. BLACKWELL.

A reform in the government of cities is the most pressing political problem of our time. Especially is it such in Massachusetts, for here the whole growth of our population is in the cities. Our country towns have fewer inhabitants to-day than ten years ago; they will have fewer ten years hence than now. Our population grows, but the growth is wholly manufacturing and commercial, not agricultural. Every year towns desert their old forms of government, and become cities. Thus the personal participation of the citizen in local government becomes steadily less, and a government by delegated bodies takes its place.

This change is in many respects an evil. The nearer we keep government to the people, the purer and more economical it is found to be. In the city, the voters no longer meet in town meeting for discussion and action; they meet only in their separate wards to choose representatives. Even there they are subdivided by party lines; the Republican meets only Republicans, the Democrat only Democrats. These meetings do not deliberate. They assemble at the call of political committees to ratify or defeat nominations previously planned, and the whole system has become a machine controlled by men who make politics a trade. Thus the caucuses tend to become mere scrambles for office. They are not agreeable or interesting except to place-hunters and their supporters. Public interests and the qualifications of candidates are not discussed (except to a very limited extent in the newspapers), and the mass of men have ceased to attend the primary meetings.

This decline of the town meeting into the ward caucuses is generally deplored, and results in bad nominations. It has given rise to associations of citizens who have sought to purify city politics by selecting from the caucus nominations of both parties. But this commendable effort no sooner becomes influential than the most adroit and dangerous candidates of both parties seek to capture the "citizens'" endorsement, which becomes itself a matter of bargain and intrigue. Repeatedly, of late years, here in Boston, some of the worst men nominated on party tickets have secured the citizens' indorsement, and thereby an election.

But beneath these practical obstacles to an honest representation lies the far more difficult problem of the constituency itself—the character and circumstances of the voters. A rapid development of commerce and manufactures has suddenly concentrated in cities a heterogeneous population, unused to self-government, herded together in masses, and living literally from hand to mouth. Such people are victims of demagogues. Children growing up under such conditions cannot be educated into good citizens by our free schools alone. Against the influences of our 300 churches are arrayed 3500 licensed liquor-shops and many unlicensed ones. These saloons are political recruiting stations. No wonder that vice and debauchery are spreading. Our newspapers reflect in their dismal array of crimes and horrors a community that is rotten before it is ripe. The Boston of 1885, with all its wealth and population, is morally and mentally below the average level of the Boston of 1835, with its orderly, self-respecting citizens. Our board of aldermen recently licensed a prize fight, and attended it almost in a body. That could not have occurred twenty-five years ago. Our council has disgraced itself this winter by the grossest blackguardism, and seemingly cannot go through the forms of an election without casting fraudulent ballots. Meanwhile, taxes are multiplied and the public business is mismanaged.

To reform these evils we see an association organized; but what does it propose? To take away the executive powers of the council, and concentrate them in the mayor and aldermen. Others propose a metropolitan police commission, to be appointed by the State—in other words, a limitation of local self-government. Good measures, perhaps, as far as they go, but quite inadequate. To reform the city government we must reform the constituency. The constituency can be reformed in only two ways: First, by taking the ballot from some who now have it; Or Second, by giving the ballot to some who have it not. Now no one proposes to take the ballot from any class that now votes. No one knows where or how to draw a line, or hopes to see one drawn. The sole question then is to whom can the ballot be extended with a hope of thereby promoting good government?

Three extensions are possible: First—To men who cannot or will not pay a poll tax. Second—to women who cannot or will not pay a poll tax. Third—To women who can and will pay a poll tax.

It can hardly be claimed that the first or second class, if allowed to vote, would reform the city government. Those who advocate the admission of these classes to the franchise do so on other grounds. Have we reason to believe that the third class would help? Let us see.

Men now vote in municipal elections on the payment of a one dollar poll tax. Women vote for school committee only, by asking to be assessed and paying a voluntary poll tax of fifty cents and by making a sworn statement of all their real and personal property for taxation. Male vot-

ers do not have to apply to pay an additional tax in order to vote, nor to make a sworn statement of property. Their names are taken at their residences by the assessors; they are assessed a poll tax whether they vote or not, and, if they pay it, their names are put upon the voting list. In Boston about sixty per cent. of the male citizens vote, a large majority of whom pay only a poll tax.

Now, suppose that, in order to reform the city government, we enlarge the present restricted school-committee suffrage by giving women who pay a dollar poll tax, as men do, the full municipal suffrage. Instead of requiring women, as now, to apply to be assessed and to make a sworn statement, let them be treated exactly as men are treated—*i. e.*, let the assessors take their names at their residences and assess a voluntary poll tax of one dollar on every woman, as on every man, taking no step to enforce collection, but making its payment the prerequisite for voting, as in the case of men. What would follow? Women who are influenced by patriotic considerations would gradually respond. The more intelligent and public-spirited would vote first; the less intelligent and public-spirited would keep their dollars and stay at home. Women are the wives, sisters, mothers, and daughters. They are in the homes and the churches, not in the saloons. Only five per cent. of the liquor licenses of Boston are granted to women; ninety-five per cent. to men. Women have an instinctive love of order, purity, and economy, which their feminine occupations develop. Even the drunkard's wife and daughters, if they voted at all, would not vote for the influences which make their lives miserable.

I think that no class of women would vote with more regard for good morals than would the much-abused Catholic and Irish women, of whose suffrage so much dread is expressed. For they are largely under the influence of the clergy, and the clergy of all denominations are in favor of morality, sobriety, and order.

In Boston, women have had the suffrage for school committee about five years, and 1,100 exercised it last year. To those who know the stringent requirements of the law, it is amazing that so many women should have voted under it. All the ordinary inducements offered to male voters are lacking. Yet serious inconvenience and expense are annually incurred by hundreds of women for the sake of fulfilling a public duty.

Never in our municipal history have greater public spirit and unselfishness been shown by any class of voters than by these women. They are intelligent, conscientious, and respectable, far above the average of male voters. They are not office-seekers. The only charge made against them is that they are too scrupulous and exacting in their choice of candidates to be successful in "practical politics." Differing widely in opinion among themselves, these women have shown pluck and principle in an unusual degree.

It is said that bad women would vote at the call of politicians. The facts point to an opposite conclusion. For the past five years two parties have annually struggled for the control of the school board. In any year, either of these parties, by paying a few hundred dollars in fifty-cent poll-taxes, bringing in its own class of women, might have controlled the board. Why have they not done so? Because scheming and corrupt men find no body of women ready or willing to be thus used. Because such men do not want their own female relatives to vote, and could not control them if they did vote. Because the women who can be induced to pay a tax for the sake of voting are those, and only those, who desire the public welfare.

It is said that woman suffrage would put the city under foreign rule. I have myself no fear of our naturalized fellow-citizens. But for those who have, here are the figures: In 1880 there were in Boston 91,367 women who can read and write—possible voters. Of these, 52,608 were Americans, 38.759 foreigners; a majority of nearly 14,000 born and educated in America. In Massachusetts there were 454.852 women who can read and write. Of these 326,731 were Americans, 128,121 foreigners, leaving an American majority of 198,610. That women will vote when proper inducements are offered is shown by Wyoming Territory, where nine-tenths of the women vote and only eight-tenths of the men, and by Washington Territory, where, at the last general election, seven-eighths of all the women voted. In England, on a small property qualification, in municipal elections as large a proportion of the registered women vote as of the registered men. But suppose that "only the bad women" hasten to pay their dollar poll taxes and rush to the polls—what then? Why then, a Legislature elected by men alone will repeal the statute and wipe out the women's vote. If the friends of woman suffrage are willing to risk this, its opponents can well afford to do so.

Young men of education and refinement enjoy the society of their sisters and lady friends. In later life such men find social enjoyment with their wives and daughters. When it becomes fashionable for women to go to the primary meetings and the polls, these men will go with them and will no longer neglect their political duties.

Municipal reform is in the air. Now is the time to act. Let our Legislature enact a municipal woman suffrage law this winter in the interest of good government.

Office "Woman's Journal," 5 Park Street, Boston. A weekly paper devoted to the rights and interests of Women. Price $2 50 a year. American Woman Suffrage Association.

HON. WALTER B. HILL

On Woman Suffrage



Published by the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association.

WOMEN HAVE NO RIGHT NOT TO VOTE.

I do not think that women have the right not to vote. Their *right* to vote is undebatable. No rational argument has been or can be advanced against it. Ever since the world accepted the idea that government and taxation imply representation, the case for woman suffrage—so far as it depends on right—has been completely made out.

The sole question, therefore, which remains for any difference of opinion is this: "Are there valid and sufficient reasons for exempting women from the exercise of this right? Or, is not the exercise of that right a *duty* which the general welfare demands that women, as well as men, should perform?" This is the shape which the discussion has lately assumed—especially in the great State of New York, where the question is to the front. I have given my opinion on the point by saying above that I do not think women have a right *not* to vote. Women undoubtedly have a great many duties already; and I can well understand the feeling which prompts many of them to say that they do not desire the addition to their duties of the exercise of the franchise of citizenship; but I think that the benefits to the whole community which will result from the assumption of this duty by women will be so great that the community can not afford to forfeit these benefits. For I believe that women are likely to prove as superior to men in the discharge of the duties of citizenship as they are in the performance of many other duties.

Some of the benefits which will follow, directly or indirectly, from endowing women with equal suffrage will be:

1. The removal of that moral deformity of our civilization, the double standard of virtue.

2. The removal of that great injustice, unequal compensation to women for work of the same value as that done by men.

3. The abolition of that great iniquity, the partnership of the government, through the license system, with the curse and crime of the liquor traffic; and the partnership between municipal government and vice which now exists in all our large cities.

4. Elevation of the standards of public life. If women were voters in Kentucky, the nation would be spared the insult of Breckinridge's candidacy.

As to all the fears which some good men have as to the effect upon women themselves of being voters, it is enough to say that all those apprehensions (the disruption of family life, etc.) were arrayed, years ago, against the education of women, and the dreaded evils never arrived.

As to the misconceptions of the Scriptures which are used against woman's citizenship, it is enough to say that the God of the Bible is the living God—who rules in providence—in the progress and development of his creatures. His revelations cannot conflict. That person is blind, indeed, who cannot see that woman

suffrage is coming; and that it is only a question of a few years before it will be fully come. My faith in God does not permit me to believe that Providence blunders.

As to the manner in which suffrage should be conferred, I would say this: As a right, hitherto not granted, is now to be granted, it should be conferred in the same way that the right should originally have been conferred; to wit, with limitations and qualifications designed to make the exercise of the right valuable and advantageous to the community. As this is a matter to be regulated in each State, I would favor in Georgia both an educational and a small property qualification.

The "scurvy politicians" that now disgrace the privileges of American statesmanship are going to "go." "The filth of politics," which they use to frighten away decent people from interference with their preserves, will disappear. Woman suffrage is coming; but it is not likely to precede the Australian ballot or some other civilizing reform of our election laws. Under the Australian system, a woman can vote with as much modesty a she can go shopping or attend a charity meeting.

In every happy home, or, at least, in every ideal home, woman suffrage already prevails. Its extension to the national life will be as beneficent as its introduction into the family life. "Whereunto shall this thing grow?" It is a fact significant for the past, prophetic for the future, that, even as Dante measured his successive ascents in Paradise not by any immediate consciousness of movement, but by seeing an ever lovelier beauty in the face of Beatrice, so the race now counts the gradual steps of its spiritual progress, out of the ancient heavy glooms, toward the glory of the Christian millennium, not by mechanism, not by cities, but by the ever new grace exhibited by the woman who was for ages either the decorated toy of man or his despised and abject drudge.

WALTER B. HILL.

Macon, Ga.

All persons, of either sex, who admit the justice of women's demand to be raised above the political level of minors, lunatics, idiots, felons and traitors, with whom they are classed by the Constitution of Georgia, are cordially invited to become members of the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association. The youth outgrows at twenty-one his political disability; the lunatic may be restored to reason; the alien naturalized; the felon, however low his crime, pardoned and restored to his full rights as a sovereign voter; but the one unpardonable crime under the Constitution of Georgia is the crime of being born a woman.

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All persons residing in Georgia who favor woman suffrage are invited (whether or not they belong to any woman suffrage organization) to send in their names promptly to be placed on the Enrolment. To go on the Enrolment does not obligate one financially or otherwise. It is simply a list kept, that the Association may be able to approximate at any time the number of persons in Georgia who indorse the woman suffrage movement.

The Association will send free a lecturer or organizer to any community in the State applying for the same which will provide entertainment for the organizer or speaker, and make arrangements for holding a suffrage meeting.

The ballot is "the right preservative of all rights." "A right withheld is a wrong inflicted." THEY WHO ARE SILENT TO A WRONG THEY KNOW TO EXIST ARE PARTIES TO THE WRONG.

The Custody and Guardianship of Children.

MRS. NORTON'S infant children were taken from her under circumstances which could be repeated to-day, the blameless wife having power to reclaim them only by petition. The natural right of the mother to the care and guardianship of her infant children is not acknowledged by the law. . . . .

As it now stands, the English law defining the mother's rights in regard to the care of children, is, as Mrs. Norton said, far from justice. The Matrimonial Causes Act, 1878, empowers a Court or Magistrate to give the legal custody of her children, *if they are under ten years of age*, to a wife who has obtained an order for judicial separation by reason of her husband's conviction for an aggravated assault upon herself; and by the Custody of Infants' Act, 1873, it is provided that in any deed of separation between the father and mother of an infant or infants, the father may by such deed give up the custody of such infant or infants to the mother. But no Court is to enforce any such agreement unless satisfied that compulsion will be for the benefit of the child or children. . . . . In case of separation or divorce, a blameless, virtuous woman, the only proper and efficient guardian of the children of a vicious and profligate father, is mocked by processes of law which, being complied with, may enable her to obtain possession of her children, to the age of sixteen. To get even this measure of justice she must exhibit the fact that it is not hers by law; she must petition a Judge of the Chancery Division, who

"*may*" thereupon order that her claim, founded on natural right, upon most obvious equity, and fraught with nothing but the clearest benefit to the infant children, shall be acknowledged. When this claim is *again urged in Parliament*, the following appeal by Mrs. Norton will surely be remembered:—

Ah! how often in the course of this Session—in the course of this year—will the same men who read this appeal with a strong adverse prejudice, be roused by some thought in a favourite author; struck by some noble anecdote; touched by some beautiful pageant of human feeling, seen among glittering lights from a side box, chanted, perhaps, in a foreign tongue! And yet I have an advantage over these—for *my* history is *real*. I know there is no poetry in it to attract you. . . . There was none of the "pomp and circumstance" of those woes that affect you, when some faultless and impossible heroine makes you dream of righting all the wrongs in the world! But faulty as I may be—and prosaic and unsympathised with as my position might then be—it was UNJUST, and unjust *because your laws prevent justice*. Let that thought haunt you, through the music of your Sonnambulas and Desdemonas, and be with you in your readings of histories and romances, and your criticisms on the jurisprudence of countries *less free than our own*. I *really* wept and suffered in my early youth—for wrong done not *by* me, but *to* me, and the ghost of whose scandal is raised against me this day. I *really* suffered the extremity of earthly shame without deserving it (whatever chastisement my other faults may have deserved from Heaven). I *really* lost my young children—craved for them, struggled for them, was barred from them—and came too late to see one who had died a painful and convulsive death, except in his coffin. I *really* have gone through much that, if it were invented, would move you; but being of your every-day world, you are willing it should sweep past like a heap of dead leaves on the stream of time, and take its place with other things that have gone drifting down—

"Où va la feuille de Rose
Et la feuille du Laurier!"

—From "The Hon. Mrs. Norton and Married Women," by Arthur Arnold.

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For the Southern Journal.

THEY SHOULD VOTE.

J. M. BAKER, TYRONE, KY.

They're good enough to court and wed,
And give us many joys, sir,
To make our clothes and bake our bread,
And educate our boys, sir;
But could they vote, they'd keep out Ben,
Who seeks the office twice, sir;
And asks you now to vote again
For him and Ried, his vice, sir.

They're good enough to rear our sons,
And teach them how to quote, sir,
The "Equal rights to every one;"
Then; why should they not vote, sir?
But could they vote they'd keep out Cleve.,
The idol of the nation,
And bring the old Kentucky Steve
Down from his lofty station.

They'r good enough to sing and talk
Of him who reigns on high, sir,
Then why not let them forward walk,
And vote as you and I, sir?
But could they vote, they'd keep out Weave.,
And, thus break up the party,
Which he and Field, it seems, believe
To be so hale and hearty.

They're good enough to do all work
That we have ever asked them;
They know not what it is to shirk,
Though men may over task them.
But could they vote, they'd put in Bid.,
Who'd fix the TRADE and TAX, sir;
Who, by their help, this land would rid
Of liquor's manufacture.

And now, opposer, don,t you think
It is a pretty note, sir,
Because the ladies do not drink,
To say they should not vote, sir?
But could they vote, as you can see,
(And know it would be right, sir,)
They'd rob you of your precious tea,
Then you could not get tight, sir.

But blessed thought, twill not be long,
Perhaps the time is fixed, sir;
Who hope to sing the victor's song
In eighteen ninety-six, sir.
Then all of them, both young and old,
Amidst vain man's derision,
Will bravely walk up to the polls
And vote for PROHIBITION.

(Note Mrs. Catt's Statement on reverse side)

LIFE AND LABOR

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The National Women's Trade Union
League of America

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Mrs. Catt's Message to Suffragists

"Every woman who aspires to intelligent citizenship should be informed upon the needs, purposes and power of women in the economic and industrial struggle of the modern world. To this end, every working suffragist should be a subscriber to LIFE AND LABOR, the only authoritative publication of the organized women workers of America."

(Signed) Carrie Chapman Catt.

LIFE AND LABOR, with its message from the working women, always carries with it the suffrage story. It gets a hearing from thousands of working men and women where the suffrage message alone rarely reaches; LIFE AND LABOR also reaches across the continent, into South America, England, Europe, Siberia, China and India.

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FLORENCE ELLINWOOD ALLEN

M.A., LL.B.

announces that she has prepared

FIVE LECTURES ON

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

I. The Right to Protest. A history of the Early Woman Movement, beginning with Aristophanes.

II. The Right to Think. A history of the struggle of women for the right to be educated.

III. The Right to Work. An account of woman's entry into the professional field.

IV. The Right to Vote.

V. The Right to Co-operate. A discussion of the work of organized women in the community.

For terms and dates address

HARRIET TAYLOR UPSON, Warren, Ohio

or

FLORENCE E. ALLEN

547 Engineers Building, Cleveland

Woman's Right to Vote.

In the first place, we propose to look after the legal and lawful voter of this government. We will bring him from the Mississippi swamps. "Old Cotton-Eyed Joe." Here he comes with his long heels, kidney foot and winding ham to the polls to vote. (Always some sharper at such a place to catch such ignorant voters). He is there,—"Hello Uncle Joe."

"Who are you going to vote for?"

"I'se gwine to vote for Mr. Lincoln, case he is the man what set us black folks free."

"Oh, now, Mr. Lincoln has been dead quite a number of years."

"Why I didn't know dat. Well I'se going to vote anyhow."

Mr. Sharper fills out his ticket, of course, as it suits himself, and he votes. That vote is given, and he does not know for whom, or for what purpose, but he votes, and feels good over it. That vote counts for as much as any man's vote in the government.

Notwithstanding that old negro knows nothing—and not one-half of nothing—his vote is considered all right, notwithstanding his display of ignorance.

Now we shall notice another extreme. Here comes an educated lady; a graduate of the highest schools of America, acquainted with the histories of other nations. She has studied the history of the rise and downfall of other kingdoms and provinces, and all things in connection with the same. With this fine sense and acquired ability, she proposes to vote. "Great Scott! you can't vote; you are a woman."

Now we propose to show some of woman's influence in her present condition. We will use some simple and appropriate illustrations to show some of the effects of her influence.

First, we will take Abilene, the county seat of Taylor county. Her merchants with full stocks of goods, are doing a flourishing business.

Now suppose a woman was not allowed to live within ten miles of Abilene, nor allowed to visit there for ten years. Can you imagine what Abilene would be in that time? We would say a lonesome place.

We propose to carry the illustrations a little further.

We will now take Fort Worth, with all of her boasted greatness. Now suppose that a woman was not allowed to live in, or in twenty miles of Fort Worth, and not allowed to visit there for twenty years. Can you imagine what Fort Worth would be in that time? We would say a vast and howling wilderness.

We think that "old panther" could then return and make his bed again in the streets of the city without the fear of molestation.

Give all free born white women an equal right to vote, and you will see such a reformation take place in America!

There would be no blackguards nominated for important county office; then the intelligent candidate would seek the women in place of the low down slinks and slums of saloons and gambling hells for his success to office. Let her vote and be elligible to office. Elect her mayor of your cities, as is done in many places now. Then your cities would be reformed, and if any woman was found guilty of some small offense, she would not be placed on the rock pile in the blazing hot sun.

Give her a chance, as the old democrat party says, and if she has to be punished for some small offense, I do not think she would be placed on the rock. I would sooner think she would be furnished some beautiful room, well furnished with every necessary convenience—a good bed to sleep on, a good supper, breakfast and dinner, as good as the country affords; a piano or organ, so she can engage her time.

It would be cheaper for a city to furnish an instructor in music than to guard the rock pile.

At the close of 30 days that woman would come out of such a prison a reformed woman, and would be willing to place one hand on her heart in token of truth and love, and the other on the Holy Bible in token of purity and fidelity, and say she will never be guilty of such a crime again.

You can't reform men or women by punishing them. You can compel them to submit to the mandates of law, but that is all. Love and reform are not known there. Give her a chance to vote and your towns and cities will soon be reformed, and never until then.

This reformation would not stop in your towns and cities, but would reach your legislation halls and the halls of congress, where it is so much needed.

We have now given some illustrations of woman's influence while in her present condition, but if she were allowed to vote, we would fail to comprehend what that influeuce would be in this government.

Now we propose to notice some of the objections to woman's rights to vote. Here is one fellow who says woman does not want to vote. That is all right. Give her a chance, and then if she does not wish to vote, that is all right.

The negro never thought as much about voting as he did about a water melon patch or the hen roost until the law gave him the right to vote. Now see how prompt he is to go to the polls on all election days and vote.

The other fellow says there is so much danger of women being insulted at the polls of an election when there are so many "rogues" at such a place.

These fellows ought to know that all elections have a number of sworn officers to guard and keep the peace; and if they fail, they have a right to call on the police for their assistance.

Yes, you let your wives and sisters, mothers and daughters go to town shopping, and they walk the streets and sidewalks, meeting at all times, all kinds of strange men; pass by the doors of the saloons where men are talking and drinking etc. Yet that is not so dangerous a place as the polls on election day. We pity all such men for such absurd ideas that it would be dangerous for women to go to the polls on election day to vote.

However, there are some men yet living that think a woman should have no further liberty than to split stove wood, make fires, cook his grub, and wash his dirty clothes. Such men yet live amongst us and are opposed to woman's right to vote. Such men, politically, are willing to place all free born white women on a level with the criminal convict and lunatic below that old ignorant negro, Cotton-Eyed Joe. Such politics are too absurd for American people.

Now if you ask me where woman came from, I have the authority to say she was not taken from the head of man that she should rule over him, neither was she taken from his foot, that she should be trampled under foot, but she was taken from his side, that she might stand equal with him in all things.

Who was woman? We have divine authority to say she was the mother of our God and last found lingering around the cross that bore the suffering so of God, and the first to preach the resurrection of Christ, Our Savior.

Now we know that the ignorant influence between those extremes as a love set forth are enough to constitute the balance of power in election, and which of the old parties gets this ignorant vote, is pretty sure of his election, as both old parties stoop very low to get that vote.

Let the free born white woman vote, and that ignorant influence will soon be a thing of the past, for the intelligent candidate will then seek the influence of woman instead of that low down, ignorant vote.

This little statement as gotten up, states certain facts that we wish all good people to decide without criticism.

Now the writer of the above is quite an old man, nearly 83 years old, and the critic cannot say he is advocating woman's rights for political purposes. That idea is absurd, for he has been an advocate of woman's right to vote for a number of years.

H. C. Childress,
Merkel, Taylor Co., Tex.

Motto: "Standing; having done all, stand."

KENTUCKY.

BY KATHARINE LENTE STEVENSON.

(Air:—Old Kentucky Home.)

The glad light dawns on our old Kentucky Home,
Our hearts hail with joy its pure ray;
The ribbon white is swift scattering the gloom,
And the morn of triumph's on the way.

CHORUS—Raise the song of victory,
Oh, shout for joy to-day;
God's kingdom shall come
To our old Kentucky Home,
Our dear Kentucky Home for aye.

God's love shall reign in our old Kentucky Home,
The sad rule of ruin must cease;
The day of justice for man will surely come,
And our fair state shall shine with His peace.--CHO.

CAMPAIGN & ORGANIZATION	Shaw, Upton and Clay.
CONVENTIONS & PROGRAMS	Shaw, Gordon and Kelley.
NATIONAL LEGISLATION	Kelley, Gordon and Jeffreys.
PROGRESS & PRESS	Upton, Shaw and Blackwell.
LITERATURE	Blackwell, Clay and Jeffreys.
FINANCE	Upton, Shaw and Clay.
MISCELLANY	Shaw, Gordon and Upton.

Democratic State Platform:Woman Suffrage.

Believing, as we do, in the justice of extending to women the right of suffrage on equal terms with men, we favor the ratification by the Legislature of Kentucky, at its next session, of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending to women this right of suffrage, and we urge our representatives in the Legislature of Kentucky and all executive or other officers to use their votes and influence in every legitimate way to bring about theratification of same.

We pledge our party to support in the next General Assembly, if the Federal Amendment has not become operative by that time, the submission to the people of an amendment to the State Constitution granting suffrage to women on the same terms as to men, and, when the amendment is submitted, to support it at the polls as a party principle.

THE SPHERE OF WOMAN'S INFLUENCE

In a recent editorial the Louisville Courier Journal advocates the appointment of women factory inspectors and say that "the enlargement of the sphere of a woman's influence would undoubtedly tend to the correction of certain evils in schools, hospitals, insane asylums and other eleemosynary institutions." This is an important admission from so conservative a paper, and shows the drift of public sentiment in the South. The Lexington Herald goes still farther and declares for woman suffrage.

Two women, at least, are in public office in Texas, both having been put there by men's votes. Miss Zena Dalrymple was elected county and district clerk for Uvalde County, and Mrs. Mary C. Cope for Fannin County.

SUFFRAGETTES RELEASED

Undoubtedly public sentiment and especially the stand taken by such persons as George Meredith, Bernard Shaw, Mrs. Despard, the philanthropist, and Elizabeth Robins, celebrated equally as author and actress, are responsible for the release from jail of the English suffragettes.

WERE THEIR VOTES COUNTED?

Women were permitted to vote at Glen Ridge, N.J. the other day, the proposition being to retain the post office at that fashionable suburb, or to have mail delivery from the Bloomfield office. 369 men and 360 women voted - another instance of women voting when they had a chance. A separate ballot box was provided for the women's vote.

THE WIDE WORLD AND WOMEN

:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:

The Vermont Senate voted down the municipal woman suffrage bill, 17 to 12.

Nora Stanton Blatch, grand-daughter of the pioneer woman suffragist, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, has been appointed on New York City's staff of civil engineers. The girl is well equipped for her work and got the appointment solely on merit, having no political pull whatsoever.

Baroness Alexandria Grippenberg of Finland in commenting on the political enfranchisement of the women of her country is reported as saying, "The gratitude that we, the women of Finland feel, carries with ti a regret that we are less worthy than the women of England and America who are so much better qualified and have struggled so much longer, and with so much more energy, ability and perseverance than we."

Looking at the walls of her cell in the London jail Mrs. Montefiore read such inscriptions as these - mementoes of former occupants - "Keep away from drink, or you'll come back here again;" "Fannie Lee, six months for stabbing;" and she left a record of her visit in the enamel of the bricks -"Dora Montefiore, two months for asking for votes for women."

FAREWELL MESSAGE OF MARY S. ANTHONY

A few days before her death Mary S. Anthony, sister of Susan B. Anthony, dictated to Rev. Anna H. Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, a message to be read to the Convention of that body about to be held in Chicago. Miss Shaw gave the message at a great Sunday afternoon meeting in Studebaker Theatre. A part of it follows:-

"The wrong which todayoutranks all others is the disfranchisement of the mothers of the race. So long as this injustice toward woman is perpetrated, just so long will men fail to recognize justice in its application to each other. The great evil is not so much that one sex or one race is deprived of its natural right to a voice in its own government, but that the denying of equal opportunities to any leads to the failure to recognize them at any time whenever the interests of the dominant power seem to demand their abrogation.

From the time I was able to reason at all, I have felt thoroughly convinced that by far the greater share of the evils existing between men and women resulted from the legal subordination of women from the beginning of time to the present day.

I feel thoroughly satisfied that this one question sinks all else into the background; that until we can establish equality between men and women we shall never realize the full development of which manhood and womanhood are capable.

Because I believe this so thoroughly I have given the best of myself and the best work of my life to help to secure political freedom for women, knowing that upon this rests the hope of not only the freedom of men, but of the civilization of the world.

I therefore urge upon the delegates and members of the National Association not to lose courage, no matter what befalls us, but to work on in hope and faith, knowing full well that the time of the coming of woman's political freedom depends largely upon the zeal and the patient service of those who believe in its justice."

"The workers pass on, but the work remains and demands the loyal service of us all."

machinists, a lather and a glassworker represented the industrial workers of the State in the House. The agricultural interests were represented by one Senator and seventeen Representatives, a few of whom lived on farms, while some of them farmed in county-seats, one in the city of Youngstown and another was employed as a bank cashier. At the same time that the above mentioned wealth producers of the State had only twenty-three nominal representatives, there were in the legislature FORTY-FIVE LAWYERS, one minister, three editors, six teachers and SEVENTY-THREE BUSINESS MEN. One hundred and eighteen of the one hundred and fifty-one legislators represented "special privilege" and "big business interests." Then we wonder that our schools receive almost no attention from the law-makers, save the fatherly financial interest manifested by the American Book Concern; why bills for the welfare of women and children are killed in committee by patent medicine manufacturers and large employers of labor; why our municipal government is a byword and law enforcement a farce; why moral integrity has gone out of fashion and Adams county's clean-up could be duplicated in other places in the state if we had more than one Judge Blair; why the liquor traffic, tuberculosis and venereal diseases are claiming their thousands of victims annually, decreasing the vitality and consequent industrial value of thousands who survive the poisoning and endangering the health of all the people. It is said upon good authority that sixty per cent. of the women who undergo operative treatment are innocent victims of contagious poisoning. Deliberately facing these facts can anyone maintain that the interests of women, the mothers and wage-earning women, are adequately represented at the ballot box by men.

The women of the Buckeye State are pleading with cold hard facts, with logic and pathos for "Votes for Women," with which to protect their own; pleading that the cry of the children may be heard above the clinking of the brewer's coin; pleading that the health of the people, their moral integrity and the future of our Commonwealth shall have greater weight with the members of the Constitutional Convention than the unjust demands of "special privilege," and that long delayed justice may come to each and all; that universal well-being may be the law of the land in a State which righteousness exalteth and whose God is indeed the Lord.

Franchise Department

OHIO W. C. T. U.

GENEVIEVE BLAIR SACKETT

SUPERINTENDENT

AMHERST - - - - - - - OHIO

Shall Ohio's Constitution Give Women the Ballot.

(Excerpts from Speech at Mid-Year Meeting.)

We are met to take counsel together, to get one another's views with regard to extending the scope, power and effectiveness of our organization for the betterment of humanity. We come for inspiration, incentive to greater achievement, for sympathy, friendship; but most of all for sober deliberate conference on the great question and problems affecting human welfare. Do we fully realize that all of these problems are directly dealt with at the ballot-box; that the ballot affects everything in one's life even one's religion.

Shall Ohio's new constitution deal justly with the more than a million women in the State; women homemakers, educators, toilers, philanthropists, manufacturers, the motherhood and industrial womanhood of Ohio. We have had three Constitutional Conventions, each marking a distinct advance in the powers and functions of the State. The question of vital import to every woman in Ohio to-day her right to express a citizen's opinion at the ballot-box—will be decided by what the members of the Constitutional Convention believe to be the functions of the State at the present time. If the men who with much deliberation and debate draft the new constitution, think that war; the raising and disciplining of armies; the building of penal institutions and elaborating our present system of police courts; the control of the legislature by representatives of corporate interests and special privilege are the functions of State, then women will still be kept under the protecting guardianship of "bosses" who are the product of the political iniquity of past decades, the easily manipulated foreign vote, and the wise and just rule of voters of Adams county and their colleagues and collabora-

tors all over the State. But should the delegates in convention assembled decide that justice, education, philanthropy, science, art, the promoting of our industrial and commercial interests, the maintenance of the health of the people, our moral integrity and race regeneration are functions of the State, then the new Constitution will give women the ballot.

We have long held the wrong theory of government, believing in the dominance of the few, the divine right of "Big Business" to control legislation. We spend millions for commercial purposes and almost nothing for manual training, technical schools for the children of the poor, less for playgrounds and gymnasiums, and then wonder that we have to fight the trusts, tuberculosis and the tramp problem. WHATSOEVER A STATE SOWETH, THAT SHALL IT ALSO REAP. We have sown business ideals, the dominant dollar, and we are reaping unfair taxation, the special privilege of the liquor traffic, and various other special privileges which reveal the graft and greed of the big business interests. Get this theory of government out of the public mind and conscience as speedily as possible and teach in its stead, the democratic form of government, which is in the last analysis, the reasonable personal service of each for the good of all. When the people become imbued with this new idea of government, that of service, women will be taken into political partnership, for no one has ever objected to women being servants.

We expect the Constitutional Convention to give women the ballot. We are going to be optimistic, cheerful, courageous and resolute; smile when we are rebuffed; keep sweet, serene and sensible through all the intervening months of the campaign. At the same time we will deal with facts, for we are taking our case to the court of last appeal. Public opinion is the judge before whom the evidence must be presented. Then tell the people the truth. Avoid gossip and slander as you would a nest of serpents, but do not hesitate to tell unpleasant facts; this is your patriotic duty.

The chief opponent to giving women the ballot is the liquor business, now seeking to control our legislature. Too long have the voters been bluffed and deceived by the exaggerated statements of the liquor men with regard to the commercial and industrial importance of their business. Compared with other manufacturing and wealth producing industries, the manufacturing of the liquor is a small and insignificant business in Ohio. Iron and Steel manufacturers have a capital of one hundred and thirty million, employ thirty-three thousand wage-earners, the cost of their raw material is one hundred and ten million, and the value of their annual output is one hundred and fifty-two million dollars. Foundry and Machine shops have an invested capital of one hundred and eight million, employ forty-nine thousand wage-earners; cost of their raw material is thirty-nine million, and their annual output is ninety-four million. The liquor manufacturers have a capital invested of forty-one million, employ only four thousand wage-earners; the cost of their raw material is ten million, and the value of their annual output is thirty-eight million. Carriage and Wagon makers have a capital invested of twenty-six million, employ twenty-eight thousand wage-earners; cost of their material is twenty-three million, and the value of their annual out-put is forty-five million. What would be said if the Carriage-makers, Foundry-men and Steel workers went to the legislature for a law granting them the special privilege of destroying financially, physically and morally thousands of the boys and girls of the state. Yet their business has a combined annual output of two hundred and nine-one million dollars to the liquor manufacturers thirty-eight million output, and the former employ one hundred and ten thousand workmen to the liquor manufacturers four thousand wage-earners.

The entire output of the manufacturing industries of Ohio for the year 1905, before county option had decreased the demand for liquors in 62 counties, was $960,811,857, of which the liquor manufacturers contribuated only $38,392,367. The farmers have more than a billion dollars invested in farm property, and the value of the farm crops, their annual output, exclusive of live stock, was one hundred and ninety-eight millions (in 1908) and the farmers representing about one-fourth of the total wealth of the State, have never sought to control the legislature. They do ask, however, that women shall be given the ballot.

We have more than a million men in Ohio who are wage-earners, more than a quarter of a million women are wage-earners, while 12 per cent. of the children also are wage-earners and in the last session of the legislature (1910) only five of the one hundred and fifty-one legislators were wage-earners, representing this large and important constituency of laboring men and women. Labor had no voice in the Senate last year. A carpenter, two



HALF A CITIZEN

WOMAN = CITIZEN 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

"2. That the saloon should not be used for gambling purposes.

"3. That the saloon should not be open to minors, and that the sale of intoxicants to children should be proscribed."

The National American Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York, will send a sample set of Political Equality leaflets for 10c. in stamps. Leaflets in quantity, 15c. per 100.

Subscribe for "Progress," the National Suffrage monthly paper, published at 25c. a year, at Headquarters. We need your name. You need our news.

Subscriptions also taken for **"Jus Suffragii,"** the International Suffrage monthly, $1.00 a year, and for the **"Woman's Journal,"** published weekly, at $1.50 a year, at 6 Beacon Street, Boston, by Alice Stone Blackwell.

All interested in the cause of equal rights are **urged to contribute** towards carrying on the work. Checks or money orders may be made payable to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY 89

Loved for Its Enemies

A secret circular was sent out by the Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Oregon to every retail liquor seller in the State, when the woman suffrage amendment was pending. Some copies of it fell into the hands of friends of equal rights and it was published in the Portland Oregonian of June 1, 1906, in the Portland Evening Telegram of the same date, and in many other papers. Its authenticity has never been denied. It read in part as follows:

"It will take 50,000 votes to defeat woman suffrage. There are 2,000 retailers in Oregon.

"That means that every retailer must himself bring in 25 votes election day.

"Every retailer can get 25 votes. Besides his employees, he has his grocer, his butcher, his landlord, his laundryman, and every per-

son he does business with. If every man in the business will do this, we will win.

"We enclose 25 ballot tickets showing how to vote.

"We also enclose a postal card addressed to this Association. If you will personally take 25 friendly voters to the polls on election day and give each one a ticket showing how to vote, please mail the postal card back to us at once. You need not sign the card. Every card has a number, and we will know who sent it in.

"Let us all pull together and let us all work. Let us each get 25 votes.

"Yours very respectfully,

"BREWERS & WHOLESALE LIQUOR DEALERS' ASS'N."

The postal card enclosed for reply was addressed:

"Brewers' & Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association,
"413-414 McKay Building,
"Portland, Oregon."

The reverse side of the card bore this reply:

"Dear Sirs:

"I will attend to it.

".....25 times.

"o o o o"

Instead of a signature a number was appended.

The close affiliation between the saloon and the social evil is notorious. It was acknowledged by President Julius Liedman of the United Brewers' Association in his address at its annual convention held in Milwaukee, June 9 and 10, 1908.

In the report of that address published in the Brewers' Journal of New York, July 1, 1908, on page 396, President Liedman is quoted as saying:

"The abuse of the saloon is marked by disorderly and disreputable practices, which are not incidental to the business. We agree with all decent men upon these points:

"1. That the saloon should not be used to foster the social evil, and should be utterly divorced from it.

Issued by the Woman's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee, Mrs. George Bass, Chairman, Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.



WHY VOTE?

By Ellis Meredith

Why should women vote? Many of them did not ask for the vote. Some of them did not want it. A few were violently opposed to voting. Many men sincerely believed that women did not want to vote and would not do so if they had the chance. Some men never did and do not now want women to vote. A few have used every means in their power to delay the passage of suffrage legislation. The fact remains that the enfranchisement of the women of the United States is practically accomplished.

Why should women vote? Because they are better than men? Or wiser? Or more patriotic? Nobody claims any such superiority for them, they themselves least of all, and when they have been told with ungallant frankness that they do not know enough to vote, instead of asking whether any specific knowledge is required of the boy of twenty-one, or the just naturalized foreigner or our many illiterates, women have answered with all humility admitting their ignorance and asking to be taught.

Why should women vote? Let us change the question. Why should women love their country? There are a hundred answers and ten times as many reasons. How does one prove her love? By service; by loyalty; by bearing its burdens. We are given no choice in the matter of taxation. We pay our share—or we commit perjury. When it comes to bearing arms women are excused—their part is to bear the bearers of arms. At the present time the enlistment signs appeal cunningly to boyish pride by asserting that "Only One in Four" is able to pass the examination that entitles him to wear a uniform. Every woman who

reads that sign sees three good reasons why she should vote. Raising men is her specific job. If she is only twenty-five per cent efficient it is high time she learned why, and set about removing the contributory causes of this physical and mental disability of her sons. A mighty change can and will be wrought in the next generation.

Let us change the question again. Why should anybody vote? Because this is the very least we can do for our land. This is a voluntary service. We celebrate our national birthday on the Fourth of July, but we signalize our own coming of age on election day when we give ourselves, our hopes, our desires, and drop into the ballot box the expression of all we most wish for our country.

It is a shameful fact that each election day has its army of "slackers." Many elections have been decided by those who stayed home. There have been national elections which would have been changed by one vote in each of our ninety thousand precincts. Many local elections are won or lost by a mere handful of votes. There are three members of the Sixty-sixth Congress who were elected by less than a hundred votes, and quite a number who had less than five hundred majority. There can be no substitutes on election day. Either you do your duty yourself, or it remains forever undone, for election days have no "tomorrow."

What do elections decide? Not merely who shall be President or United States Senator, or governor, or mayor; not merely whether we shall have peace or war; great armies and fleets of battleships; high or low tariff and all those weightier matters of the law which seem very far away from the average citizen. They decide the whole general trend of Government, and whether its benefits shall be for the many or the few.

What do we mean by that? Perhaps a few illustrations will be the best answer.

If there is anything about which Congress has been well posted it is the troubles and difficulties that beset the farmer. We have had a Department of Agriculture for long years and it has not failed to inform each Congress of the needs of the farmer. Yet we waited until the Sixty-fourth Congress for the passage of the Federal Farm Loan Act to relieve the farmers of the nation who for years prior thereto were carrying a debt of over six billions of dollars.

Congress knew all about the need for good roads. In fact, the Good Roads Act passed unanimously, and the only reason the Democrats claim it, is that with all the opportunity in the world the Republicans failed to pass it. For twenty years the women of the nation had been trying to get some kind of protection for children who labor. Woodrow Wilson pushed the Child Labor Law through the Sixty-fourth Congress, and when it was held unconstitutional, incorporated its provisions in the Revenue Act passed in the closing days of the Sixty-fifth Congress. These laws are typical of the legislation which has characterized the present Administration. If we believe in extending the benefits of Government to those who bear its burdens, the toiling masses, farmers and ranchmen, women and children, we shall want to vote for a party which is committed to a program for the welfare of mankind.

Why should women vote? Because it is a right and a privilege and the crowning evidence of full citizenship, but it is something more. It is the most sacred duty of every American citizen.

be used for any other purpose whatsoever. The Treasurer shall pay bills only on the orders signed by the President and Recording Secretary.

Sec. 6. Auditor.—It shall be the duty of the Auditor to examine and verify the books of the Treasurer, and to report thereon at each annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.

MEETINGS.

Section 1. The regular meetings of the Association shall be held every..... and..three.....members shall constitute a quorum. Public meetings shall be held as often as the interest of the work demands, and, if practicable, mass meetings quarterly.

Sec. 2. During the month of..... the annual meeting shall be held. Before this meeting the Treasurer shall have collected all membership dues unpaid, and closed her books for the fiscal year, and shall offer her report to the Association. The report must be passed upon by the Auditor before approval. The Corresponding Secretary shall offer her report of the year's work, and after its approval, may forward it to the State Corresponding Secretary. The election of officers shall then take place.

ARTICLE VII.

AMENDMENTS.*

This constitution may be amended at a regular meeting of the Association by a two-thirds vote of the members present, notice having been given at the previous regular meeting.

*By-Laws may be added at the discretion of members.

CONSTITUTION

OF

LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

AUXILIARY TO

National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

This Association shall be known as the* ..... auxiliary to the county of..... and to the State of†..... and through that Association auxiliary to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECT.

Its object shall be to advance the industrial, legal and educational rights of women, and to secure suffrage to them by appropriate State and National legislation.

*The local name may be chosen by the members. Many names are in use from which an acceptable one can easily be selected: Woman Suffrage Association, Equal Suffrage Association, Equal Rights Association, Political Equality Leagues, Civic Clubs, Good Government Leagues, Citizens' Clubs, Political Study Clubs.

†The State name in all existing Societies is Woman Suffrage Association, Equal Rights Association, or Equal Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE III.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any person may become a member of this Association by signing the Constitution and paying the sum of.....annually into the Treasury, of which thirty-five cents shall go to the County.....or if there is no County oganization to the State ..... This must be paid before the annual meeting in ..... No distinction on account of sex shall be made in membership or eligibility to office in the Association.

ARTICLE IV.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The officers of the Association shall be a President, a Vice-President,* Corresponding Secretary,† Recording Secretary, a Treasurer and Auditor. These general officers shall constitute an Executive Committee, and shall be elected annually in.....

ARTICLE V.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. President.—The President shall preside at all regular and called meetings, and have a general oversight of the Association, and, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, to plan for its best interests and the good of the cause; to call special meetings when deemed advisable, due notice having been given.

*Honary Vice-Presidents may be added in any number desired; or it is sometimes helpful to connect the names of prominent people with the work of the club in this manner.

†The offices of Corresponding and Recording Secretary may be combined when desired.

Sec. 2. Vice-President. — The Vice-President shall preside at all meetings in the absence of the President and perform all duties of the President in case of absence of that officer; she shall also assist in arranging and carrying out plans for the benefit of the Association.

Sec. 3. Corresponding Secretary.—The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Association; she shall report the local club work to the Corresponding Secretary of the State Association, and prepare the report to be read at the County Convention, having first submitted her report to the local club, giving such facts and items of general interest as will enable the State Secretary to judge correctly of the condition of the club and the amount of work accomplished during the year.

Sec. 4. Recording Secretary.—The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the meetings of the Association, notify the public of its meetings, notify committees of their appointment and of the business referred to them; take charge of all papers and documents of the Association, and make reports annually or quarterly as required by the Association.

Sec. 5. Treasurer.—The Treasurer shall keep an exact book account of all receipts and expenditures. Thirty-five cents from the dues of each member must be entered at the time of its payment in a separate account under the head of County Dues.* The amount in this fund must be forwarded quarterly to the Treasurer of the County Association, and must not

*In the event there is no county organization, this head should be State Dues, and the amount forwarded to State Association.

I am pleased to be able to send you an announcement of Mrs. Wentworth's new play, "VOTES FOR WOMEN," by Elizabeth Robins. Mrs. Wentworth is an artist in her line and this play as given in the London theatres was enthusiastically received. If your Club is not sufficiently strong or conditioned to engage Mrs. Wentworth, please pass the prospectus on to some other organization. This play well read can not fail to do our cause much good.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL MILWAUKEE 84

A CALL



"It comes like a voice full of despair, and yet dominated by hope"

THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY
116 South Michigan Avenue
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AT the present time the world is like an untended field in winter. The Plough of Good-will has not broken the heavy clay, the seeds of mutual understanding and sympathy have not been sown. Wasted and neglected it lies beneath a pall, and the germs of sweetness and joy which once thrived there seem to be quite killed. And yet we can't help feeling that this death-like rigidity is only a cataleptic trance. Do we not already feel a faint fluttering of the heart of Europe? The Russian prisoner of war, feeling at home in the capacious farm house where he helps in the harvesting, who offers his hand to the son of the house just back from the trenches, "Well, comrade, dost thou bring news of Peace?"; the little French girl who sends a friendly letter to the little daughter of the German soldier whom she cannot regard as an enemy, and whose kindly ways have won her heart; the German militiaman who shares his loaf with the exhausted foe he has just overthrown; these are pale shoots of imperishable humanity which pierce through the freezing snows. To bind these delicate blossoms into a garland, the perfume of which shall overcome the evil odor of hate, this is woman's calling.

Before undertaking this high task, the women of the world should solemnly pledge themselves to refrain from censure and reproaches, and to support each other under the burden of their common grief — women of every nationality, of every creed, of every station in life, the broken-hearted, the desolate, those who face with dread the coming blow, and those happy ones whose nearest, and dearest, are spared the murderous struggle.

Closely akin to Nature, and like Nature, mothers, they are called to melt the icy crust of Hate with the warm glow of their compassion; the waves of their passionate desire for reconciliation must flood the blood-drenched land. Their aims will be condemned as fantastic and unrealizable, but they will oppose hardness with charity, the inexhaustible fountain of their tenderness shall quench the artificially fanned flames of Hate. Impotent as they are to control men's deeds, they must be steadfast, selfless. With every atom of Hate transmuted into Love, can they not bring the ardently desired peace the fraction of a second nearer that moment when the sinister spell of a cruel war will yield to the radiant spirit of "Peace on Earth, Good-will towards Men"?

Mary H. Halliday

tween a labor or farmers' organization and a combination in restraint of a trade; that there was a difference between these organizations and a monopoly of the resources of human life, and that there was a difference between an organization for a lawful, natural purpose and an organization for an unlawful and a criminal purpose.

The workers of this country vote for those who vote for them. Gratitude will guide their footsteps to the ballot box in November, and Wilson and Marshall will receive their support.

JOSEPH S. MYERS,
Member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

Approved by the following union men:
P. C. Caylor, Fort Worth, Texas.
C. M. Rodgers, Cleburne, Texas.
M. F. Barnett, Fort Worth, Texas.
J. M. Haworth, St. Paul, Minn.
August W. Icks, Green Bay, Wis.
H. M. Sweezey, Kansas City, Mo.
James G. Edgworth, Denver, Col.
J. A. Van, Cumberland, Md.
G. H. Steele, Clinton, Ia.
J. B. Jenks, Denver, Col.
Thos. H. Dugan, Denver, Col.
E. E. McGuire, Springfield, Mo.
W. W. Wolcott. Seattle, Wash.
R. M. Walker, El Paso, Texas.

IF

there had been

NO

Woodrow Wilson

PRESIDENT

there would have been

NO--

William B. Wilson, ex-coal miner, Secretary of Labor.

Louis D. Brandeis on the Supreme Court Bench. Republicans, headed by former President Taft, bitterly apposed his appointment.

Fearless and thorough investigation of existing industrial conditions as made by Frank P. Walsh, John B. Lennon, James A'Connell and Austin B. Garretson, of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

Federal Child Labor Law prohibiting the exploitation of children.

Compensation Law providing for the payment of wages of any employee of the Government while incapacitated on account of injures received.

Declaration in favor of the eight-hour law by the President of the United States. "I have recommended the * * eight-hour day because I believe the concession right. The eight-hour day now undoubtedly has the sanction of the judgment of society in its favor and should be adopted as a basis for wages even where the actual work to be done cannot be completed within eight hours." — Woodrow Wilson.

Seaman's Law removing the last vestige of involuntary servitude in the laws of the United States. No longer can seamen be prosecuted for daring to exercise their inherent right to quit unbearable employment.

Labor sections of the Clayton Antitrust Law, which declares that no longer shall the LABOR POWER OF A HUMAN BEING BE CLASSED AS A COMMODITY OR ARTICLE OF COMMERCE. Under the Republican Sherman Antitrust law the Supreme Court, Justice Hughes sitting as a member, in the Danbury Hatters' case, held otherwise. The Clayton law repealed the infamous Sherman act, and the workers of this country are now free.

Labor provisions in the antitrust section of the Sundry Civil Appropriation act. They provide that none of the funds appropriated by the measure for the purpose of prosecuting trusts—illegal combinations in restraint of trade—shall be used to prosecute labor unions, or cooperative farmers' organizations. The last Republican president vetoed similar provisions. Presumably Mr. Taft could not see that there was a difference be-

sia have been permitted to control their own property for some 200 years, there are many property-holding women even among the peasantry.

Canadian women have school and municipal suffrage in all the provinces. Ontario granted school suffrage in 1850 and municipal suffrage in 1884. New Brunswick granted municipal suffrage in 1886, Nova Scotia and Manitoba in 1887. In British Columbia and the North West Territories, it was extended in 1888, in Quebec in 1889.

In the United States women enjoy some form of suffrage in 26 States. They may vote upon equal terms with men in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, being eligible to all offices. They may sit in the Legislature; are eligible to seats in Congress, and may vote for the National President. In Kansas women have school, municipal and bond suffrage. The privilege of tax-paying women to vote upon the expenditure of tax money has been granted in Louisiana, Montana, Iowa and New York in the towns and villages. School suffrage for women exists in Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Massachusetts. Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York. North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin.

Minnesota elects a State board of library trustees, and permits women to vote for such officers.

It will be seen from this imposing list of suffrage privileges that woman suffrage is no longer an experiment, but a tested and established fact.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

The organized movement for woman suffrage began in 1848, when a Convention was called in Seneca Falls, New York, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and others. Here a series of resolutions were adopted favoring various rights of women, notably the freedom to enter colleges and universities; the right of equal work to receive equal pay; the right of women to the control of their own property, etc. Among others was the resolution favoring the right of women to vote. Mrs. John Stuart Mill reviewed the work of this Convention in an English periodical, and thus inaugurated the movement across the water. John Stuart Mill shortly afterwards introduced a suffrage bill in Parliament, and made a telling speech in its behalf. That is but little more than a half century ago; yet woman suffrage is today an established fact in many lands.

Australia easily heads the list as the most progressive leader of all the countries in this respect. Their women may now vote for all offices and in all elections upon exactly the same terms as men in local, State and National politics. The only exception to this rule is in the one province of Victoria, where women are not yet permitted to vote for members of their State Parliament. Victoria permits the curious inconsistency of denying to its women the right to vote for members of the State Parliament, although they may vote in all local and municipal affairs, in all National affairs, and are even

eligible to sit in the National Parliament. At the last session of the Victorian Parliament, a measure granting State Parliamentary suffrage to the women was passed by a large vote in the House of Commons. This is the ninth time a similar measure has passed this House. The Upper House, however, defeated the bill, as it had done the eight previous years. Tasmania is included in the Australian Federation, and its women possess all the political rights enjoyed by men. New Zealand is not a member of the Australian Federation; its women are endowed with all the political powers of men.

In England women enjoy the privilege of municipal and county suffrage, which is a great power. At first it was given only to single women and widows, but later it was extended to all women who paid the same rates as the men electors. The women of Scotland and Ireland possess this same privilege, while the women of the Isle of Man are endowed with exactly the same political rights as men. In Iceland, a prosperous dependent colony of Denmark, women have enjoyed the privilege of municipal suffrage for many years. In Norway and Sweden women have had some suffrage privileges for a very long time. Norway is the leader of all European countries in liberality concerning this movement. In 1901 it extended universal suffrage to men, removing the property qualification which had before restricted the suffrage, and at the same time it extended municipal suffrage to all women who pay taxes on a yearly income of $75 in the country districts, or $110 in the cities. A married woman, who owns property in common with her husband, he paying the taxes, is also entitled to municipal suffrage. Women have very generally voted under this new law and in the capital city of Christiania, six women have been elected members of the Common Council. In several other towns women have been elected to the Board of Aldermen. In one district a woman was elected chief assessor and Parliament has decided that women may be members of juries and grand juries. In Sweden women possess the same suffrage rights, but a much higher property qualification than that of Norway limits the number of voters.

France and Italy have a court called the "Tribunal of Commerce." A regularly educated and elected judge presides over it. A sort of jury composes the rest of the court, and this jury is equally composed of employers and employes in avenues of commerce. Before this court all questions concerning differences between employers and employes are arbitrated. Both men and women engaged in commerce, either as employers or employes, are equally privileged to vote for the members of this court.

In many of the provinces of Germany and Austria women of property have minor suffrage privileges, being permitted to appoint a proxy to cast their votes.

In Russia the only political privilege enjoyed by men is in minor local municipal government. Property is demanded as a qualification, and women property-holders are permitted equally with men to enjoy these political rights. Since the women of Rus-

Es wird öfters gesagt, daß, wenn die Frauen das Stimmrecht hätten, so würde das wohl die Stimmenzahl vermehren aber das schließliche Resultat würde dasselbe sein, denn jede Frau würde stimmen wie ihr Mann, Vater und Bruder. Es ist aber sehr wahrscheinlich, daß das gerade Gegenteil erzielt würde und mancher Mann, Vater, Sohn oder Bruder würde für die verständigen Ideen der Frau ein Ohr haben.

In Amerika erhalten die Mehrheit der Mädchen eine bessere Schulbildung als die Knaben — sie gehen länger zur Schule und nachdem sie die Schule verlassen haben finden wir, daß sie sich in der Regel mehr mit Büchern beschäftigen als die Knaben. Es sind Millionen von Frauen in unserem Lande im mittleren Alter, die sich für Lesekreise interessieren und sich denselben anschließen und es ist töricht zu glauben, daß diese Frauen nicht ebenso vermögend sind, über gewisse politische Verhältnisse zu urteilen als die Männer.

Daß nicht jede Frau ihre Stimme in der besten Weise gebrauchen würde und daß manche durch Redekunst und persönlichen Zauber der Kandidaten beeinflußt würde und daß durch das Frauenstimmrecht nicht sogleich das Millenium der Frauen herbei geführt würde ist zugestanden — aber die Mehrheit der Männer sind Demokraten oder Republikaner aus keinem anderen Grunde, als daß ihre Väter vor ihnen zu dieser Partei gehörten und es ist allgemein zugestanden, daß in der Regierung unseres Landes heute noch viel zu wünschen übrig bleibt — aber trotzdem würde doch Niemand behaupten, man solle aus diesem Grunde den Männern das Stimmrecht entziehen.

Freie Presse Printing Co., Aberdeen, S. D.

Dorothea Dix über den Stimmzettel der Frau.

Die Frauen sollten stimmen, denn:

Steuerverpflichtung ohne Vertretung ist Tyrannei, gleichviel ob der Steuerzahler Hosen oder einen Unterrock trägt, denn jede gerechte Regierung, beruht auf der Zustimmung seiner Bürger. Die Frauen bilden etwa die Hälfte der Einwohnerzahl unseres Landes und so lange sie keine Stimme haben in der Regierung sind sie Sklaven.

Es ist nicht gerecht, daß um des Geschlechts willen die eine Hälfte des Volkes die andere regieren soll. Es ist töricht zu sagen, die Frauen sind repräsentirt (vertreten) durch die Stimme des Mannes ihrer Familie. Kein Mann ist willig sein Stimmrecht zu opfern und ist zufrieden, daß sein Vater oder Bruder für ihn stimmen soll.

Die Frauen sollten stimmen, denn sie sind so grundverschieden von den Männern und haben ein anderes Strebeziel, verschiedene Bedürfnisse, verschiedene Ansichten und kommen auf verschiedenen Wegen zu ihrer Ueberzeugung. Frauentalente sind überall von besonderem Wert und dürften auch auf politischem Gebiete vorteilhafte Verwendung finden.—

Frauen sollten stimmen, denn jede politische Frage berührt mehr oder weniger die Heimat, für welche die Frau ein **besonderes** Interesse hat. Durch ökonomisches Haushalten der Frau gibt es Gelder, an denen sich die Fleischtrusts und Milchtrusts und noch andere Trusts bereichern. Wenn nun die Frau das Stimmrecht hätte, so würden genannten Verbindungen die Flügel beschnitten werden zum allgemeinen Nutzen der Familie.

Die Frauen sollten stimmen, denn die Stimme des Mannes würde dadurch an Kraft gewinnen, und während er auf die großen Dinge achtet würden der Frau sicherlich die kleinen Dinge nicht entgehen.

Der Mann könnte sich bemühen, sein Land und seine Regierung zu einer Weltmacht zu gestalten, während die Frau sich bemüht und dazu sieht, daß der Straßenfeger seine Pflicht tut, damit die Kinder nicht an Krankheitskeimen ersticken.

Die Frauen sollten stimmen, denn sie würden ebensowohl den Kandidat mustern wie die Platform, auf die er sich stellt, um erwählt zu werden. Es ist praktisch unmöglich den Frauen das Parteijoch aufzuhalsen. Wenn ein sittlich reiner Charakter auf einer Platform steht und ein unlauterer auf einer anderen, gleichviel ob dieselbe die demokratische oder die republikanische Signatur trägt, die Frauenstimmen fallen in der Regel auf Seite des lauteren Charakters. Es waren die Frauen in Denver ohne Rücksicht auf Partei, die für Richter Lindsey stimmten, trotzdem die Partei-Komiteen ihn auf die Seite geschoben hatten. Die Frauen erkannten des Richters treue Arbeit und schätzten seine Dienste, die er der Familie und Heimat geleistet hatte.

Die Frauen sollten stimmen, wenn aus keiner anderen Ursache als daß die Frauen, wenn sie die Gelegenheit haben, ein bedeutender Faktor sein würden, ebenso in der Politik wie auf religiösem Gebiete und die Sache, für die sie sich interessieren, würde ebenfalls bei den Männern Interesse wecken.

Jedermann weiß, daß, wenn die Frauen aufhören würden in die Kirche zu gehen, so würden bald die Türen der Missions-Gesellschaften geschlossen und die Hilfsgesellschaften würden ihre Existenz verlieren und Spinngewebe würden die Kirchentüren zieren. Die große Mehrheit der Männer, die zur Kirche gehen und für religiöse Zwecke beisteuern, tun dasselbe, weil sie von Mutter oder Tante oder Schwester oder Weib dazu ermuntert werden.

Die Mehrheit guter Männer sind verantwortlich für schmutzige Politik und verwahrloste Stadtverwaltung, denn sie sind gleichgültig und nachlässig und bekümmern sich oft wenig um diese Dinge. Die Mehrzahl der Frauen würde für diese Dinge Interesse zeigen und, wenn sie das Stimmrecht hätten, so würden sie dasselbe benützen und dazu sehen, daß ihre Männer, Söhne und Brüder dasselbe tun.

Frau sich nur zwei Erwerbszweigen zuwenden, nämlich Lehren und Nähen. In letzten halben Jahrhundert sind aber viele Türen aufgegangen und die Frau hat vielerlei Gelegenheiten sich außerhalb der Familie zu betätigen. Nicht, daß die Heimat und Familie für die Frau ihren Reiz verloren hätte oder daß dieses nicht der Lieblingsaufenthalt der Frau bleiben wird, sondern Wahl und Notwendigkeit leitet an zu verschiedenen Beschäftigungen, wo sie mit öffentlichen Angelegenheiten bekannt und vertraut wird. Man sieht die Frau nicht nur am Schreibtisch, sondern auch in Kaufläden und Fabriken und manche sind angestellt als Führer großer Anstalten, Collegien und Schulen, wo sie bewiesen haben, daß sie ebensowohl erfolgreich sein können wie ihre Brüder.

Wir finden eine ganze Anzahl weibliche Aerzte, auch auf Kanzeln finden wir sie tätig — ebenso in Gerichtssälen, wo manche von ihnen recht erfolgreich sind. In der Tat, man kann sagen, daß sie fast überall anerkennenswerte Tätigkeit entfalten. Frauenstimmrecht kommt, — nicht plötzlich und auf einmal, aber stufenweise und sicher.

Die Bildung der Frau und ihre vermehrte Bekanntschaft mit öffentlichen Angelegenheiten und Kenntnis der Geschäfte führt dort hin. — Und warum denn nicht? —

Die Hauptantwort ist die Heimat, und Gott bewahre, daß dieselbe in ihrem Einfluß beeinträchtigt werde. Aus dem Paradies durch die Sünde verwiesen, teilen Mann und Weib das Los, das ihnen geworden und Hand in Hand sollen sie das neue Paradies suchen und finden.

Freie Presse Printing Co., Aberdeen, S. D.

Oberbundesrichter David J. Brewer über das Frauenstimmrecht.

Es wird behauptet, daß es für den Bürger des Landes **gewisse** Pflichten gebe, die die Frauen unmöglich verrichten können und **andere,** die sie in Verlegenheit bringen würden und **noch andere,** bei deren Ausübung sie in besonderer Weise von Sympatie anstatt von Gerechtigkeitssinn beeinflußt würden.

Dies ist aber der Fall in keinem geringen Grad bei beiden Geschlechtern. Das Alter spricht den Mann frei vom Soldatendienst, Feuerwehr und Geschworenen - Dienst — ebenso Krankheit und andere physische Gebrechen.

Das Urteil ist nicht immer durch Sympatie getrübt. Ist der Mann als Geschworener am Ende nicht ebenso in Gefahr beeinflußt zu werden durch ein schönes Frauengesicht und verweinte Augen als die Frau, wenn sie einen Mann in ähnlicher Lage sieht? Meine Erfahrung hat mich gelehrt, daß der gefährlichste Gegner, den ein Mann in einem gerichtlichen Verfahren haben kann, eine anziehende schöne Frau ist. Aber möchte ich fragen, ist denn Sympatie, besonders in Kriminalfällen, immer ein Feind von Gerechtigkeit?

Ist nicht Besserung oder Reform ebenso Zweck des Gesetzes als Strafe? Ist nicht Mutterliebe eine der stärksten Mächte im Leben eines Mannes? Und können wir nicht annehmen, daß am Ende das herzliche Wesen der Frau, besonders in Kriminalfällen in seinen verschiedenen Schattierungen, mehr hilfreich ist als die Strenge des Mannes? Welcher

Mann tut mehr zur Hebung der Menschheit in der Gegenwart als Fräulein Jane Adams von Chicago? Ihre weibliche Sympatie verblendet ihr Urteil nicht und Scharen bezeugen, daß ihr Einfluß ihnen besonders hilfreich ist.

Man frägt: Welche Macht ist es, die so erfolgreich mitwirkt zur Hebung unserer Volksschulen und in Sanitätswesen unserer Städte? Wenn man alle weiblichen Kräfte zur öffentlichen Mithilfe anregen könnte, würde das nicht ein besonderer Hebel sein zur Besserung öffentlicher Zustände?

Es wird ebenfalls behauptet und zwar mit Recht, daß eine gewisse Stärke des Charakters wahrzunehmen ist da, wo man sich mit öffentlichen Angelegenheiten in rechter Weise befaßt und daß diese Bekanntschaft wesentlich dazu beiträgt, daß man erkennt, daß zum Stimmkasten gehen und seine Stimme abgeben nicht ein Zeitvertreib, sondern eine Pflicht ist. Das Abgeben der Stimme allein ist nicht die rechte Qualifikation oder der einzige Zweck, aber wie die Frau sich mehr und mehr an öffentlichen Dingen beteiligt, so werden auch die Vorurteile gegen das Frauenstimmrecht schwinden und man wird erkennen, wie beide Geschlechter, wenn auch auf verschiedenen Wegen, das eine Ziel erstreben, nämlich einen besseren Zustand der Verhältnisse und dieses ist ja der ehrliche Wunsch eines jeden ordentlichen Bürgers.

Noch ein Punkt ist beachtenswert. Das Herz der Frau empört sich gegen die furchtbaren Zerstörungen des Krieges und diese Eigenschaft würde sich als eine politische Macht erweisen zum Vorteil von schiedsrichterlichen Ausgleichungen in internationalen Angelegenheiten anstatt auf blutigen Schlachtfeldern sein Recht (?) zu suchen. Legen wir alle Argumente **dafür** und **dawieder** zusammen und fragen wir uns ehrlich und auf praktische Weise:

Wie erweist sich das Frauenstimmrecht da, wo man es versucht hat? — In unserem Lande haben wir 4 Staaten, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming und Idaho, wo man seit Jahren das Frauenstimmrecht übte, und in den drei erstgenannten Staaten ist es zur Genüge erprobt worden und man hört nirgends, daß organisierte Anstrengungen gemacht werden, dasselbe abzuschaffen. Die große Mehrheit des Volks scheint mit dem Resultat sehr zufrieden zu sein.

Es sind nur sehr wenige vereinzelte Stimmen, die dagegen etwas einzuwenden haben. Ist dies nicht ein deutliches Zeugnis für das Stimmrecht der Frau? —

Ohne Zweifel gibt es Opposition von Seiten solcher Personen, die in ihren persönlichen Interessen durch das Frauenstimmrecht geschädigt wurden. Richter Lindsey in Denver, der vorteilhaft bekannt wurde durch seine Bemühungen im Interesse jugendlicher Gesetzesübertreter und dadurch sich viele Feinde machte, so daß die Parteipolitiker sich gegen seine Wiederwahl auflehnten und er sich genötigt sah als unabhängiger Kandidat aufzutreten. Er wurde wiedererwählt, hauptsächlich weil die Frauen seine gute Arbeit zu schätzen wußten und daher für ihn stimmten. Es würde befremdend sein, wenn jene geschlagenen Kandidaten nicht gegen das Frauenstimmrecht auftreten würden. Ist aber ihr Gezeter nicht ein deutliches Zeugnis zu Gunsten des Frauenstimmrechts? —

Der Wechsel der Stellung der Frau in den letzten 50 Jahren ist beachtenswert. Damals konnte die

How to Help in the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic.

How to Help in the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic.

Who can help in the work of suppression of the White Slave Traffic?

All who earnestly desire to see it destroyed. How can they help?

By doing what they can to get:—

1st. New and better laws where such are needed.

2nd. Enforcement of existing laws that are effective.

3rd. More earnest and intelligent moral educational influence directed toward prevention and removal of conditions that foster the traffic in women.

How to Work for Legislation.

Send letters and petitions to your Governor, to your State Senator and Representatives, and to Representatives in Congress, asking for the passage of the required law. Get individuals and organizations to use their influence to have the law passed. Have extra copies of the proposed law printed and distributed.

Ask

Physicians and medical societies to co-operate and to help in the educational work. Ask individuals, Women's Clubs, Men's Clubs and other organizations to send petitions, letters and telegrams to State and Federal officers, asking them to use their influence to get this law passed.

How to Work for Law Enforcement.

Obtain first an intelligent knowledge of facts and conditions.

Ascertain who your Municipal, State and Federal officers are.

Use your influence to secure the appointment of trustworthy officials, and let them feel the encouragement of your interest and willingness to help when there is need for citizen service. Bring to their attention significant matters that come to your knowledge whenever such co-operation would be helpful. It is their duty to *enforce the laws;* yours to assist and encourage them.

The following form may be helpful to those unaccustomed to address appeals to law makers:

To the General Assembly of the

State of.....

(*also to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States*)

The undersigned citizens of.....
hereby petition your honorable body to enact laws intended to suppress the White Slave Traffic.

For further information apply to the

NATIONAL VIGILANCE COMMITTEE,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

formed in nearly every foreign country, and representatives from many countries have been sent to the Fair and are mingling with our American women to the advantage of both. They have taken a deep interest and good, earnest work has been done. Able papers were sent to us from Sweden, Denmark and other countries, as to the legal status of women in those countries, while reports of their organized work in all lines of charity, education, industry and philanthropy have come from nearly every civilized country of the globe; and foreigners are not the only ones benefited, for the reports that are coming to us from such countries as Bohemia, Belgium and Russia show us that with all our boasted freedom and superiority, in some lines we are behind our sisters across the sea; so the international relations created by the World's Fair will not only pave the way for greater progress for the women of the East, but that which we have learned of their rapid advancement will give to the intelligent women of the Western world greater courage and determination, not only to stand firm for the right in every spot and under all circumstances, but will help them, leading, to bear aloft the banner of right and justice of the advancing host.

To sum it all up, the recognition and creation by Congress of a national body of women, representing so many classes of women; the work for equal representation; the relation established between the women of America and foreign countries, the free Congresses upon every subject, and upon the same plane with men, can but give an impetus to every interest of woman; and whatever lifts woman into greater liberty and broader usefulness will help men to a grander and surer manhood; hence the entire work of women in the World's Fair will advance and hasten the time when a republican government shall mean equal rights to all citizens.

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DEPARTMENT LEAFLETS.

(FRANCHISE)

NO 81.

WHAT THE WORLD'S FAIR WILL DO FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

HELEN M. BARKER.

The part that women have been authorized to take in this national enterprise would have been impossible twenty years ago. Had it not been for the herculean efforts of such women as Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and others, such a board of women, authorized by a great national government, would never have been created.

These women, representing all states, came from varied walks in life; some were called from homes of luxury and wealth, and had heretofore been known only as society women, others came from marts of trade, and professions, others from fields of philanthropy, while many were inexperienced *home women* who had never held public position and had never been members of any organized society. Thus we had in this national board representatives of so many classes of women and from so many spheres of action that it was exceptional in its character. The only work given them by Congress was the charge of everything pertaining to the interests of women in the Fair.

When Congress said: "Women shall be represented on all juries of award," it did a just thing, and when the Commission said the women should be represented according to the work done by women in said exhibit, it also did a just act, or, rather, made a good promise; but when the management refused to allow a device put upon each

exhibit, showing what that per cent was, it did a very familiar act, and fairly represented the way in which women have been treated for centuries. The reason given was that it would not conduce to the good of the Exposition to have a card attached to each exhibit, a card telling just what part women had taken in the industries of the world; nevertheless, a very creditable record has been made, and is on file at the various departments, and manufacturers and exhibitors have in many instances sent reports that have surprised and delighted the women who have had access to them. These records will have an influence for good and show that women have taken a far greater part in manufactures, agriculture, science and art than has been known. There was committed to women the sacred trust to secure for women in this great Exposition the same fair treatment and recognition as was accorded to men. This covered a broad field. Every woman on the board, from the president down, was impressed that it was her duty to stand for the equality of woman and her right to full representation not only on the juries but in many other ways.

This is the underlying principle of the suffrage movement, and so before they knew it, these women, many of whom would have been shocked had they been asked to advocate the equality of woman before the law, were working with might and main for this same principle and were earnest in their righteous indignation when all they asked was not accorded. And when called upon to fight inch by inch for that which Congress had given, many women were heard to say: "From now and forever I stand for equal rights for women everywhere," and Mrs. Palmer, every inch a noble president, declared herself openly in favor of equal suffrage. And this is not the end. These women will go back to their several states to advocate such principles.

The work of the women in the World's Fair will help woman's cause everywhere. While history will record

mistakes that have been made by the Lady Managers which were unavoidable in a body so largely made up o women unacquainted with parliamentary rules, and inexperienced in methods of business, yet on the whole it will prove a potent factor in the great movement for the emancipation of women from the thralldom of narrow prejudice, the bondage of mistaken bigotry and the trammels of ancient and barbarous customs. When women stand up and contend earnestly for what they believe is right, the people look on and call it wrangling, but when men have violent discussions with tongue and fist, it is reported as an unusually interesting meeting.

Who can measure what the wonderful World's Congresses will do for women? I think it is conceded that in the discussion of these topics women have been as fair, as logical, have shown as careful study and preparation, have spoken as clearly, and have been heard as well as the men who have stood beside them, and altogether have acquitted themselves with credit to the sex as well as to the causes they have represented.

We have not only seen the good effects and wide-spread influence in America, but by our official correspondence with the women in every civilized country an influence has been exerted that will tell in the years to come for the greater freedom of women. When foreign commissioners began to visit headquarters for consultation as to the representation of their countries, Mrs. Palmer insisted on her official right to meet these commissioners and in every instance, in her gracious way, she urged the formation of committees among their women to help in the work; sometimes with astonishment upon their faces they would say in broken English or by interpreter: "Our women never help in such matters, they are not educated like American women"; but Mrs. Palmer was firm and received a sometimes reluctant promise that they would form a woman's committee—more often their hearty compliance with her request. The result was that committees of women were

"The National Council of Women Voters offers to its representatives the fullest freedom in applying this declaration of principles in their various communities that each commonwealth will evolve a plan of work that will strengthen and enhance the usefulness of the national body.

"EMMA SMITH DE VOE,
President Washington;
"VIRGINIA WILSON MASON,
Commissioner Washington;
"MARGARET S. ROBERTS,
Commissioner Idaho;
"MARY C. C. BRADFORD,
Commissioner Colorado;
"ZELL HART DEMING,
Commissioner Wyoming;
"SUSA YOUNG GATES,
Commissioner Utah
"BERTHE KNATVOLD KITTILSEN,
"Corresponding Secretary,
Tacoma, Washington;
DR. CORA SMITH-EATON,
Treasurer Seattle, Washington.

WALLER PRINTING CO.

NATIONAL COUNCIL *of* WOMEN VOTERS



HEADQUARTERS
TACOMA, WASHINGTON

DECLARATION *of* PRINCIPLES

THE National Council of Women Voters, in convention assembled, at its fourth day's session hereby unanimously adopts the following declaration of principles:

"Believing that this Council is to fulfill a nation-wide mission for the uplift of the world, it desires to go on record as holding itself above partisan politics or sectarian affiliations.

"The women upon this Council, representing the enfranchised states, purpose to emphasize their freedom from partisanship and sectarianism in all work to be undertaken in their respective states, and in all states securing the aid of the Council.

"The women voters of America and the world should stand for equality of opportunity for every human being; for the right of all children to a joy-full, carefree childhood; for an environment for women which will enthrone motherhood, improve childhood and make possible a manhood fitted to meet the demands of the better day that is coming.

"The Council believes that an election day should become, through the efforts of women, the sacrament of citizenship, and that voters should partake of that sacrament, in the name of love, liberty and unity.

"Womanhood, childhood, manhood — these three are one. Together they make the unit; the family, the home, and, in the larger home, which is the state, the nation and the world, the Council pledges itself to secure these ideals and to make them living realities of every day life.

APPEALS TO ALL CLASSES

"The National Council of Women Voters, standing upon this platform, appeals to all classes in this broad land. With faith in its great destiny, it asks the moral support of the laborer and the capitalist, of the radical and conservative, of the reformer and the non-reformer, of the home maker and the bread-winner, of all who have the vision of truth and freedom and who welcome the light from every source; of all whose aim in life is to serve humanity.

eration by Congress and in many states of our Union. Suffrage is both a federal and a state question. If this were not so we would not be a **United States.** We would be a loose confederacy. If it were not also a federal question, a federal statute could not over-ride a state constitution, as does this Act of 1907.

Article XIV, Section 1, of United States Constitution, reads: Any person born or naturalized in the United States is a citizen thereof. To so modify, or qualify, this section of our federal constitution as to deny to a married woman, citizenship, **hers by birth or adoption,** is very clearly unconstitutional. The case of Edith McKenzie of California should arouse every lover of justice to demand not only the repeal of the section of Expatriation Act of 1907, which denies women the equal rights granted to them by their state constitutions; but also to demand an amendment to the federal constitution which shall forever forbid the denial of franchise on account of sex. Write to your Congressmen urging them to have a bill framed similar to the excellent Thompson Bill of the Sixty-third Congress, known as S. 4022, and to do all in their power to remove this fundamental disability.

Remember that the passage of the suffrage bill, before Congress now, would leave this question untouched. The close connection of this question with the immigration problems should arouse our organized women to plan classes for the teaching of American citizenship to foreign women.

Write **personal** letters embodying what you please of these arguments in favor of your request, and remember **personal letters** always count.

Yours for a free citizenship,
SOPHIE L. W. CLARK.

24

Citizenship of Married Women

SOPHIE L. W. CLARK

WESTERN WASHINGTON WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

CIVIC HOUSEKEEPING DEPT.

CITIZENSHIP OF MARRIED WOMEN

We may divide law into three great divisions: Common, Statutory and Constitutional law.

Common law is deduced from the decisions of courts.

Statutory laws are statutes, or ordinances, passed by law-making bodies, recorded on statute books of community, state or nation; viz., they may be city, state or federal. Constitutional laws are such as are enunciated in the constitution, either originally or by amendment thereto.

The expatriation act of Congress 1907 is statutory law. It is called a federal law because passed by Congress of the United States. Section 3 of this act should be repealed.

First—Because it is not in conformity with human rights as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

Second—Because it nullifies Article XIV, Section 1, of Amendments to Constitution of our United States.

Third—Because it directly contradicts

Send to 1701 Kilbourne Street, Seattle, Wash. 1c Each, or 100 for 40c.

the state amendments giving women the ballot, on same terms as given to men, in their respective, so-called, suffrage states.

Fourth—Because the interdependence of husband and wife (in the state of matrimony), should not be interpreted to mean the merging of wife in husband. In relation to the **state** each is an individual, responsible to the powers that be for individual obedience; or if a transgressor of law must suffer the penalty as an individual. Marriage does not change a husband's status, toward the state, but towards women. That marriage should change a woman's status, **toward the state** is an absurdity. This conception grew out of the common law which held woman to be man's property. Maid, wife, mother, sister, daughter or widow was under tutelage to a male relative. Statutory laws of many countries confirmed these arbitrary relationships. In our United States we have progressed beyond these feudal concepts, recognizing the individual rights of a woman person to "liberty and the pursuit of happiness." In twelve states women have even been granted political rights, but Section 3 of Act of Congress 1907 relating to expatriation of **married women** is built upon the old common law assumption, that a **wife's citizenship must depend upon the citizenship of her husband.**

The Washington state amendment giving its women the ballot reads: "There shall be no denial of the elective franchise, at any election on account of sex." Yet when a married woman registers, as a voter, she is asked: "Are **you** married to an American citizen?" Equal rights would demand that the man be asked the same question. In all fairness aliens who marry citizens should be entitled to special considerations, during their residence in the United States. Such marriage might be equivalent to a declaration of intention, for such foreigner, whether the alien be a man or a woman.

To give to foreigners full citizenship, through marriage, is neither sane, safe nor expedient. Especially at this time, when the countries, from which the ancestors of our native-born citizens emigrated, are at war.

We would not think of making a foreign-born male person automatically (through marriage with a citizen) a full-fledged American citizen. Is it any safer to do so with the foreign female person? Citizenship should be a precious valued possession, which should not be lightly assumed nor readily cast off.

Whatever requirements are considered wise for one sex, before admission to citizenship, should apply with equal force to the other sex. This will base citizenship on justice and equality before the law.

For the safety of our American institutions, citizenship should depend on birth, or deliberate, intelligent choice of the individual. Up to the date of the Expatriation Act of 1907 court decisions were various concerning the status of the American woman married to a foreign husband. The decision of several courts was to the effect that so long as the American woman remained a resident of the United States she would still be a citizen of the country which gave her birth. The conference called by United States Congress to unify and crystallize these court decisions into one statutory law resulted in the backward step evidenced by reading Section 3 of Expatriation Act of 1907.

This question underlies the measure for woman suffrage, now under consid-



HOTEL RADISSON

MINNEAPOLIS

HOTEL RADISSON



MINNEAPOLIS



ENIRANCE LOBBY

If Pierre Radisson would take another voyage of discovery today, he would receive a greeting at the Radisson Hotel unsurpassed in hospitality and dignified sincerity.



HOTEL RADISSON

TO the honor of Pierre Esprit Radisson, a daring French explorer, the first white man to see the upper Mississippi River and the territory of Wisconsin and Minnesota, the leading hotel of Minneapolis is respectfully dedicated.

For more than 200 years, the name of Radisson remained in obscurity. Earlier histories record La Salle, Marquette and Du Luth as the first to see this country.

When Radisson's original diary was found in 1896, it established the fact that he must have been on the upper Miss'ssippi about the middle of the seventeenth century, 11 years earlier than La Salle, and 14 years earlier than Marquette.

Imagine his surprise could he have seen, by some magic, the Minneapolis

of today. Suppose Radisson and his men could have visited the famous hotel which now bears his name.

He would find a modern palace of 350 rooms, 95 per cent of which are equipped with private bath and circulating refrigerated drinking water.

He would be surprised to discover the science and mastery of detail shown at the Radisson in the following departments established for the perfect service of the public: Restaurants and Cafes, Banquet and Catering, Ladies' Shop, Barber Shop, Billiard Room, Laundry, Upholstering, Cabinet Making, Painting and Decorating, Printing, and Engineering, with their many sub-divisions.

The engineering department alone has the following sub-divisions:

Air washing and ventilating plants.
High speed elevators.
High pressure steam.
Generating plant.
Heating.
Vacuum cleaning.
Refrigeration.



In the lobby, he would find a painted frieze depicting the leading events of his career; quiet toned marble, stately pillars, and restful waiting places, exceeding in refinement and comfort anything dreamed of in his day.

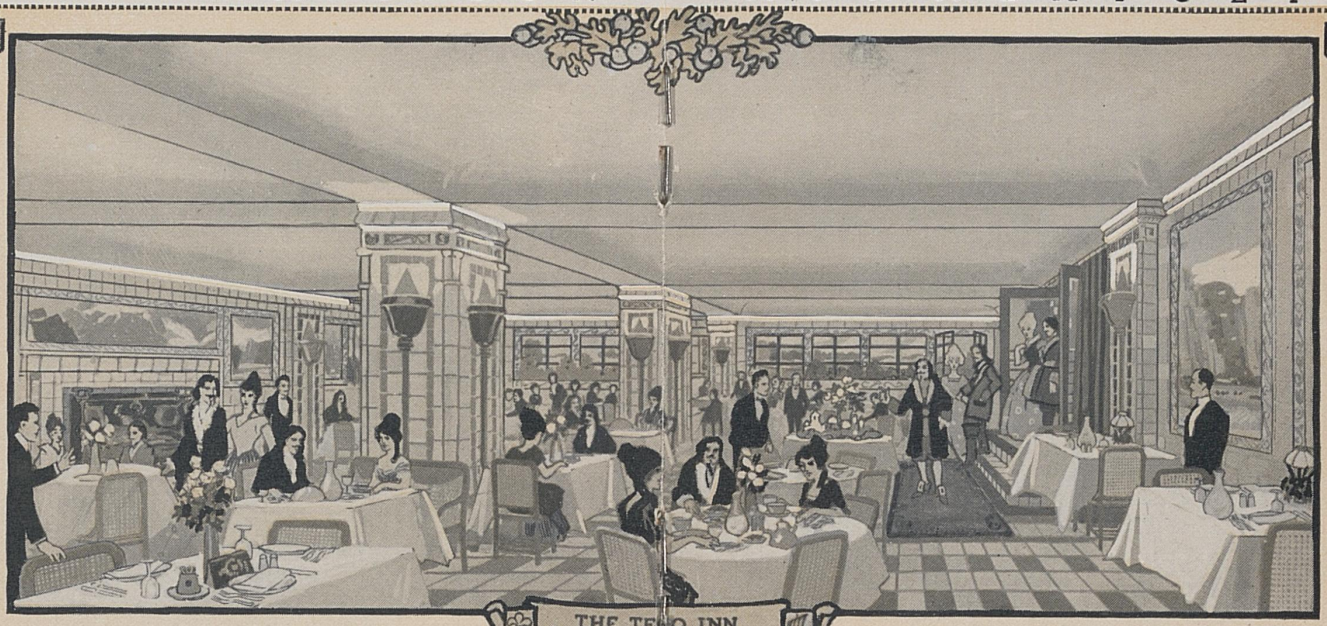


To the right of the main lobby he would find a room the exact replica of a dining hall of the time of Louis XIV, expressing the culture of the French court 300 years ago.



KITCHEN

The advancement of culinary science during the past three centuries, as evidenced by the Radisson kitchen, would probably be his greatest revelation. Here the food products from all nations are received, and prepared by experienced chefs, to please the palate of modern man.



THE TECO INN



In the Teco Inn, the walls of which are lined with Teco pottery depicting scenes in the Northwest from the Mississippi to the Canadian Rockies, Radisson would have a glimpse of the high class Bohemian Cafe with an atmosphere typically American, and a service equalling that of foreign countries.





LIBRARY

In the hotel library, he would find a department unique in hotel operation. No other hotel west of New York, has installed, for the convenience of its guests, a library of modern fiction and learning.

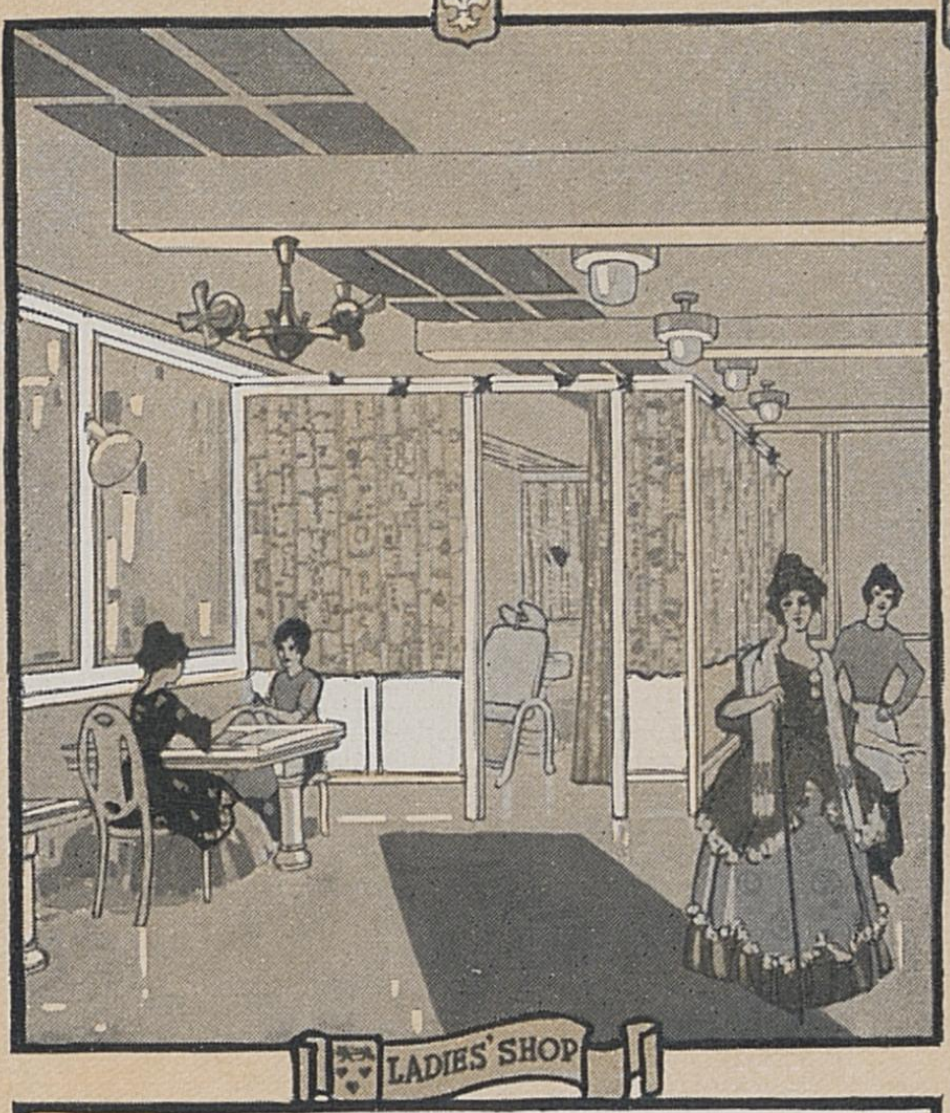


Here Radisson would find a Cafe designed after the architecture of the Vikings. This cafe is distinctly the men's room. Its atmosphere is pervaded with that which men most desire—informal service together with the best of foods and viands, and the removal of the usual restrictions so rigidly enforced in formal cafes.

HOTEL RADISSON

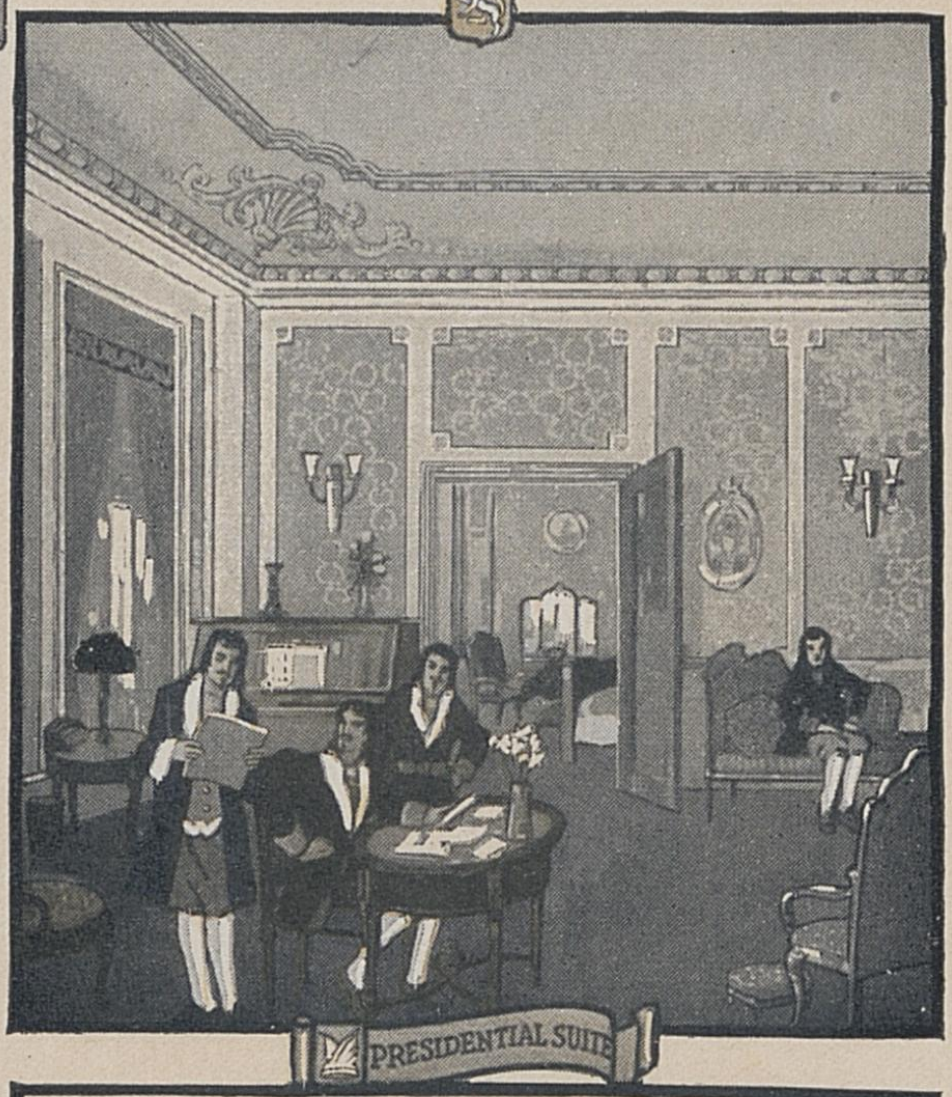


Radisson would note with surprise the 100 sample rooms, completely equipped and carrying through the seasons the latest offerings of the commercial world.



The exclusive service rendered Mi-Lady in that part of Hotel Radisson set aside to especially cater to her needs, is a delight and surprise to all visitors. Here may be found the attentions of expert operators skilled in modern and scientific beauty culture.

HOTEL RADISSON



He would be pleased to discover that all of the guest rooms are completely furnished and equipped. The humblest guest room, in its furnishings and comforts, is beyond the luxuries enjoyed by the royalty of his day.



In the evening in the Gold Ball Room, Radisson would be received as presidents and other noted persons are welcomed. The splendor of the courts of his own day would appear to him insignificant by contrast.

HOTEL RADISSON

Even in his most sanguine dreams, Radisson could not have conceived such a monument as this modern palace, named in his honor. Steam, electricity, modern plumbing and sanitation, heating and ventilation, fireproof construction as durable as the rock, all unknown in his day, would for him be as the entrance into a new world. He would note that the science of hotel construction and management has outstripped all other lines of human endeavor. The Hotel Radisson stands as the latest materialization of this science, incorporating all that was found meritorious in the famed hotels of the east, adding many ideas and devices heretofore untried, all contributing to the comfort and pleasure of the guest. Here Radisson would find all the comforts and requirements of a home, with a service far excelling that of the kings of his own day, at prices not exceeding the cost of living in one's own home under modern standards.

MINIMUM RATES PER PERSON

Room with lavatory . . .	$1.50
Room with toilet and lavatory .	2.00
Room with bath	2.50

HOTEL RADISSON COMPANY
MINNEAPOLIS
U. S. A.

MAC MARTIN ADVERTISING CO.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.


L.V.M.

TO KENTUCKIANS

LOYAL TO THE

FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

Our State has been allotted $3,000 as our portion of the Endowment Fund of $100,000 to be raised this year for the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Since we have grown into a world power the early methods of work have proven insufficient, therefore, at the coming Biennial in San Francisco, a reorganization of committees will be effected, and a change in the form of general government will be discussed.

These facts and the increasing frequency of demand from other bodies for official visits from our women, make essential a larger income than the $7,000 now received. Under our present plan of 10 cents per capita dues there can be no increase in this amount.

We know that all effort for the larger circle broadens the influence of the smaller circles within, so we make our national plea, believing that our State and local clubs will grow and flourish through such effort.

The church has proven this in foreign mission gifts which always bring life and

activity at home. Believing that Kentucky women will stand true to their obligations, and that we may be with our sister states on the honor roll in the great meeting in San Francisco in June, we submit our plan for the consummation of this happy result.

A Message to Grandmothers, Mothers and Daughters.

Ever since the General Federation met in Louisville in 1896, when a standard was set for completeness in biennial meetings, Kentucky has had a national reputation to sustain among clubwomen.

The impetus gained then still abides, until now as a State we enter upon a work evidencing a new phase of our loyalty, as it must also prove a satisfaction to our pride.

Quite high in the list of the wonders of this day we number the club movement, with its far-reaching influence.

In the closing hours of Thanksgiving night there came to us a vision of the blessings all clubwomen owe to the plan of federation.

To the patriotic woman; the one of small clubs; the one of the large city, who is being a civic power, and the isolated woman who is having great opportunities brought to her, this gift has come. For this broader vision we owe a debt of gratitude which we are asked to pay this year.

A Trust Committee especially appointed for this fund has Mrs. Rudolph Blankenburg, of Philadelphia, for chairman and Mrs. Philip N. Moore for a member, only the interest of the investment being allowed for use. This will relieve the clubs of further requests for aid, and will supply an income for the increasing family demands.

Of the sum now paid the General Federation in dues one-fourth is used for printing. Each chairman has $100 annually for printing and postage. The traveling expenses and hotel bills, while in service, of the officers, chairmen and Board of Directors, are paid and some national expenses at the biennial meetings. The special needs now are for sending the president to the many important places where she is invited to represent the federation, sending chairmen to the national bodies representing their specialty and for speakers on important occasions. This fund will also be used to send, free of expense, officers and chairmen to State Federation meetings.



Mrs. Mary I. Wood, in charge of the Bureau of Information, has given of her time and strength too generously in the past. She needs an assistant and a place for her office commensurate with the dignity and honor of the great organization she represents.

KENTUCKY'S PLAN.

Under the following heads our fund will be reported:

For Grandmothers.
From Grandmothers.

For Mothers.
From Mothers.

For Children.
From Children.

From Club Members.
From Clubs.

All State and local federated clubs have been asked to send for this one year as a gift an amount equal to the dues they already pay. This sum will only equal $7,000.

The club may use this contribution to help put any woman on the honor roll.

Any club may collect individual offerings and give them in the name of any distinguished member they wish to honor.

A $1,000 gift will entitle the giver to be a "Founder" in the Endowment Fund, with the name enrolled in the federation record, and with a report and picture in the daily press.

For Kentucky's honor list we ask gifts of $100, which will place the name of the donor on our roll, and will give it enrollment in the General Federation.

We ask grandchildren to offer this honor to the head of the family while she lives.

And grandmothers may so honor grandchildren.

Children may pay this loving tribute to mothers.

And mothers may put their daughters' names where future generations will see them enrolled .

We ask "Our Best Asset," the men, to so honor their mothers, wives and daughters.

MEMORIALS.

In the years since federation work began, many of our women have been promoted to a larger life. Memorials to them will beautifully perpetuate their work and memory.

There will be a published list of the honor roll and of names of clubs and individuals giving $25.00 or less, without mention of the sum. Many States

have already raised their quota, and we are making our earnest effort for contributions promised or collected during the first week of March.

We make a plea for the names of distinguished Kentucky women; for clubs which want to be distinguished for their generosity; for the help of men and women interested in the great human causes to which we are committed, and for the contributions of children who have felt the benefit which has come to their mothers.

Further information will be gladly given and correspondence is invited.

Checks or post-office orders should be sent to the address below.

MRS. JAMES A. LEECH,
Field Agent for Kentucky,
1249 First Street, LOUISVILLE.

No. 3010A

Stewardship

By

THE RT. REV. I. P. JOHNSON, D. D.

Bishop of Colorado

THE EDUCATIONAL DIVISION

Department of Missions and Church Extension
Protestant Episcopal Church

281 Fourth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

STEWARDSHIP

By Rt. Rev. I. P. Johnson, D. D.

I.

Individual Responsibility

IF a man makes a solemn promise to do certain things it would seem that he should be intensely interested in keeping his word. For after all there is no higher commendation that can be made for a man than that he is a man of his word. We are worth just as much as our word is worth, no more and no less.

A Christian is one who has made a solemn covenant with God that he will fight manfully under Christ's banner against sin, the world, and the devil and that he will continue to be Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end.

This promise, made in Baptism, affirmed in Confirmation and involved in every Eucharist, is not a word lightly spoken, but rather one on which our ultimate character in God's sight depends.

It is perfectly true that many persons persuade themselves that to be a Christian one needs only to have a certain attitude of mind or a certain assurance of acceptability to satisfy God's demand upon him, but this comfortable feeling is one by which he satisfies himself rather than an acceptance of the responsibility for service that Christ puts upon him.

For Christ accepted discipleship on the basis of service rendered rather than that of satisfying curiosity or the comfortable assurance of easy familiarity with God.

Anyone who reads the Gospels with the desire of ascertaining what he ought to do must acknowledge that Christ expected obedience from His disciples and such an obedience as involved service and self-sacrifice. To evade the latter is to forfeit our discipleship, as innumerable instances in the Gospel remind us. The intolerable thing to Christ was that His disciples should do nothing but say, "Lord! Lord!"

The man who buried his talent was a worse offender than the thief whom He forgave.

The rich man who neglected the duty that lay before him every day was of less esteem to God than the beggar full of sores and inefficiency.

The foolish virgins who had no oil in their lamps were shut out rather than the woman who was a sinner and loved much.

Those who failed to feed the hungry, clothe the naked or house the stranger were condemned more severely than Zacchaeus who was a grafter on society or Simon who was a political fanatic.

God expects that we recognize the principle contained in the statement,—"All things come of Thee, O Lord, and of thine own have we given Thee." It were infinitely better that we never had money or talents, than having them to refuse to use them as God directs.

Let us face this issue fairly as Christians, that we are committed by our solemn promise to use our talents in God's service as He directs and not as though the possession of money or talents entitle us to use them as though we never expected Him to call us to account for their use.

II.

Corporate Responsibility

It is perfectly true that there are times and places in which man is held responsible merely as an individual without reference to any corporate body to which allegiance is due.

In the case of pagans, or men who have never had the opportunity of hearing the Gospel or carrying out its injunctions, they are judged by the law of their own conscience. But these occasions of ignorance which God winked at ceased when He gave us the revelation of His own Son and invited us to be members of His mystical Body.

When Christ founded the Church, and He says that He did found it upon a rock, He intended that we should become one body in the unity of the Spirit, bound together for better or worse in a sacred solidarity. We become every one members one of another and are built upon a

common foundation upon which we are to build our specific share.

The welding of the one hundred and twenty into a common fellowship at Pentecost was not a mere incident of no consequence, but the very essence of the Gospel into which it all culminated on the day of His Ascension. They were to wait, to do nothing, until by the operation of the Holy Ghost they were to be cemented into one building, the temple of the Living God.

This principle of unification can be no more ignored in the Church than it can be disregarded in the nation. Just as no American has the right to hold himself and his goods on any other basis than that of the common need, so no Christian can destroy the unity of God's household without defeating the purpose of Christ's gospel.

Christ did not insist that we have the same opinions about things, but that we should be united in a corporate fellowship in which we should love one another. And Christ did not leave His disciples in ignorance of the principle by which this fellowship should be bound together, but taught them that they should continue steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers.

It makes no difference who may flout this doctrine or despise the Brotherhood, we are to carry on in the common faith, in the breaking of bread and in the common worship.

It makes no difference who goes out from us because they believe that they have found a more excellent way; we have learned that this is the way and we are to walk in it.

It is perfectly true that we are living in an age in which the sovereignty of the nation is threatened by those who hold lightly the value of its solidarity; in which the unity of the family is despised by those who place their own pleasure before the common good; in which the solidarity of the Church is denied by those who substitute philosophy for religion or emotion for service, but we as a Church are committed to the fact that Christ commissioned a ministry, established sacraments, created a fellowship, that must not be despised or broken.

We are committed to the fact that we are not members of a sect with a community of opinion, but are members of a Church which places legitimate authority before any opportunist or temporary expedient.

We believe that the Kingdom of God on earth is a visible society in which things are done decently and in order, even though they may not always be done effectively or brilliantly.

In short, we place the brotherhood ideal before the individualistic ideal.

We do not believe in a soviet government of self-constituted prophets, even though they may be good prophets; but we believe in the thing which we call The Holy Catholic Church. We believe that Christ founded it upon the rock of His divinity; that the gates of Hell have not prevailed, and shall not prevail, against it; that He purchased it with His own precious blood; that it is the pillar and ground of the truth; that it possesses such authority that the individual may "tell it unto the Church" and that when the Church speaks in the sphere of its domain, that we, bishops, priests and laymen, have an obligation to obey; and that He will eventually present it unto the Father, a glorious Church without spot or wrinkle or any such thing as may have seemed to deface its purity on earth.

We may enter into academic discussion about an invisible Church which is formed of God's elect in all states and conditions, but in so far as we accept corporate solidarity as an essential factor in preserving and extending the Kingdom, we are members of the Church and have an obligation to obey its reasonable requirements.

When St. Paul speaks of "keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," we do not understand on the one hand that he means that we shall keep the uniformity of opinion in the bonds of prejudice, or on the other that we shall so accentuate the diversity of opinion that there shall be no bonds at all except those of our own self-will. We believe in an ecclesiastical authority which is like the civil authority in that it is administered by imperfect stewards, is subject to fallible judgments and frequently fails to operate

in a way to elicit our commendation. We criticize its administration when we respect its obligations, and are loyal to its constitution even when we are criticizing its representatives. If this be a fair statement of our relation to the Church, then our individual responsibility is merged into the corporate solidarity.

In order to be a loyal Christian we aim to be one hundred per cent Churchman, as we can no more discriminate between a good man and a good citizen than we did during the Great War. If a man claimed to be a lover of America he showed it by his loyalty to the needs of America. If we claim to love the Church, we will see that it is something bigger than our parish or our diocese, and will be ready to make personal sacrifices if the needs of the whole can be demonstrated.

We show our loyalty to Christ by our support of the Body which we believe He gave us to represent Him.

We love the Brotherhood because we believe that Christ identifies it with Himself. It may be to many the least of all lodges—but "inasmuch as we do it to the least of these, we do it unto Him."

III.

Our Branch of the Brotherhood

The Holy Catholic Church grew out of the one hundred and twenty at Pentecost and formed a solid trunk for several centuries. It then divided for several centuries more into two great branches, the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Western Catholic Church.

Out of the western branch grew the Roman and Anglican Communions, which since then have intermingled their branches in all nations of the earth except those occupied by the Eastern branch.

In America we have side by side Anglican and Roman dioceses and parishes, each claiming a jurisdiction which the other does not allow. In America also are many branches that are cut off from the historic body and neither claim con-

tinuity nor attach importance thereto. To the eye of the observer it presents a bewildering confusion.

To the mind of the Churchman it is a matter of conviction that he remains steadfast to that branch which he believes has handed down the faith of the Gospel without additions or subtractions.

There is no doubt a legitimate field for arguments as to the obligation of respecting this authority or that, and as this is not a theological treatise it would be folly to go into this question. Suffice it for us that we have made our decision and accept the authority of that line of commissioned officers who have come down to us through English sources.

Having accepted its authority, it behooves us to study the character of that authority and our obligations thereto. How else can we fulfill our promises and be loyal to our allegiance?

This Church was planted in America in the beginning of the seventeenth century. But it arrived in a form somewhat mutilated and it continued to exist without bishops for nearly two centuries. The wonder is not that it was weak in morale at the end of that period. The wonder is that it survived at all.

After the Revolution, bishops were secured with difficulty and owing to the habits of two centuries functioned with greater difficulty.

The early bishops of the Church seemed to be singularly lacking in aggressive missionary spirit, their local and diocesan problems blinding them to the demands of the growing frontier.

Chief Justice Marshall, who was a loyal member of the Church and loved it, felt that its days were numbered.

The Constitution of the Church, which was drawn up by the same men who drew the Constitution of this country, had an organization for legislative purposes similar to that drafted for the nation; but in those days, when anti-federal ideas were prevalent, they felt no necessity to create an administrative body similar to the President and Cabinet. So the executive and administrative functions of the Church were entrusted to a legislative body which met once in three

years and consisted of a House of Bishops and a House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, which latter might resolve itself into two bodies by taking a vote by orders in any matter of sufficient importance to demand it.

The Church for one hundred and fifty years thereafter was a loose federation of separate dioceses, held together by a written Constitution and Canons, which had no executive body to enforce them or to interpret them for the purpose of aggressive action.

Again, it is a wonder, not that this loose federation was not effective, but that it survived the bitterness of civil war and preserved the loyal adherence of every separate diocese.

The Church had a brain but no mouthpiece; a body but no hands and feet; a vision but no common treasury. After the Church had lost its opportunity in the territory just west of the Alleghanies, from which it has never recovered, it created a Board of Missions, without any power of assessment and with a limited power of administration, but the General Convention had the courage to send Kemper to the Northwest, to help Chase in the Midwest and to send Polk to the Southwest.

It was not an adequate solution of the problem, but it was an attempt to do something. The Board of Missions during the period of its existence did a magnificent service under disheartening limitations. It is no wonder that it was not able to compete with the propaganda of other Christian bodies, which were not fettered by the fear of centralized power and which had executive bodies that could function effectively. They sent out their light infantry which occupied the field long before we could bring up our heavy artillery without adequate ammunition or sufficient authority.

The Church, thanks to the heroic efforts of men like Bishop Hobart in New York and Bishop Moore in Virginia, as well as Bishop Griswold in the Eastern Diocese, demonstrated how suitable it was to meet the problems of American Christianity, but where the advance was dependent upon a central federal power the system broke down. Consequently we have one com-

municant to thirty-five inhabitants in Maryland and Connecticut and one to two hundred and fifty in the great states of the Midwest and one to one hundred and fifty in the Northwest and Far West. What could have been done if ultra conservatism could have been transformed into dynamic force!

IV.

The Presiding Bishop and Council

Led by the officers of the Board of Missions, who fully realized the limitations of their position, the General Convention at Detroit finally took the long deferred step and created a body analogous to the President and Cabinet. We formed a Presiding Bishop and Council, with full power to represent this Church in aggressive extension of its influence. This Body has no legislative power and no authority to deal with questions of faith and order, but it has the powers of a Board of Strategy. It can suggest assessments, and formulate a policy and execute a campaign. And this is exactly what it is doing.

The Presiding Bishop (like the President) is the General of our military forces. He directs the machinery by which we may extend the Kingdom as Christ bade us to do.

But is it any wonder that, when the call was made upon the Church to meet this emergency by creating funds adequate to its mission, the rusty machinery failed to make an instantaneous response? The fact that it had never been done that way before was enough to put the burden of proof upon the Presiding Bishop and Council that it should be done that way now. Dioceses that had enjoyed an autonomy which knew no federal interference looked askance at this new movement with its unstudied possibilities. Parishes which were like oil refineries inasmuch as they never produced more oil than was necessary to grease their own machinery resented the idea that they should produce an output for general use.

It is not at all surprising that the Church was surprised into inaction, but nevertheless in one

year it more than doubled its output beyond its own immediate needs. The process of education has begun and it demands only that our people shall be willing to study; for any ordinary prophet can see that eventually they will awake to action.

It will then be seen if the Church is to fulfill its divine mission that the strong must help the weak and all must be loyal to our general orders, for in the solidarity of the Brotherhood there must be no rich or poor, no East or West, no high or low, but a common effort for a common end.

The whole is no stronger than its constituent parts, and the constituent parts cannot be stronger than the whole. Individual interests must lose themselves in their common effort to carry out the mind of Christ.

V.

The Consecration of Strength

You belong to a strong and powerful parish. What for? What other purpose can that strength be for unless it be to carry out the command of Christ?

If that command be that this strength shall be consumed in bolstering up itself, then we are justified in expending thousands upon our own spiritual comfort and leaving the buildings that our fathers erected in Liberia to rot because we are not interested in their need, even though we elected a bishop to go over there and help them.

It would be better for us in the day of our final accounting if we had worshipped in tents than that this cry from Macedonia should go unheeded, for Christ can see through the selfish subtleties by which we beg to be excused.

Likewise the Christian whom God has blessed with wealth. Better never to have had it than to refuse to use it to do the will of Him who gave us power to get wealth.

Wealth, whether of the individual or of the parish, has its legitimate uses. We may invest it for our needs, but we may not continually invest the returns of our investment for needs that we know perfectly well will never arise.

We may spend it in legitimate expense in that station of life to which it has pleased God to call us, but if we waste it in useless luxury, God will not fail to visit the sins of the father upon the children, and to make us see in our latter end that we are not different from the fool who built more barns.

We may give to other objects than that which the Church asks us to support, but if we carry this giving to the point where our own family suffers actual want, we will be held responsible and will be adjudged worse than a heathen.

If in making our wills and bequests we utterly forget God's claim upon us as His subjects, how shall we be surprised if He forgets us in the time of our need.

Why do we not give God credit for at least as much common sense as we possess, and if we would justly resent our children's ignoring our need in the day of their opportunity, why do we fancy that God will be fooled by our substituting our own way for His commands?

We cannot fool God even though we may deceive ourselves, and is it not conceivable that God will interpret our promises to Him in the light of our fulfillment of those promises?

Money is an instrument of warfare. So much so that we have been frequently told by the military experts that money will eventually win any war.

Why do men resent the fact that the Church asks them for their money? Is money too precious to be squandered on Christ's Body, or do you still delude yourself that God will permit well-to-do people to deny Him their money and yet save their own souls?

Money is for many of you your chief instrument of warfare. Others have enlisted and given their persons to the war. They have done it in good faith that the persons who did not enlist will see that they do not want for funds. If they give themselves, what excuse will you have for withholding your money, and if you withhold your money, what other instruments of warfare will you have claimed to have used in fulfillment of your baptismal vow?

God has given you the privilege of saying how you shall give, but He has never granted you an immunity from giving. How much does He expect? Of the Jew He expected one-tenth. Is the standard of a Jew above or beneath you? And He has promised that those who give will not be sorry. Did you ever know a generous giver? In the estimate of human joy, does the generous giver stand high or low? Does not the giving of money bring the only true joy rather than the expenditure of it on ourselves?

VI.

The Proportion of Giving

In most of the enterprises of human life sensible folk do a deal of thinking before they finally act. If I am going into business, or on a summer vacation, or to enter society, I count the cost if I am wise, before I tackle the proposition.

How many Christians have the courage to think through this matter of giving to the Lord, so that when they do give they can do it cheerfully, for that is the only kind of giving the Lord or anybody else really loves. Well, if the average person is cheerful about the sums that he gives to God he is very reticent about showing his cheerfulness.

And it is for exactly the same reason that the man who starts to do a day's work without first planning it out is seldom cheerful about its execution.

We do not enjoy our giving because we do not lay out a certain proportion of our income to give to God. Of course, when I want to buy a new auto with my money, I resent having some person come along and ask me to give it to the Lord. Not because I love money but because I want what I want with my money. But when I have set aside a certain proportion of my income as a thank offering to God for my blessings, being an honest man I would never think of taking it to buy an automobile with.

It makes all the difference in the world whose money it is, and it is always our money until

we have given it to God and then it becomes His, but it remains my pleasure as to how I spend it for Him. Then I become a partner with God in His benevolences.

It adds a pleasure to my giving and a dignity to my life that I am doing God's will with something that was once mine but which I have devoted to His purpose.

Cheerful givers are seldom those who give when they feel like it, for it is seldom we feel like parting with our money.

"God can have anything else He can appropriate so long as He leaves me to spend my own money" is the attitude of many a man who sings lustily—"All things come of Thee, O Lord, and of Thine own have I given Thee." But so little of it is His own.

We need more deliberate courage in our giving, and when we have courage enough to plan it as a joy it will become a joy, for we separate the pain of parting from the object of giving.

Try it for three months, and say that during the next three months ten per cent of my income belongs to God and I am going to plan how best I can spend it in His name.

But what proportion of our giving belongs to His Church? Such proportion as the Church may need to execute its mission.

The many give of their necessities. The few are privileged to give of their abundance. But let the poor remember that the one whose gift Christ most cherished was a woman who paid into the treasury of Annas and Caiaphas a sum less than two cents, because it was all of her living and so much love went with it. I presume Annas or Caiaphas wasted the money, but the woman did not throw away her love.

VII.

The Value of Giving

Life isn't the joyful thing we sometimes imagine. We cling to it tenaciously and complain of it frightfully.

After all, if eternal life consists of making up your monthly statement, buying and selling, eat-

ing three meals a day, endless buttoning and unbuttoning, a ceaseless round of social functions, a constant search for the laws of cause and effect, would you want it?

There must be something in life worth preserving, if there is going to be anything in life worth living.

Now I have been a constant observer of human life, because it has been my business; and I have noted that the most captivating society folk eventually get blasé; and the greatest scientists grow morbid as they grow old; and successful business men are seldom joyous in old age; and those who live to gratify their appetites are a frightful burden to themselves when the zest of appetite is gone.

But I never saw a person who lived to give to God whatever he had to give, who lost his faith in God, or became impatient with human frailties, or soured on himself.

If you want to be joyous, think of someone outside of yourself and do something for others at your own cost, and you will find that old age is not tedious and that it really is more blessed to give than to receive.

If you do not believe me, try it for a year.

That is the theme that you applaud on the stage as well as the one you have accepted in Church. Why not try it yourself, and make some real material sacrifices and see whether or no it brings a spiritual blessing?

VIII.

The Problem of the Parish

The machinery of the Church is not only rusty from disuse; it is not dependable to do the square thing.

Every priest knows that religion without self-sacrifice, instead of being a winsome thing, is about the ugliest thing in human society. So ugly that a lot of superficial people say, if that is religion I want none of it. Of course, the answer is that it isn't religion, but a travesty of religion.

But the conscientious objector has secured what he wanted, and that is an alibi for himself; and he refuses to do his duty because someone else has missed his.

Any rabbit of ordinary intelligence would think truer than this, but then the Lord told us we were sheep, and I am not so sure about a sheep's mentality.

Now if a parish practices no self-sacrifice, how comely is it in the eyes of God and how sincere is it in its mission to men? A parish that sees no obligation to use its plant (which presumably is God's workshop) to do God's work is a futile thing and its damnation is just, for it nullifies the Gospel that it preaches.

What we need in parishes today, if they are to save souls instead of ruining them, is a vision commensurate with the Gospel which they represent.

Parishes should have an output that they do not consume.

Rectors should realize that their duty to the Kingdom extends beyond the four walls of the parish.

Parish treasurers should be honest enough not to pay parish bills by using the funds donated for God's poor. God will not forget it if they do.

Vestries should have enough self-respect to go to Church themselves and see that the parish Church exists for the purpose for which it was consecrated.

This may seem harsh, and it is, but unfortunately it is true. That is why it has to be said.

[End]

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What Do Unitarians Believe?

A STATEMENT

BY

REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

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Price, 10 cents a dozen; 75 cents a hundred; $5.00 a thousand. Send orders to J. T. Sunderland Ann Arbor, Mich., or to the American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

WHAT DO UNITARIANS BELIEVE?

For the purpose of rendering, if I may, some little assistance to the large number of persons all about us, who are asking the above question, as well as with the hope, possibly, of stirring up others still, who have not yet done so, to inquire, I have prepared the following brief summary of information regarding the principles and positions of Unitarians.

FREEDOM OF INQUIRY IN RELIGION.—We believe that the same God who is the author of religion, is also the author of reason; that there is no other way in which truth can possibly be separated from error in religion except by investigation and the use of reason; and therefore, that it is of the highest importance that there should be everywhere the freest and fullest inquiry with reference to religious things,—in this inquiry every man being permitted to stand upon his own feet, and to judge for himself, subject to no dictation or pressure from councils, synods, conferences, presbyteries, creeds, catechisms, fathers of the church, doctors of the church, or preachers.

NO CREED.—We have no creed, that is, no authoritative statement of beliefs which persons are required to subscribe to; first, because we believe to the fullest extent in liberty of thought, and would do nothing to check it; secondly, because, in the very nature of the case, it is impossible for any two per-

sons to see truth exactly alike, and therefore a creed made by one man for another must be more or less inadequate if not false; thirdly, because if we had a creed fitted to our wants to-day, we should either have to stop growing in knowledge and insight or else get a new one to-morrow; fourthly, because neither Jesus nor the Apostles taught any, nor did the early church possess any; fifthly, because history gives unmistakable proof that creeds and authoritative statements of doctrine have always tended to tear the Christian church to pieces, to multiply sects, to suggest and foster persecutions, and to hinder progress.

SOMETHING BETTER.—But while we have no creed or fixed statement of doctrine which we prescribe as a condition of Christian fellowship, we *do* have a *great, central principle*, and a *few great, simple, central faiths.* Our central principle is this: the necessary harmony of true religion with reason, or the supreme authority of reason and moral consciousness in the search after religious truth. From this fundamental principle, everywhere held to among us, has resulted an essential agreement as to the general, fundamental faiths upon which our movement builds—an agreement probably quite as great as can be found in churches which have authoritative creeds.

GOD.—We believe God to be one, not three or more; an intelligent First Cause, not an ultimate blind force; beyond our utmost thought powerful, wise, holy, just, good, not malignant, or indifferent,

or in any way imperfect; the embodiment of all, and more than all, that we can possibly mean by that name which Jesus taught us to call him, "our Father," and hence one who can never cease to love and care for all his children, in this world or any other.

INSPIRATION.—We believe that inspiration is not something which can be locked up in writing, or confined to any age or people; but that now, to-day, and here with us, just as truly as 2,000 or 3,000 year ago and in Palestine, the Infinite Spirit of Wisdom, Truth, Beauty and Love, waits to come with its inspiration into every receptive mind.

REVELATION.—We believe that revelation is progressive, not stationary; that it is of all times, countries and races, not of the remote past or of a single people only; that it comes through many channels, including nature, history and the mind of man, not through any single channel alone, or in any mirculous way; that, so far from revelation being confined to one book, all moral and spiritual truth known to man belongs to it; that as a race we are now standing only in the morning dawn of revelation, not in its evening twilight.

THE BIBLE.—We believe that the Bible is the greatest, the most influential, the most important, the noblest depository of this revelation that has come down to us from the past, and is therefore to be prized by us as the most precious and sacred of books; though not as the only sacred book of the world, nor by any means an infallible book.

JESUS.—Accepting the Bible teaching that all

men are "sons of God," we yet believe that Jesus, by reason of the exceptional purity and perfectness of his character, was pre-eminently what the New Testament in a number of places calls him, *the* son of God. We believe him to have been divine, but not Deity,—as we believe that humanity, in the degree of its perfection is everywhere divine. We teach tender love and earnest reverence toward him, but we do not worship him, because, among other reasons, he himself, both by word and example, taught us to worship only God—his Father and ours.

COMING TO JESUS.—While we believe that no words in our day are more often used among certain large classes of religious people, in a sense which has in it *no sense*, but is mere sentimentalism and cant, we at the same time most sincerely believe in a real coming to Jesus;—that is, a coming (through study and reflection and effort) to a constantly more and more perfect imitation of, or conformity to, his pure and exalted spirit and life.

BELIEVING IN JESUS.—Believing in Jesus we do not understand to consist in believing any speculative theological doctrines *about* him,—as his incarnation, his deity, his atonement, his relation to a trinity. True believing in Jesus we understand to consist in believing in *him*,—in what he was and did, in the kind of life he lived and character he exhibited; in such love to God and man, such devotion to truth and duty, such beautiful self-sacrifice, such patience and gentleness, such bravery and fidelity, as he everywhere taught and exemplified.

FOLLOWING CHRIST.—We believe that the truest following of Christ is to go about doing good.

CONVERSION.—The word "convert" means "to turn," or "to turn about." Inasmuch, therefore, as all men, being imperfect, are liable to commit errors, and fall to walking in ways that are not right, we believe that all men have need to be converted, not once but again and again.

THE NEW BIRTH.—We believe that to be born again, and to continue to be born again, into new and perpetually new, into finer and higher and forevermore finer and higher spiritual life, is what Jesus taught to be the law of our being, and the design of the Creator for all men.

SALVATION.—We believe in salvation by character, not salvation by purchase or transfer; and that Jesus saves men solely by helping them to become better, not by vicariously atoning for their sins.

The whole idea, in all its forms, that God, before he can or will pardon men's sins, must have some third party to make him willing, or some sort of "plan" or "scheme," whereby he becomes able to pardon, we utterly reject. We believe that God's paternity is real, and not a mere pretense of paternity, and therefore that the moment any human child of his manifests sincere penitence and seeks forgiveness of his sin, God freely and joyfully forgives—without any thought, ever, of requiring first the suffering of an innocent person in the place of the guilty. In our reading of the Parable of the Prodigal Son—that part of the teaching of Jesus in which

he illustrates most fully God's dealing with his erring children—we find the father represented as running to meet the penitent son "while he was yet a great way off"; and we do not find even a hint that the elder brother, who had not sinned, was required first to make an "atonement" for the younger, or to "intercede" for him, or to "satisfy justice," or to "propitiate" the father, or do anything in any way to promote the father's willingness or ability to forgive.

THE GUILT OF THE RACE FOR ADAM'S TRANSGRESSION.—We believe that nobody can be guilty for anybody's sin but his own.

GOOD AND EVIL.—We believe that the world is not fallen, but incomplete; and that, in the nature of things, evil is transient and good eternal.

HUMAN NATURE.—We believe that human nature is imperfect but not inherently bad; that it has been wisely appointed to man to rise by slow degrees and long and even painful effort out of low conditions into conditions ever higher and better, and not that we are the degenerate descendants of pure and perfect ancestors in some remote past. We believe that the race as a whole occupies a higher plane to-day than ever before, and that this progress of the past gives us ground for faith in a greatly increased progress in the future.

RETRIBUTION.—We believe that no wrong-doing will go unpunished, and no right-doing unrewarded; that all punishment for sin is natural, not arbitrary, reformatory in its aim, not vindictive, and

therefore cannot, in the nature of things, be everlasting.

HEAVEN AND HELL.—The doctrine of an eternal hell we unqualifiedly reject, as the foulest imputation upon the character of God possible to be conceived, and as something which would render happiness in heaven itself impossible, since no beings whose hearts were not stone, could be happy anywhere knowing that half the human family, including many of their own loved ones, were in torments. Instead of such a dark and God-dishonoring doctrine, we believe that the future existence will be one ruled by Eternal Justice and Love, that he whom in this world we call "our Father," will be no less a Father to all his human children in the world to come, and that that world will be so planned as not only to bring eternal good to all who have done well here, but also to offer eternal hope to such as have done ill here.

FAITH AND WORKS.—We believe in faith:—faith in God, faith in man, faith in truth, faith in duty; and that all these faiths are "saving faiths." We believe in works:—that the more good works a man does, so that his motives be good, the better pleasing to heaven is his life; and that no salvation of any worth ever comes to any human being except through faithful and earnest work.

WORSHIP, LOVE AND SERVICE OF GOD.—We believe that man is as much made to worship as to think; but, that perfect worship of God includes reverence for everything high and pure in humanity;

that perfect love of God includes love to all God's children; that he best serves God who is most useful, and who obeys best every law of his being—physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual.

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.—We believe that the true basis of church membership and all Christian fellowship, is not an intellectual belief of formulated creeds or articles of faith, but a sincere desire to unite for a common purpose of Christian worship, moral culture and human helpfulness.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.—We believe that science and religion, having the same author, can never, by any possibility be antagonistic; but that true religion is scientific and true science is religious. We cheerfully acknowledge that science has already been of incalculable service to religion, in helping to rid it of many degrading and hurtful superstitions and errors; and we bid all scientific investigators a most sincere god-speed in any and every investigation which can throw light upon any of the great religious questions of the time.

FELLOWSHIP OF RELIGIONS.—While we believe that Christianity is the highest and best religion of the world, we believe also that the other great religions of mankind have in them much that is true and of God; and that God, instead of having arbitrarily chosen out one single people and made it the sole channel of his communication with the race, leaving the rest in midnight darkness, "has not left himself without witness" among any people, and that "in every nation he that feareth

God and worketh righteousness (according to the best light he has) is accepted with God."

THE ABOVE.—The above, while not a creed, or authoritative statement, or one binding upon any but the writer, is yet believed to be in essential harmony with what is commonly held and taught as fundamental among Unitarians; as it is also believed to be in essential harmony with reason, science, the best scholarship and thought of the age, and the teachings of Jesus.

Some Leading Points of Unitarian Belief, with Scripture References.

1. One God, and only one, the Father, a Spirit, the only proper object of worship; in contradistinction from a trinity, and worship of Jesus or of the Virgin Mary. Matt. vi. 9; Mark xii. 29; Jno. iv. 24; xvii. 3; xx. 17; Eph. iv. 6; 1 Tim. ii. 5.

2. Jesus not God the Son, but the son of God (his sonship consisting in moral god-likeness, many others besides him being called in Scripture "sons of God"); not Deity but divine (all humanity being the "offspring of God," and therefore, in the degree of its perfection, divine). Matt. xvi. 16; Acts ix. 20; Acts xvii. 29; 1 Jno. iii. 1, 2, Hosea i. 10; Matt. v. 9; Gen. i. 27; James iii. 9.

3. Human nature not inherently evil (or, as the creeds of at least two of our great Christian denominations say, "dead in sin, wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body, and therefore

bound over to the wrath of God"), but, created "in the image of God," and even in its lowest estate containing much that is beautiful, noble and well-pleasing to God. Gen. i. 26, 27; Rom. ii. 14, 15; Mark x. 14, 15; Luke vii. 1-9 and 36-48.

4. God's love universal and everlasting, extending as much to the next world as to this; all punishment remedial and disciplinary; all men finally to be saved. Is. xlix. 15; Jer. xxxi. 3; Ps. cxxxvi, 1; Matt. xviii. 14; Col. i. 20; Heb. xii. 5-10; 1 Cor. xv. 22-28; Luke xv. 20-24.

5. The Bible the most important and sacred of books, but not to be accepted as infallible, because in some of its parts opposed to the teachings of science, the best conscience and reason of our time and the teachings of Jesus. Matt. v. 33-44. Compare Matt. v. 44 with Ps. cix., with Deut. xix. 13-21, with Josh. xi. 6-23, and with 1 Sam. xv. 2-11. Joshua x. 12-13; Jonah i. 17, and ii, 10.

6. Conscience sacred; inquiry to be full and free. Luke xii. 54-57; Rom. xiv. 1-5; 1 Cor. x. 15; 1 Thess. v. 21.

7. Man's whole duty included in love to God and love to man. Mark xii. 29-33; Rom. xiii. 8-10.

Representatives of American Unitarianism.

For the benefit of any who may not have had their attention called to the great prominence that Unitarians are coming to have in the best Litera-

ture, Scholarship, Thought, Reform, Statesmanship and Religious Teaching of the times, a partial list is given below of eminent American Unitarians :

RELIGIOUS TEACHERS.

William E. Channing,
Theodore Parker,
Ezra Stiles Gannett,
George R. Noyes,
Orville Dewey,
Thomas Starr King,
Henry W. Bellows,
Ralph Waldo Emerson,
Frederick H. Hedge,
Andrew P. Peabody,
Thomas Hill,
Cyrus A. Bartol,
James Freeman Clarke,
William R. Alger,
Minot J. Savage,
Wm. H. Furness,
Brooke Herford,
Robert Collyer.

POETS.

Henry W. Longfellow,
William Cullen Bryant,
James Russell Lowell,
Oliver Wendell Holmes.
John G. Whittier (Unitarian Quaker),
Bayard Taylor,
John W. Chadwick,
Helen Hunt Jackson.

HISTORIANS.

George Bancroft,
John Lothrop Motley,
William H. Prescott,
Richard Hildreth,
Francis Parkman,
Jared Sparks.

LITERARY MEN.

Nathaniel Hawthorne,
Edwin P Whipple,
James T Field,
Henry D. Thoreau,
George Ripley,
Bret Harte,
David A. Wasson,
John Weiss,
Thomas W. Higginson,
Charles Sprague,
O. B. Frothingham,
Edward Everett Hale.

LITERARY WOMEN.

Lydia Maria Child,
Margaret Fuller,
Louisa May Alcott,
Julia Ward Howe,
Lucretia Mott (Unitarian Quaker),
Maria Mitchell,
Mary A. Livermore.

PHILANTHROPISTS, EDUCATORS AND SCIENTISTS.

Samuel G. Howe,
Abbott Lawrence,
Peter Cooper,
Dorothea Dix,
President C. W. Eliot (of Harvard University),
Chancellor Wm. G. Eliot (of Washington Univ \.

Joseph Tuckerman,
Henry Berg,
Horace Mann,
Prof. Ezra Abbot,
Nathaniel Bowditch,
Louis Agassiz,

STATESMEN AND PUBLIC MEN.

President John Adams,
President John Q. Adams,
President Fillmore,
President Jefferson,
Benjamin Franklin,
Chief Justice Marshall,
Edward Everett,
Fisher Ames,
Harrison Gray Otis,
Judge Joseph Story,
Daniel Webster,
Josiah Quincy,
Charles Sumner,
John C. Calhoun,
Charles Francis Adams,
Gov John A. Andrew,
U. S. Supreme Judges Wayne and Miller,
Dorman B Eaton,
Judge Geo. W. McCrary,
George William Curtis.

This list does not claim to be absolutely accurate, yet it is very nearly so. It falls below rather than exceeds the truth. Indeed, another longer list, of names nearly as eminent, could easily be made out.

It would also be easy to make out a list nearly or quite as striking of eminent Unitarians of England and other foreign countries.

We have not included the names of eminent Universalists, though Universalists are Unitarians, as are Hicksite Friends, and most of that large religious body in this country known as "Christians." The Progressive Jews are also essentially with us, as well as an ever increasing number of the more liberal thinkers in all the orthodox denominations. The Broad Church party in the English Church, and in the American Episcopal Church, and the New Theology men in the Congregational body, are a long way on the road toward Unitarianism; while the religious teachings of such liberal independents as Rev. David Swing. Dr. H. W. Thomas and Henry

Ward Beecher are essentially ours except in name.

New England is the part of the United States where organized Unitarianism most prevails. The city of Boston has 29 Unitarian churches. Yet the real influence of Unitarianism is nowhere, not even in Boston, to be measured by the number of its churches. Unitarian views are spreading in every direction—among the educated and thinking classes, among the common people, into the orthodox bodies. Dean Stanley, shortly before he died, expressed the conviction that the Liberal Theology will be the prevailing theology of the twentieth or the twenty-first century.

The American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon street, Boston, is the leading organization of the denomination in this country. Any person desiring information, books or tracts on Unitarian subjects, can obtain the same by applying to that address.

Benjamin Franklin and Unitarianism.

Benjamin Franklin, one of the greatest and most judicial minds that America has produced, left behind him this creed, as the result of his life-long study and reflection:—"I believe in one God, the Creator of the Universe; that he governs it by his providence; that the most acceptable service we render to him is doing good to his other children; that the soul of man is immortal and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental points in all sound religion. As to Jesus of Nazareth, I think

his system and his religion, as he left them to us, the best that the world ever saw, or is likely to see; but I apprehend they have received various corrupting changes; and, I have, with most of the present dissenters of England, some doubts of his Divinity."

This statement of belief, embracing the ripest conclusions of perhaps the greatest mind of the New World, constitutes, as will be seen, a correct, condensed statement of the doctrines commonly held by Unitarians.

President Adams and Unitarianism.

Says Charles Francis Adams, writing of his grandfather, John Adams:—"He devoted himself to a very elaborate examination of the religions of all ages and nations, the result of which he committed to paper. The issue of It was the formation of his the ological opinions very much in the mould adopted by the Unitarians of New England. Rejecting the prominent doctrines of Calvinism,—the Trinity, the Atonement, and Election,—he was content to settle down upon the Sermon on the Mount as a perfect code. In this faith he lived with uninterrupted serenity, and in it he died with perfect resignation."

The Sermon on the Mount, so rational, so universal in its applicaiion, our most complete statement of Jesus' teachings,—but containing, be it noticed, no intimation of his Deity, the Trinity, the Fall of the Race in Adam, the Atonement, the Infallibility of the Bible, (except to deny it—see Matt. v. 33-44), Election, or any other of the dis-

linctive, leading doctrines of "Orthodoxy"—this sublime and wonderful Sermon of Jesus, has never been by any people so persistently set forth and urged as a sufficient religious code, as it has been by Unitarians during their entire history.

Abraham Lincoln and Unitarianism.

Says the author of "Six Months at the White House," with reference to the religious creed of President Lincoln:—"The conversation turned upon religious subjects, and Mr. Lincoln made this impressive remark: 'I have never united myself to any church, because I have found difficulty in giving my assent, without mental reservation, to the long, complicated statements of Christian doctrine which characterize their Articles of Belief and Confessions of Faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar, as its sole qualification for membership, the Savior's condensed statement of the substance of both Law and Gospel, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself," that church will I join with all my heart and with all my soul.'"

Had President Lincoln only known it, there is one Christian church which does "inscribe over its altar, as its sole qualification for membership," exactly this sublime injunction of Jesus.

110TH THOUSAND

The Secret of Victory Over Sin

By REV. F. B. MEYER, B. A.

Minister of Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road London

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The Secret of Victory over Sin.

The longer I live, and learn the experience of most Christian people, the more I long to help them and unfold glimpses of that Life of Peace, and Power, and Victory over sin, which our heavenly Father has made possible for us. There are blessed secrets in the Bible, hidden from the wise and prudent, but revealed to babes; things which eye hath not seen, or ear heard, or the heart of man conceived, but which God reveals by His Spirit to them that love Him; and if these were once understood and accepted, they would wipe away many a tear, and shed sunshine on many a darkened pathway.

The bitterest experience with most Believers is the Presence and Power of Sin. They long to walk through this grimy world with pure hearts and stainless gar

ments. But when they would do good, evil is present with them. They consent to God's law that it is good; they approve it; they even delight in it after the inward man; they endeavor to keep it; but, notwithstanding all, they seem as helpless to perform it as a man, whose brain has been smitten with paralysis, to walk straight. What rivers of briny tears have fallen upon the open pages of the Penitents' Psalm (51st), shed by those who could repeat it every word from the heart! And what regiments of weary feet have trodden the Bridge of Sighs, if we may so call Romans vii., which sets forth, in vivid force, the experience of a man who has not learnt God's secret.

Surely our God must have provided for all this. It would have not been like Him to fill us with hatred to sin, and longings for holiness, if there were no escape from the tyranny of the one, and no possibility of attaining the other. It would be a small matter to save us from sinning on the other side of the pearly gate; we want to be saved from sinning now, and in this dark world. We want it for the sake of the

World, that it may be attracted and convinced. We want it for our own peace, which cannot be perfected whilst we groan under a worse than Egyptian bondage. We want it for the Glory of God, which would be then reflected from us, with undimming brightness, as sunshine from burnished metal.

What, then, does the Word of God lead us to expect? Before Abraham arose to walk through the land of Promise in its length and breadth, God bade Him "lift up his eyes and look." And before we can enter into the enjoyment of our privileges in Jesus Christ, we must know what they are, in something of their length and breadth, and depth and height.

We must not expect to be free from temptation. Our adversary the devil is always going about as a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour. He tempted our Lord, he will tempt us. He will entice us to do wrong by every avenue of sense, and will pour his evil suggestions through eye, and ear, and touch, and mouth, and mind. If he does not attack us himself, he can set on us any one of his myriad agents, who will

get behind us, and step softly up to us, and whisperingly suggest many grievous blasphemies which we shall think have proceeded from our own mind.

But Temptation is not Sin. A man may ask me to share the spoils of a burglary, but no one can accuse me of receiving stolen property if I indignantly refuse and keep my doors close shut against him. Our Lord was tempted in all points as we are, yet without sin. You might go through hell itself, teeming with all manner of awful suggestions, and yet not sin. God would not allow Satan to tempt us, if temptation necessarily led to sin; but temptation does not do so; there is no sin, so long as the Will refuses to consent to the solicitation, or catch at the bait.

Temptation may even be a blessing to a man, when it reveals to him his weakness, and drives him to the Almighty Saviour. Do not be surprised, then, dear child of God, if you are tempted at every step of your earthly journey, and almost beyond endurance, but you will not be tempted beyond what you are able to bear, and with every temptation there will be a way of escape.

We must not expect to lose our sinful nature. When we are born again, a new life, the life of God, is put into us by the Holy Spirit. But the old self-life, which is called in Scripture THE FLESH, is not taken away. The two may co-exist in the same heart. "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh." The presence of this old self-life within our heart may be detected by its risings, rufflings, chafings and movings towards sin, when temptation calls to it from without. It may be as still as death before the increasing power of the new life, but it will still be present in the depths of our nature, as a Samson in the dark dungeons of Philistia, and there will be always a possibility, and a fear, of its strength growing again to our shame and hurt.

Do not ignore the presence of a sinful nature within you, with its tendencies and possibilities for sin. Many souls have been betrayed into negligence and unwatchfulness by the idea that the root of sin had been plucked from their hearts, and that therefore they could not sin again; and in the face of some sudden uprising of their old nature they have been filled with

agony and shame, even if they have not dropped for a moment back into a sea of ink. "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

There is a difference between *sin*, and *sins*. *Sin* is the root-principle of evil, the flesh, the old self-life, the bias and tendency to sin, which may be kept down by the grace of God, but which will remain in us, though in diminishing power, till we leave this world. *Sins* are the outcome of this; the manifestations in act of the sinful nature within, from these we may be daily saved, through the grace of Jesus (Matt. i. 21). To put the matter clearly, *sin* is not dead in us, but we may be dead to *sin*, so that it shall not bear the deadly fruit of *sins*.

We must not expect to be free from liability to sin. What is Sin? It is the "Yes" of the Will to temptation. It is very difficult to express the delicate workings of our hearts, but does not something like this happen to us when we are tempted? A temptation is suddenly presented to us, and makes a strong appeal. Immediately there may be a tremulous movement of the old nature, as the strings of a violin, or piano,

vibrate in answer to any sounds that may be thrilling the air around. Some do not feel this tremulous response; others do, though I believe that it will get fainter and fainter as they treat it with continued neglect, so that at last, in the matured saint, it will become almost inaudible. This response indicates the presence of the evil nature within, which is in itself hateful in the sight of our Holy God, and should be bemoaned and confessed, and ever needs the presence of the Blood of Jesus to counteract and atone; but that tremulous movement has not as yet developed into an actual overt sin, for which we are responsible, and of which we need to repent.

Sin is the act of the Will, and is only possible when the Will assents to some unholy influence. The Tempter presenting his temptation through the senses and emotions, makes an appeal to the Will, which is our real self. If that Will instantly shudders, as chicks when the hawk is hovering in the sky above them, and cries, "How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God!" and looks at once to Jesus, — there are, as far so I can understand, no sins. If

on the other hand the Will begins to palter with temptation, to dally with it, and yield to it, then we have stepped out of the Light into the Dark, we have broken God's Law, splashed our white robes, and brought ourselves into condemnation. To this we are liable as long as we are in this world. We may live a godly, righteous, sober life for years, but if we look away from God for only a moment, our will may be suddenly mastered, as was Louis XVIII. by the mob that invaded his palace, and we may, like David, be hurried into a sin, which will blast our peace and blacken our character for all coming time.

Now what are the secrets of victory over sin?

1. *Remember that the Blood of Jesus is ever at work cleansing you.* It is sweet to notice the present tenses of Scripture. He forgiveth, healeth, redeemeth, crowneth, satisfieth, executeth judgment; but the sweetest of all is "the Blood of Jesus cleanseth from all sin." It cleansed us when first we knelt at His cross. It will cleanse away the last remnant of sin, as we cross the golden threshold. But it *does* cleanse us every hour; as the brook flows over the stones in its bed, till they glisten with lus-

trous beauty; and as the tear-water, pouring constantly over the eye, keeps it bright and clean, in spite of all the smuts that darken the air. The possession of a sinful nature is an evil that ever needs an antidote. The risings and stirrings of that nature beneath the appeals of temptation ever need cleansing. The permission of things in our life, which we now count harmless, but which we shall some day, amid increasing light, condemn and put away;—all these need forgiveness. But for all these needs there is ample provision for us in the Blood of Jesus, which is always crying to God for us. Even when we do not plead it, or remember it or realise our need of it, it fulfils for us and in us its unceasing ministry of blessing.

2. *Reckon yourself dead to the Appeals of Sin.* Sin has no power over a dead man. Dress it in its most bewitching guise, yet it stirs him not. Tears and smiles and words and blows alike fail to awaken a response from that cold corpse. No appeal will stir it now, until it hears the voice of the Son of God. This is our position in respect to the appeals of sin. God looks on us as having been crucified with Christ, and

being dead with Him. In Him we have passed out of the world of sin and death into the world of resurrection glory. This is our position in the mind of God; it is for us to take it up, and make it real by faith. We may not feel any great difference, but we must believe that there is; we must act as if there were. Our children sometimes play at make-belief; we too, are to make-believe, and we shall soon come to feel as we believe. When, then, a temptation solicits you, say, "I am dead to thee, spend not thine energies on one that is oblivious to thy spells and callous to thy charms, thou hast no more power over me than over my Lord and Head." Reckon yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom. vi. 2).

3. *Walk in the Spirit; keep in with the Holy Ghost.* The Holy Spirit is in the heart of every believer (Rom. viii. 9). But, alas, too often He is shut up in some mere attic in the back of the house, whilst the world fills the rest. And as long as it is so there is one long weary story of defeat and unrest. But He is not content. Know ye not that the Spirit, which He hath made to

dwell in us, yearneth even unto jealous envy? (Jas. iv. 5. R. V.). Happy are they who yield to Him. Then He will fill them, as the tide fills the harbour and lifts the barges off the banks of mud; He will dwell in them, shedding abroad the perfume of the love of Jesus; and will reveal the deep things of God. We can always tell when we are wrong with the Spirit of God; our conscience darkens in a moment, when we have grieved Him. And if we are aware of such a darkness, we do well never to rest until, beneath His electric light, we have discovered the cause, and confessed it, and put it away. Besides this, if we live and walk in the Spirit we shall find that He will work against the risings of our old nature, counteracting them as disinfecting powder counteracts the germs of disease floating in an infected house, *so that we may do the things that we would* (Gal. v. 17, R. V.). This is one of the most precious words in the New Testament; if you have never tried it, I entreat you to begin to test it in daily experience. "Walk in the Spirit," hour by hour, by watchful obedience to His slightest promptings, and you will find that "you will not fulfil the lust of the flesh."

4. *As soon as you are aware of temptation, look instantly to Jesus.* Flee to Him quicker than a chick runs beneath the shelter of its mother's wing, when the kestrel is in the air. In the morning, ere you leave your room, put yourself definitely into His hands, persuaded He is able to keep that which you commit unto Him. Go from your room with the assurance that He will cover you with His feathers, and under His wings shall you trust. And when the Tempter comes, look instantly up and say, "Jesus, I am trusting Thee to keep me." This is what the Apostle Paul calls using the shield of Faith. The upward glance of faith puts Jesus as a Shield between the Tempter and yourself. You may go through life, saying a hundred times a day, *Jesus saves me*, and He will never let those that trust in Him be ashamed. "He is able to guard you even from stumbling" (Jude 24, R. V.). You may be pressed with temptations from without, and may feel the workings of evil within, and yet your Will, looking earnestly to Jesus, shall remain steadfast, immovable, and unyielding. No weapon that is forged against you in the armoury of hell shall prosper.

5. *There is something better even than this.* It was first taught me by a grey-haired clergyman, in the study of the Deanery, at Southampton. Once, when tempted to feel great irritation, he told us that he looked up and claimed the patience and gentleness of Christ; and since then it had become the practice of his life to claim from Him the virtue, of which he felt the deficiency in himself. In hours of unrest, Thy Peace, Lord. In hours of irritation, Thy Patience, Lord. In hours of temptation, Thy Purity, Lord. In hours of weakness, Thy Strength, Lord. It was to me a message straight from the throne; till then I had been content with ridding myself of burdens; now I began to reach forth to positive blessing, making each temptation the occasion for the new acquisition of gold-leaf. Try it, dear reader.

When I have spoken thus, I have sometimes been met by the objection, "Ah, sir, it is quite true that the Lord will keep me if I look to Him, But I often forget to look *in time.*" This arises from one of three causes. *Perhaps the heart and life have never been entirely surrendered to Jesus.* Constant defeat always indicates that there

has been failure in consecration. You must not expect Christ to keep you, unless you have given your heart and life entirely over to Him, so that He is king. Christ cannot be keeper, if He is not king. And He will not be king at all, unless He is king in all. *Or perhaps there is a want of Watchfulness.* Christ will not keep us if we carelessly and wantonly put ourselves into the way of temptation. He will give His angels charge over us in every path of duty, but not to catch us every time we like to throw ourselves from the beetling height. *Watch* and pray that ye enter not into temptation. *Or perhaps there is a lack of feeding on the Word of God.* No one can live a life of Faith without seasons of prolonged waiting on God in the loving study of the Bible and in prayer. The man who does not make time for private devotion in the early morning cannot walk with God all day. And of the two things, the devout meditation on the Word is more important to soul-health than even prayer. It is more needful for you to hear God's words than that God should hear yours, though the one will always lead to the other. Attend to these conditions, and it will become both easy

and natural to trust Christ in the hour of trial.

If, notwithstanding all these helps, you should be still betrayed into a sin, and overtaken by a fault, do not lose heart. If a sheep and a sow fall into a ditch, the sow wallows in it, the sheep bleats piteously until she is cleansed. Go at once to your compassionate Saviour; tell Him in the simplest words the story of your fall and sorrow; ask Him to wash you at once and restore your soul, and, whilst you are asking, believe that it is done. Then go to any one against or with whom you have sinned and confess your faults one to another. Thus the Peace of God that passeth all understanding shall return to roost in your heart, and to guard it like a sentry-angel in shining armour.

And if you thus live, free from the power of sin, you will find that the Master will begin to use you as never before and to tell you his heart-secrets, and to open to you the royal magnificence of a life hidden with Himself in God.

That this may be your happy lot, dear reader, is my prayer, and ere you lay this tractlet down, pray that it may be also that of your friend,

F. B. Meyer.

PERHAPS

BY

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

PERHAPS, if you paused to think that the laws under which you live, and which control the whole environment of your life, are the direct, or the indirect results of the averaged opinions which are put into the ballot box, you would incline to study the questions which pertain to the right of voting.

PERHAPS, If you realized that law guarantees or restricts your own personal liberty; protects or jeopardizes your health. your home, your happiness; regulates the food you eat, the clothes you wear, the books you read, the amusements you enjoy; in fact permits or prohibits your every act, you would feel a serious obligation to inquire into the nature of such authority over you.

PERHAPS, if you paused to think that law will never represent the highest intelligence or morality since intelligence and morality must always be averaged at the ballot box with ignorance and immorality, you would perceive that whenever intelligence and morality predominate over ignorance and immorality, the trend of civilization *must* be upward, and you would search for such factors.

PERHAPS, then if you would turn to the U. S. Census for 1890 and would learn that if women were voters, more women than men, in proportion to numbers, would be able to read their ballots; and also that only an insignificant per cent of crime is committed by women, and then by consulting your own observations and taking note that only a slight minority of the immoralities known to you have been perpetrated by women, you would recognize in woman suffrage added intelligence and morality to the voting forces.

PERHAPS, if you knew that women are already voting upon all questions in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho and that women vote as generally as men in those States, that although there are 30,000 fewer women than men in Colorado, they have cast 51 per cent. of the total vote upon several occasions, you would realize that women do not fail to perform their political duties.

PERHAPS, if you knew that the booksellers of Denver reported that they had sold more books on Civil Government and Political Economy in the six months after women were enfranchised, than in ten years before, you would be convinced that women appreciate the responsibility of voting, and prepare themselves to "administer the sacrament of citizenship" intelligently.

PERHAPS, if you paused to consider that when the government extends the privilege of voting to a citizen, it only says to him, "we do not compel you to appear at the polls, we simply give you the liberty to vote or not to vote, as you may desire;" but when the government refuses the privilege, it says "we compel you to remain away from the ballot box; whether you wish to vote or not to vote, you shall not," you would see that woman suffrage is only one phase of the eternal warfare for human liberty.

PERHAPS, if you knew that every excuse offered for the disfranchisement of women, had done service in turn for every proposed reform in women's conditions, viz: the higher education, property control, public speaking, the right of organization, etc., you would the more readily perceive that each excuse is but the shadowy creation of unreasoning prejudice set up to affright the morbid imaginations of the timid, and you would not be frightened.

PERHAPS, if you observed that the opposition to woman suffrage comes from States where women do not vote and is therefore based upon theory, while in no State, where the people have extended the suffrage to women and therefore have had opportunities to observe the effects of its actual operation, has there been any effort to repeal such laws, you might feel more confidence in the righteousness of the cause, and be willing to *speak a word* for it now and then.

PERHAPS, if you knew that the overwhelming testimony from the most prominent, responsible and respected citizens of the suffrage States, agrees that woman suffrage has resulted in better candidates for office, cleaner polling places, quieter elections, and improved legislation, and that women have grown more intelligent, self-reliant, respected and womanly under its influence you would feel it your duty to *work* that such results might come to all States.

PERHAPS, if you knew, as many do know, that woman suffrage measures have been defeated in the past dozen years in many instances by well proved bribery, you would declare that a cause so hated by bribers, must be worthy the support of honest people, and you might be willing to *contribute* something toward legitimate educational work for the cause.

PERHAPS, if you realized the full truth that women are not disfranchised because "women do not want to vote;" "because good men fear the influence of bad women on politics, or bad politics on good women" as is commonly reported; but because bad men fear the influence of good women on bad politics and fear the influence of good politics over the affairs of bad men, you would be ready to *join the Woman Suffrage Association.* Why not?

National American Woman
Suffrage Association

HEADQUARTERS

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~~NEW YORK~~.

Warren Ohio

Opinions on Woman Suffrage

BY

Michigan Clergymen

"In these days when women are bearing as much of the burden of industry and service for the government at war, it does seem to me that it should be evident to everyone that they ought to have their due share of the responsibility of government, both in war and peace.

I wish you success in your Equal Suffrage Campaign."

CHAS. D. WILLIAMS,
The Diocese of Michigan, St. Paul's Cathedral,
Detroit, Michigan.

"In the kingdom of God, there is no discrimination between male and female. Conscience and capacity are the gauge of leadership. So it must be in the kingdoms of this world if they are to become the kingdoms of Our God and His Christ. Under these tests who dares to say that women should no longer be denied a share in the responsibilities of government."

CHESTER B. EMERSON,
Congregational Church,
Detroit, Mich.

"The time has definitely passed when any thoughtful man or woman can with self-respect oppose the movement making for equal suffrage. In these days when woman is taking a full share in the responsibilities that these terrible times entail; when equally with men she is bearing her portion of social and economic burdens, it is unthinkable that she should not be given a full and fair opportunity side by side with men to share in the task of legislation and in the shaping of our national policies. It seems altogether problable that the fight for suffrage is very nearly ended and that ere long women will in every true sense have come into her own. The hope that this happy condition may be speedily realized is shared by all forward looking men and women."

LEONI FRANKLIN,
Congregation Beth El,
Detroit.

"The proudest day in my father's life he once wrote me, was on the last presidential election day when he and his wife went arm in

arm to the polls for the first time in their 62 years of married life as political equals. Kansas, the state in which they live was granted full suffrage in 1912 although it had had school suffrage since 1861 and municipal suffrage since 1887. And it is a significant fact that in January, 1916, its bonded debt was paid off to the last dollar, making it the only state which has ever entirely cleared a debt of this kind."

"I have read many arguments for and against giving women the vote and not once have I come across a single reason why they should not have it. Objections against it are based wholly on prejudice. There should be no question of sex in responsibility to one's country and the war has more than proven that patriotism is love of country and a sense of personal responsibility to it."

M. E. RICE,
North Woodward M. E. Church,
Detroit, Mich.

"I am heartily in favor of Equal Suffrage. Justice and Progress demand it."

VICTOR S. DARLING,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Port Huron, Mich.

"After living in three equal suffrage states I am convinced that Equal Suffrage is a success. I have always believed it just,"

A. K. MACRAE,
First Baptist Church,
Flushing, Mich.

"It is easy to construct anti-suffrage arguments, ecclesiatic, dogmatic, conservative or merely selfish; but no real reason seems to justify denying the same franchise privilege to women as men enjoy. The average woman by reason of her intimate association with the moral and social training of the race, her relatively superior morality, her quickness in perceiving and unselfish persistency in promoting measures calculated for the common good, fit her especially for the fullest use of the ballot."

JOSHUA ROBERTS,
District Superintendent Michigan Board of Missions,
Tawas City, Mich.

"In reference to the coming amendment granting the franchise to Michigan women; this beyond question should carry. I shall be glad to do what I can to assist.

Keen intelligence and deep moral conviction are absolutely necessary to good government. Women possess these, at least equally with men and should therefore have an equal voice with man in matters pertaining to government."

HENRY R. BEATTY,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Blissfield, Mich.

"I am in favor of woman suffrage. I believe it to be just. I think the view point of women ought to have the greatest effectiveness in public affairs and expect woman suffrage to help on reforms."

W. M. PUFFER,
First Methodist Episcopal Church,
Big Rapids, Mich.

"I am highly in favor of woman suffrage as a privilege and power naturally belonging to women."

PHILLIP S. SHOEMAKER,
Lakeview Methodist Church,
Flint, Mich.

"I am very much in favor of the laws recognizing the right of women to vote."

EDW. A. CALDWELL,
St. Mary's Catholic Church,
Saginaw, Mich.

"I venture the opinion that my brethren in the ministry are in favor of women suffrage, possibly here and there one could find a back number, who through prejudice or some unfortunate circumstance has subjected himself to moral blindness and is not abreast with the times.

A republican form of government needs the intelligence and co-operating of the educated womanhood of the land, especially so, when people of all countries can become citizens, in due process of law."

WM. H. HOFFMAN,
Presbyterian Church,
Saline, Mich.

"I strongly favor the adoption of the constitutional amendment conferring the franchise on the women of Michigan. The prompt adoption of this measure is due the State of Michigan, as it will add to her voting population a large body of our most high-minded and broadly intelligent citizenship. It is due the women of Michigan as a simple matter of justice and fair dealing. I shall both vote and work for the adoption of this amendment."

WM. H. MASON,
Presbyterian Church,
Saginaw, Mich.

"If Christianity has taught us anything at all worth while, it is the fact that our womanhood is equal, if not far superior, to the manhood of the world. This war is proving to those who have evidently been ignorant of the fact, that our women are not toys or slaves, but capable, energetic, liberty loving souls. Consciously or unconsciously the men of this world have had their women folks deprived of the rights that really belong to them and equal suffrage ought to be the heritage of every one.

I am hoping and praying for the day when the real sufferers,

those who have been paying the supreme sacrifice, our womenfolks, in this bloody war, will come to their own.

May God purge the nation of one great sin—and confer the franchise on the women of this noble country."

HARRY W. COLENSO,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Newberry, Mich.

"I favor equal suffrage, with the women included, because it is democratic, because the women desire it and because there are moral and social problems which need the help of enfranchised women."

J. M. WELLS,
Baptist Church,
Ann Arbor, Mich.

"The best reason why women should vote is that there is no valid reason why they should not. The argument is all on one side—their side."

W. E. MARVIN,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Hancock, Mich.

"Real men for centuries have paid chivalrous regard and respect to woman, for she was his mother, wife or sweetheart.

Today she is still his mother, wife or sweetheart, but she is more. She is also his competitor in school, in business and in art, hence she should be made his equal in the privilege of the franchise."

C. S. BURNS,
First Baptist Church,
Alpena, Mich.

"I am in favor of woman suffrage and will do my best to bring it about. I would rather trust the average woman to vote right than the average man. No evil can come of it and vast good may come of it. Good men with good designs have nothing to fear from the votes of our women. Bad men with evil designs will catch the devil when the women are given the right of franchise."

W. B. HARTZOG,
First Baptist Church,
Tecumseh, Mich.

"I contend that the Constitution of the United States does not distinguish sex in bestowing the suffrage, therefore by our Constitution woman has the right to vote. Would like to see a supreme court decision in this matter.

By whose authority does man have the vote and woman not? Is it God's or man's?"

A. A. GEIGER,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Sturgis, Mich.

"Let me assure you that I am heartily in favor of Woman Suffrage. I have spoken in favor of it on every occasion when I felt

called upon to do so. I shall work, pray and vote for it. I do this because our government is of the people, by the people and for the people; our women are people, therefore should have a voice in the government.

I hold this position because when the good of man and woman is secured to both, the welfare of either is insured.

Because women are vitally interested in all departments of our American life they should have a voice in those departments and activities. Then because I am a Christian do I favor having my equal granted all the privileges I have."

S. J. POLLOCK,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
South Lyon, Mich.

"The duties of men and women are not identical, but opportunities for the highest expression of duty should and must be equal. Every reason which urges women to be admitted to membership in the church applies with like force to their admission to membership in the State."

THOS. MARSH,
Baptist Church,
Pontiac, Mich.

"I am heartily in favor of full woman suffrage for moral, social, economic, democratic and fair-play reasons.

Will be glad to help the cause along in any way I can."

G. F. TRIPP,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Flint, Mich.

"I have for a number of years (always in fact) been ardently in favor of Equal Suffrage. I need no new argument to make me an enthusiast on the subject. I have always thought it a concession to spoiled boys to have to ask for suffrage.

It is a woman's inherent right, no matter what she does with it, but of course she can be trusted with it and no one but the enemies of Democracy will oppose the movement."

J. H. RHEINGANS,
Presbyterian Church,
Rankin, Mich.

"I am much in favor of Equal Suffrage and feel it is a right belonging to the women of our country."

D. B. GLAZIER,
Baptist Church,
Carson City, Mich.

"I heartily concur in the sentiment of extending to womanhood in Michigan and in the United States the right of equal suffrage. The only thing I lament is that the women have to fight for their own right, it should have been given to them long before this. It is not a mere privilege to be extended, it is their just right which has been withheld unjustly.

I have for years advocated the equality of the sexes in politics and

I shall do all I can at this time, to help stimulate public sentiment in favor of equal suffrage."

F. W. MAGDANZ,
First Congregational Church,
Fremont, Mich.

"I cannot recall a time when I did not believe in woman's right to the ballot. My convictions seem to have come to me intentively. But they have grown stronger through the years, re-inforced by reasons too numerous to mention. It will be a new and better world when her big brother grows over his selfishness and in equal measure share with her the privileges and responsibilities of life."

WARREN W. LAMPORT,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Frankfort, Mich.

"I do not know of a single valid reason why women should not vote as well as men. I have a firm conviction the equal suffrage is right and just and I earnestly hope that it will be speedily put into effect throughout our country."

A. H. BUTZBACH,
Zion Church of the Evangelical Association,
Owosso, Mich.

"Viewed from the standpoint of justice and efficiency women should be granted full right of franchise. To deny her this right, in the face of her general literary standing, is a great inconsistency."

F. A. BRASS,
Baptist Church,
Wixom, Mich.

"For years I have been convinced of the righteousness of the claim of American women to equal suffrage, and have both publicly and privately advocated that principle. Although it would not be a panacea for all the ills that afflict us, I sincerely believe that things, moral and material, would advance by leaps and bounds under their inspiration and leadership.

When we remember the aggregation opposed to it and the moral qualities of those in favor of it, I fail to see how any intelligent christian patriot can be other than its ardent advocate.

It is more for a moral than political issue, and we should never falter on questions of right or wrong.

The freer our womanhood, the higher our civilization."

REUBEN CROSBY,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Alpena, Mich.

"The marvelous way in which the women of America have responded to the multitudinous calls for service in this hour of need is a convincing testimony to their readiness and ability to enter into public obligations. To withhold the ballot now would be a great injustice to them and a decided loss to the highest welfare of our noble country."

F. H. CLAPP,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Battle Creek, Mich.

"When I began my ministry 40 years ago I talked some about Woman Suffrage, but that theme long ago passed off my list. I now speak of equal suffrage because I think that Equity is the basis and the guarantee of the extension of woman suffrage to woman.

The cause may meet occasional defeat but its final triumph rests in the nature of the case."

GEORGE BENFORD,
Congregational Church,
Grand Blanc, Mich.

"To my mind equal suffrage is the only just political interpretation of the rights of all human beings. I shall certainly count one in helping to bring it to pass."

ALFRED HART,
Methodist Church,
Hartford, Mich.

"I am in full sympathy with woman suffrage. The women have been most prominent in our church and social and in these times of the stress of war the women have come forth heroically and are occupying all kinds of positions hitherto only held by men.

I believe the women should have the same privileges as the men. Taxation should go with representation. To give equal suffrage would ensure cleaner politics and cleaner politics would mean cleaner towns and cities."

S. HOWARTH,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
East Tawas, Mich.

"There can be no two opinions with regard to giving woman that which she ought to have had years ago. I believe that had she had that power many of the reforms we are now getting would have become law long ago.

I shall do all that I can to further and influence others to cast their votes in your favor. Wallace says 'The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world.' Why should we delay, but give to woman the rights she has earned, demands and deserves."

J. H. JEWETT,
Baptist Church,
Oshtemo, Mich.

"I take pleasure in saying that I have always been a firm believer in equal suffrage.

The denial of the ballot to women savors much of Prussianism. It is a fundamental principle of democracy that the governed shall have a voice in the government. It is nothing short of tyranny for man to say to woman, 'I will make the laws under which you must live and you shall be subservient to them'."

DUNNING IDLE,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Owosso, Mich.

"Inasmuch as my wife and I are partners in life, standing on equal footing, I would speak of her as 'my other half,' rather than to speak of her as 'my better half,' then act as though she were my 'lesser half,' by depriving her of the right to the ballot. I know of no reason why the partnership should not be extennded so as to include the ballot. Surely her influence there would not be detrimental to the state nor to any other phase of life."

I. E. WHITE,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Port Hope, Mich.

"I shall gladly give my honest opinion in regard to conferring the franchise on the women of the State of Michigan.

I have for nine years been a believer in doing my bit to help the women in my beloved state to help place them on an equal with men.

I believe in equal suffrage, from a Bible and Moral standpoint and from a standpoint of human justice, we men owe it to the women of Michigan.

I believe every true citizen in the state of Michigan will rise early in the morning of the November 5th, 1918, and say, 'the sun shall not set today until I have voted with an unselfish heart, to give the women of Michigan the right to vote."

Yours in the light of justice and freedom,

W. F. BOETTCHER,
Evangelical Association,
Pierson, Mich.

"I am a staunch supporter of the cause; none more worthy can be presented. It is a question in my mind what is the reason of such a fight? Why are they not enjoying this sacred heritage in the sense of equality with the man, from her position in the home and her devotion to home interests which interests make her a part. In that sense of the government, why should she not have a say by the franchise system of that government."

A. J. PRESTON,
Methodist Episcopal,
Lake City, Mich.

"I shall vote for equal suffrage, not because I believe it will make things either better or worse, but because I believe the franchise is an inherent right of woman. There is no obligation to support a government in which one has no representation. But so far as I am able to judge a majority of the best women I know—those in the churches—do not care for the franchise except to carry through moral reforms. If women want the franchise then or at any other time I want them to have it, and will do what I can to help them get it."

J. S. STEININGER,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Flint, Mich.

"Woman Suffrage is as inevitable as truth on the score of simple justice, and in harmony with the spirit and teaching of Him, Whom

we profess to follow, the franchise should long ago have ben extended to women. There is no argument against it, save that of privilege inherited from the Dark Ages and Teutonic barbarism. Woman's Suffrage is of the very essence of the Democracy for which we are so heroicaly contending today. Stereotyped objections have all been swept out of the way in multiplied practical tests. The exigencies of war calling women to many posts once rigidly reserved for men, is bound to accelerate a consummation that was inevitable. Morally, mentally, physically, socially and politically, women are as fit for and entitled to the ballot as men. My opinion is that the ancient wrong of withholding it should be repaired fully and immediately. No man can do justice to himself, his Lord, his day or his duty, by withholding justice from anyone."

E. M. MARTINSON,
Baptist Church,
Marquette, Mich.

"I am thoroughly committed to the cause of equal suffrage and have been so for several years. I shall be glad to help the cause in any way that I can. I believe in Democracy, which means to me, suffrage without regard to sex. By pooling the intelligence and intuition of all our people in the state we shall be a better job at political housekeeping."

FREDERICK W. HATCH,
Baptist Church,
Kalamazoo, Mich.

"I believe in equal suffrage with all my heart. I agree with you when you say, "every reason which urges women to be admitted to membership in the church applies with like force to their admission to membership in the state."

A. MATHESON,
Baptist Church,
Ludington, Mich.

"You may quote me as enthusiastically in favor of woman's suffrage in state and in the nation."

C. B. STROH,
Evangelical Church,
Flint, Mich.

"The manhood of the state certainly has not attained to a very keen sense of justice when that manhood insists that woman bear her full share of the responsibilities in maintaining the institutions of civilized society; contribute of her genius in all the arts and sciences, in music and literature and all things else which make for happiness and advancement; abide by the laws of the state and pay taxes for its support, while that same manhood debars her from any of the privileges of the franchise which he demands for himself."

E. J. WARREN,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Flint, Mich.

"The State of Michigan will only do its full duty to all its citizens when it gives the ballot to women. They are as fully in accord with all that constitutes democracy in government and do as much to sustain the government in the exercise of its varied functions as do the men. I am in favor of a favorable vote this fall."

EDWIN H. BRADFIELD,
Presbyterian Church,
Flint, Mich.

"I shall say that I am heartily in favor of Equal Suffrage. It will not be a "cure-all" for modern social problems, but it is a very important step in the right direction toward Justice and human brotherhood on the earth."

W. H. THOMPSON,
Baptist Church,
Dewitt, Mich.

"I believe in the government of the people, for the people and by the people and I am willing to concede that women are part of the people.

I am opposed to taxation without representation. This was one of the causes that we became an independent nation.

Women pay a large proportion of the taxes, therefore they have a right to the ballot.

Woman is the mother of the nation's children, and therefore has a right to say what kind of laws should be enacted for the protection of the children.

The moral effect that women would have on the polling places is needed."

JUDSON P. DUSHAM,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
North Muskegon, Mich.

"The fact that the devotees of the liquor traffic, and of the brothel, the gambling den and all other forms of vice which go hand in hand with said liquor traffic, are enemies of woman suffrage, is in my mind conclusive proof that woman suffrage is what we need as a cure for the rotten politics which allow such things to exist.

By all means let us have woman suffrage that we may keep the home fires burning, and save our young people from things over against which death would be a welcome guest."

Yours in Christ's service,"

CLYDE H. LEE,
Baptist Church,
Lyons, Mich.

"I favor equal suffrage for women. Our sense of justice, our standards of democracy, our ideals of government, all demand this."

C. L. ADAMS,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Oxford, Mich.

"I beg to assure you that I will use my influence in every way possible to further the cause of Equal Suffrage in the November campaign. I have for years been an ardent supporter of the cause and have looked forward with eagerness to the time when the entire nation shall enjoy equal suffrage. Every argument is in its favor."

H. A. WAITE,
Baptist Church,
Owosso, Mich.

"It has been my pleasant duty to do some work for Woman Suffrage and I shall be only too glad to see the women have equal rights with the men."

A. LAWRENCE, ELLSWORTH,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Oshtemo, Mich.

"The genius of the spirit of Americanism is, that we believe in people, and committed to 'government of the people, by the people, for the people.' Every American citizen may count ONE. It is their own fault if they only count for a FRACTION. It is the fault of Americans if any count for more than one. We also believe in the importance of education; in the power of public sentiment; in self-dependence and in fair-play.

Every person of legal adult age, privileged and permitted to say, in this or other countries, that they are American citizens, ought LOGICALLY to have the UNLIMITED BALLOT which is the BIRTH-RIGHT of Democratic citizenship. American Democracy is prophetic of the New Day. This is the New World. The unfair attitude of the Ancients to Women cannot now be tolerated. And Michigan, loyally American, and progressive, MUST ADOPT EQUAL SUFFRAGE."

JOHN E. LEWIN,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Marine City, Mich.

"I certainly am in sympathy with, and will do all I can to support 'Equal Suffrage.' Not only because I believe it to be safe, but it is fair and just therefore an obligation.

It is said that 'the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.' And perhaps it is true even more than we think. If we can trust the women with the babies we surely can trust them with the ballots."

C. J. JOHNS,
Methodist Protestant Church,
Genesee, Mich.

"I am for the complete enfranchisement of women. They are absolutely worthy and fully entitled to it. The ballot is theirs by right. They have demonstrated their patriotism in every crucial hour,

and the time has come when we need their votes as well as their counsel in the work of rebuilding the world and ideals."

HOWARD A. FIELD,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Flint, Mich.

"The last cynical argument against equal suffrage has been swept away in this war that 'if women will vote let them go to war.'

Is there a man of us who will say that women are not in the war? Give them the ballot and they will no more dishonor their country than they have the field hospitals and the ammunition plants."

C. L. KEENE,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Croswell, Mich.

"I have so long favored the franchise for women, with deepening convictions, that it is difficult for me to see that the question has two sides, notwithstanding my somewhat careful reading and hearing of arguments against the granting of franchise."

JOSEPH W. MAUCK, President,
Hillsdale College,
Hillsdale, Mich.

"How did it ever come to pass that men obtained the authority to determine the extent of women's civic rights? Why do women have to ask men whether or not they (the women) may vote? The social conditions that make necessary a woman's suffrage campaign are survivals of primitive pagan times when women were chattels, owned and bartered by their male lords.

In the light of Christian civilization, and with the facts concerning woman's part in the world's work today clearly before us, we can safely challenge anyone to produce one valid reason for discriminating against women in extending the right of suffrage."

W. H. FULLER,
Congergational Church,
Watervliet, Mich.

"I know the time is near when the women of all enlightened nations will be given the ballot, for what is right must be established.

You may count on my support at all times.

There is not a single reason known to me for denying women the ballot.

I know of some excuses that some people offer in the place of reasons.

I can trust my mother, my sisters and my wife to vote with knowledge, judgment and conscience. I believe the majority of American woman would do likewise."

HORACE CADY WILSON,
Presbyterian Church,
Lansing, Mich.

"The home and its interests should be the chief concern of legislation. And since it takes two to build a home, the mother as well as the father should possess the elective franchise. No phase of the suffrage problem makes so vital an appeal to all lovers of humanity as that relating to children. I therefore, believe in equal suffrage for men and women."

A. F. NAGLER,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Dowagiac, Mich.

"I believe most thoroughly in Equal Suffrage. It is the only just thing. How absurd that a woman left with a family to support, or even one who is supporting herself, should not have the franchise! The thing is so clear that there is no argument. Everyone who knows me knows what my belief is in this matter."

WILMOT E. STEVENS,
First Congregational Church,
Constantine, Mich.

"In this day of Christian civilization it is a mark of intelligence to recognize the rights of women, and to give them a voice and vote in the affairs of the government."

C. L. DOYLE,
First Baptist Church,
Three Rivers, Mich.

"For many years I have been strongly in favor of woman suffrage. Every consideration of right and justice and qualification and expectancy demands that the right of suffrage should be given to the women speedily."

REV. H. M. MOREY, D. D.,
Presbyterian,
Ypsilanti, Mich.

"I heartily endorse what you have said about women in your letter, and I believe in the justice of woman suffrage, and I intend to vote for the same November 5th, 1918."

GEORGE CARTER,
Methodist Episcopal,
Alba, Mich.

"I heartily believe in woman suffrage as an act that will help better the civil governments of nations, and bring to women the freedom that God intends them to have."

JOHN J. SCHULER,
Pastor, Gregory Baptist Church,
Gregory, Mich.

"If in any way I can help the cause of equal suffrage I shall be glad. I have always been a strong advocate of this movement. I have

lived in a suffrage state—Idaho—and know that the vote of the women meant a very great deal in politics. Women are called upon to make the greatest sacrifice in the present war, and if they are good enough to be mothers of our boys and patriotic enough, and drink the dregs of self-sacrifice, then why in heaven's name should we deny them the ballot?"

JOHN R. GREGORY,
First Methodist Episcopal Church,
Hastings, Mich.

"There may be arguments formulated to disapprove of Woman's equal rights to the franchise with men, but they all crumble and fall before the response she is making to the pressing need of a distracted world. There is no argument like necessity, and what is before us demands that this right be no longer withheld from her."

MARTIN LUTHER FOX,
Central Methodist Episcopal Church,
Lansing, Mich.

"There are those who say that suffrage is not a right but a privilege. I have always believed that the true basis of the right to vote depended upon one's loyalty to the best interests of the whole people. The loyalty of the women of our land at the present time, to the great interests of state, as well as to humanity deserves the privilege of suffrage. I am ready to do all in my power to secure that for the women of our state and nation."

JOHN EDWARD MEALLEY,
South Park Methodist Episcopal,
Port Huron, Mich.

"As long as women are bearing their full share of the burdens and responsibilities of the country; as long as they pay their full share of taxes and are amendable to the laws and customs of the land; as long as they are fully capable of comprehending the responsibilities and intricacies of the ballot, and as long as they are subject to the joys of patriotism and the sufferings of war, they should be permitted to have their full share in making the laws, dictating the policies and determining the outcome of all government."

ALFRED RAYMOND JOHNS,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Albion, Mich.

"I have long been an advocate of the enfranchisement of women. Women are in a preeminent manner in these war days, demonstrating their fitness for citizenship."

THOMAS LAITY,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Grand Ledge, Mich.

"The woman has just as much right to the ballot, as the man has. She is just as deeply interested in having all civic affairs conducted rightly and for the welfare of society, as man can be. And her ballot will be just as effective in securing good government, as will that of a man. And she is even more likely to vote rightly, than men are. And hence we see all the powers of evil arrayed against woman suffrage. The liquor interests are solidly arrayed against it. The distillers, the brewers and the saloon-keepers and all who make their living by ruining the bodies and souls of men, are against it. This is a good sign. It shows just what may be expected if women are given the right to vote."

REV. J. R. MITCHELL,
Presbyterian Church,
Manistique, Mich.

"I want to express my hearty belief in women's rights. I have always believed that women should have the ballot, and I will use my influence both in public and private to help your cause."

E. E. MCMICHAEL,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Alpena, Mich.

"To my mind the agreement in favor of equal suffrage is unanswerable. It is an insult to womanhood to talk of giving the right of suffrage. The right is her's in everything but a legal way and that barrier ought to be removed at once. I would not even argue the fact that we all admit that woman is man's equal intellectually and his superior morally. Even if she were not, it is man's selfishness that has tried to disqualify her. I would not even argue as to whether women want to vote or not. Many men, who ought to vote fail to do so. It may be so with women. But it is her moral right and no honorable man should try to deprive her of it."

REV. WILLIAM BRYANT,
Presbytery of Detroit,
South Lyon, Mich.

"I will say I am absolutely and heartily in favor of woman's suffrage. And considering what women have accomplished for our country in the past, as well as what they are doing today:—they are the greatest sufferers in this terrible war and they are the greatest benefactors to our soldiers at the front. For these and many other reasons I strongly support Woman's Suffrage."

CHAS. F. BROWN,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Millbrook, Mich.

"Regarding my stand on the woman suffrage question, I take great pleasure in stating that I am most enthusiastic in my advocacy

of it first, last and always. There is every argument in its favor, no valid one against it."

REV. OWEN J. ROBERTS,
Presbyterian,
Brown City, Mich.

"I have always believed in equal suffrage, and we cannot have it unless women have the franchise. When we consider what women have done, and are doing in this world war, to make the world safe for democracy, I cannot understand why any sensible man would want to rob women of their right to vote."

REV. JOHN J. STRIKE,
Methodist Episcopal,
Kearsage, Mich.

"By all means give the women of Michigan and of every state in the Union the franchise which they have proved themselves to be worthy of, and I believe have merited the appreciation of every intelligent man. If conservative old England has decided to confer the franchise on women there, chiefly through the supreme sacrifice they are now making, if for nothing more, surely our noble women are worthy of the same consideration. The part our women have played in dethroning King Bacchus is quite sufficient proof of their ability to be leaders in the great moral and spiritual welfare of the world. In the parlance of the street I say 'go to it.' "

C. E. BISHOP,
Episcopal,
Sturgis, Mich.

"I am in favor of woman suffrage. I have too high an esteem for my mother and wife to be otherwise."

D. A. ROOD,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Copemish, Mich.

"A great many people fail to realize the great moral in political issues involved in equal suffrage. I am surprised at the ignorance and indifference of many women over the question of their political and moral emancipation. The incident of suffrage to women is probably the most vital political question facing the free needs of the world today. And the refusal by men hitherto to accord equal rights to women, is one of the great historic blunders of civilization."

JOSEPH W. COCHRAN,
Presbyterian Church,
Detroit, Mich.

"I have been for many years in favor of woman suffrage on general principles. The experience of the states which have given votes

to women has deepened my convictions. Now it seems that the war has forced women out into fields formerly occupied by men to such an extent that there is no argument left for those on the other side. I shall certainly use my influence in Michigan to give the ballot to women at every opportunity."

W. F. KENDRICK,
First Methodist Episcopal Church,
Kalamazoo, Mich.

"In the records of Holy Writ the very 'Plan of Salvation' depended upon the loyalty of women. Not only in the scriptures but in human history it has been and is true. 'Women last at the Cross and first at the Temple.' In the Church woman's religious interests have been its inspiration, her sacrificing endeavor has guaranteed its human permanence, and just now, after 1,900 years the male Christian is just beginning to acknowledge her place in the Kingdom of God, and her right and ability to fill it. In these days when women are making the supreme sacrifice for the world's deliverance, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity should no longer be accounted masculine perquisites. Aside from all arguments, the *fact* is Equal Rights, Universal Suffrage or whatever you may choose to call it, is Right and Just. To me there is no valid argument against it."

U. S. VILLARS,
M. E. Church,
Whitehall.

"I have been for many years in favor of woman suffrage on general principles. The experience of the states which have given votes to women has deepened my convictions. Now it seems that the war has forced women out into fields formerly occupied by men to such an extent that there is no argument left for those on the other side. I shall certainly use my influence in Michigan to give the ballot to women at every opportunity."

W. F. KENDRICK,
First Methodist Episcopal Church,
Kalamazoo, Mich.

"The logical development of democracy can mean no less than the expansion of the elective franchise to include the youth of 18 to 21 who are not too young to be called to the colors and give their lives in defense of the flag, and also the mothers, sisters and wives of these men who today are not only keeping the homes fires burning, but are also, along all lines of effort, doing their part equally with the men to assure the final triumph of Democracy."

CHAS. O. GRIESHABER,
South Congregational Church,
Grand Rapids, Mich.

"May I express to you, and through you to the other women who with you are engaged in this great work of bringing Woman Suffrage to Michigan, my sincere appreciation of the work that you are doing. I am an enthusiastic believer in Equal Suffrage and hope that your labors will be crowned with success in the November election.

There are three perils to your cause just at this time, as I see it:

1. That all people are absorbed with the war and cannot therefore be expected to give the thought that normally they would to such a movement.

2. The 'over-confidence' of the voters and your own workers.

3. The apathy of many good women so far as suffrage is concerned.

May I assure you that if in any way I can use my pulpit for the success of your cause all you need to do is to command me. With best wishes, I beg to remain,

Your co-worker and friend,
JOHN C. WILLITS,
First Methodist Episcopal Church,
Grand Rapids, Mich."

"The Constitutional Amendment granting the franchise to women, which will be submitted to voters next November, has my hearty endorsement. There is a world-wide disposition to recognize the right of women to the ballot. War has opened the eyes of men to the value of women as co-partners in winning the war and in the general work of the world. Real democracy is impossible without equal suffrage."

ALFRED WESLEY WISHART,
Fountain Street Baptist Church,
Grand Rapids, Mich.

"That equal suffrage should have been delayed at all is something we are ashamed of. How slowly we advance but we do advance."

C. E. PETERSON,
Congregational Church,
Central Lake, Mich.

"On the ruins of a broken, bleeding world, we must build a safer democracy. Woman, who has served and suffered, as no other can, must be enfranchised. She who goes into the valley of death to get her offspring, must have a voice in moulding his environment. Michigan must join the twelve states already in this honorable procession. I heartily endorse the campaign of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association."

W. G. NIXON,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Saginaw, Mich.

"I am heartily in favor of Woman Suffrage. Neither on intellectual, physical, moral or social grounds is there even the slightest reason for opposing it. The present world crisis has banished the last vestige of an argument against it and given the movement a fresh and vital impetus."

FREDERICK SPENCE,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Saginaw, Mich.

"Faith in this cause is part of my heritage. I am glad to make my little contribution."

U. S. VILLAR,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Whitehall, Mich.

"My opinion is that the demand for the right of franchise by woman is fair and reasonable. Why? The world concedes her the ability to train her children. It logically follows that she has the capacity and right to teach in the public schools as well as in the home. This leads up to the rights of higher intellectual development and training in professional and industrial fields.

In the economic, the professional and industrial world she has won her way in the face of opposition and proven her ability; and she has not, as some predicted she would, become unsexed, nor has a womanly woman become a curiosity through entrance into active public life.

Judging by common standards of intelligence and purity of character woman, as a whole, is in every sense the equal of man, and in many instances the superior.

I hold it therefore, as reasonable and just that she should be accorded her rights of equal suffrage. Indeed, is not Democracy impossible under any other condition."

R. C. HUFSTADER,
Congregational Church,
Flint, Mich.

"There is no reason in the world why women who have just as many responsibilities and burdens as men should not participate in all the privileges. I have always thought and felt that woman had a wonderful contribution to make to the state by way of humanizing it. I think that a great many of our social problems can be solved more quickly and surely with the aid of women than without such help; for women bring to these problems the elements of the heart which is certainly necessary in the conduct of the state.

I believe also that women will be greatly benefited by the suffrage because it will enlarge their vision and develop their consciousness of state responsibilities.

But over and above all these reasons and many others is the rea-

son of the fundamental justice of things and it is right that woman should have her rights just as the man."

BRADFORD PENGELLY,
Episcopal Church,
Flint, Mich.

"I am a convinced and I hope, a consistent advocate of Equal Suffrage, and I am ready to do what I can to further it in the campaign that is now on.

I believe it not only the right thing to do from the standpoint of Christianity, but as a means to carry on the war and to reconstruct the nation after the war, it is indispensable that the womanhood of the country be enlisted and empowered to help think out and work out the vast problems that are already before us as a people."

ARCHIBALD HADDEN,
Congregational Church,
Muskegon, Mich.

"I have always believed that woman has the same inherent right to the franchise that man has. I could never see where man received his authority to deny or question it. Given an equal chance, she is every way as capable of exercising this prerogative as he. The opposite idea has resulted solely from and been enforced solely by man's superior physical strength. With the abandonment of the notion that might makes right, kaiserism, exclusive male franchise and all such relics of barbarism, must perish."

H. E. WYLIE,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Hesperia, Mich.

"Equal Suffrage received a new emphasis when, in these stirring times, women began to take the places of men in business. Woman's fitness in these new avenues of activity adds additional proof to her right to the franchise."

EMIL MONTANUS,
St. John's Church,
Saginaw, Mich.

"I have long believed in the principle of Equal Suffrage as a matter of primal justice. Citizens who obey the laws of their country, bear its burdens, contribute to its welfare, pay its taxes and join with God and man in the propagation of its sons and daughters have a fundamental right to share in all the privileges of citizenship. To be refused this right is to suffer tyranny.

I have come to believe in Equal Suffrage in the interests of an enriched citizenship. Measured by academic training the women of America are quite as well qualified intellectually for the responsibility of citizenship as men, and my long experience in public life, convinces

me that they are, on the whole, more responsive to moral ideas. Suffrage therefore means, not merely an increase of voters, but also the introduction of a new element into the vote. This claim is, I think, strongly sustained by actual experience in the Equal Suffrage states.

I believe in Equal Suffrage in the interest of a completer Democracy. It would be a sad anomaly if we should vote at home against the very spirit of that for which millions of our citizens are fighting abroad. And certainly what American women are now doing 'To make the world safe for Democracy' entitles them to share in the full fruition of that ideal for which they suffer and serve."

N. S. BRADLEY, D. D.
First Congregational Church,
Saginaw, Mich.

"I can say personally that we shall only be too glad to welcome anyone speaking on 'Suffrage for Women.'

If there is anything that I can do personally to help you in this work, please feel free to call on me."

I. PAUL TAYLOR,
Congregational Church,
Highland Park, Mich.

"In our congregation there are about 1,000 members and we will be very glad for the woman suffrage that will be voted upon 5th of November, 1918.

God will help us."

D. A. SAMANEN,
Finnish Evangelical Luthern Church,
Wakefield, Mich.

"I am very glad to say that I am in favor of equal suffrage and have been for a long time.

1st. Because I believe the women of our country are equally well qualified, naturally.

2nd. Their mind culture is equal to that of the men.

3rd. They are therefore capable of deciding on the merits of any question, which ought and which ought not to be done.

4th. They are therefore entitled to the right of suffrage."

C. E. ELLIS,
Pastor of M. P. Church,
Columbiaville, Mich.

RIVERSIDE PRINTING COMPANY, PORT HURON, MICH.

We are singing from the pig-pens
And from the quarries,
And from the unploughed stubble,
The unsown field;
From the cellars where we house us and hide us,
We are singing for you, brave fighters,
You who are fighting for your honor,
For your future,
For your existence,—
You who think that you are fighting for all these things,
And for us,
(Or who think not at all!)
We are they whom you love and cherish,
Whom you have left behind,
Whom you have stripped of everything,
Having robbed us of our sons
And of the hope of Mary,
Oh, brave fighters.
We are singing to you from our graves,
And from our sterility,
And from our outraged viriginity;
You are fighting against us, brave fighters.
We are your honor,
And your existence
And your future.
We are your colonies
And your fruitfulness
And your life.
This war that you wage is against ourselves,
Against yourselves.
Fight for us, brave fighters,
Fight for a good cause,
The world needs a fight,
But not a fight to kill,
Oh, brave fighters.

When the fight to kill is ended
You will begin another fight,
You, brave fighters,
The few that are left of you,
And the fight will be for us,
Not against us,
And oh, the up-hill work of the world
After the Fight to Kill is done,
When we begin the world's real work,
We, brave fighters.

From the cathedral-steps of Cracow,
From the little calvaries of the Argonne,
From the green lands tattered with shells,
From the windy East Coast and the sighing West,
From the empty lace-factories,
The deserted toy-shops,
The darkened squares of Paris,
And all the desolate, decimated villages,
Comes the singing of the still small voices.

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The Woman's Peace Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:
116 South Michigan Avenue
CHICAGO

The Committee for the Encouragement of Artists, Musicians and Writers to Works Promoting Peace, hoping by these means to stir the emotions and sentiment of people, so they will be roused into taking an active part in the campaign for educating the young in the new ideals of peace, and transforming their youthful impulses toward militancy into earnest, intelligent and constructive activity for world peace, offers the suggestion: that local clubs, and groups affiliated with the Woman's Peace Party, coöperate where possible with schools and colleges to give one of the following programs to the public:

I.

"The Trojan Women," by Euripides. Given by the Chicago Little Theater Company under the auspices of the Woman's Peace Party.

"The Trojan Women" was given in Chicago at the Blackstone Theatre on Sunday afternoon, April 11th, to initiate the tour through the West, which will continue through the summer. The play was given with such beauty and dignity that the audience which filled the house from top to bottom was deeply moved, and was inspired with the spirit of life which all great art gives.

II.

We earnestly recommend Miss Mollie Best's program:

"Mrs. Tubbins on World Politics."
"Three Soldiers."
Remarks by Miss Best on War and Peace.

Miss Best is most gifted and original, and one of the greatest allies the Peace movement has gained. The following quotation from the press will give some idea of the quality of her work:

"Miss Best was in London after the war opened and got the viewpoint of the common people as to the war period. There was no question but that it was the same that would have been taken by the same class of people in any of the nations that are now at each other's throats. Miss Best would puncture the warrior's armor in more places with her shafts of wit and homely philosophy than all the figures and platitudes the average peace orator could load into forty centimeter guns."

III.

"War Brides," by Marion Craig Wentworth. To be read by Mrs. Wentworth, or by Miss Katharine Jewell Everts, who has been authorized by the writer to read the play.

The peculiar significance of this play at the present time has made it a subject of much interest to the public, and its tragic and dramatic quality are very valuable.

A LAMENTATION WRITTEN SOON AFTER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

"And you, ye Bridegrooms, enter not in, and let not the brides adorn themselves with garlands; and, ye women, pray that ye may not bear. For the barren shall rejoice more, and those who have no sons shall be glad, and those who have sons shall have anguish. For why should they bear in pain and bury in grief? Or wherefore, again, should mankind have sons; or wherefore should the seed of their nature be named where that mother is desolate, and her sons are led into captivity? From this time forward speak not of beauty and discourse not of gracefulness."

—From the "Apocalypse of Beruch," Chapter X.

IV.

"The Unseen Empire," by Artherton Brownell. To be read by Bertha Kunz Baker. Mrs. Baker has been given the exclusive rights for public reading of the play.

The Baroness von Suttner said of "The Unseen Empire":

"It is just the play which the Peace movement has been looking for. The effect will be tremendous."

The author wrote to Mrs. Baker:

"Your reading of the play was magnificent. I believe you are doing for the play the greatest possible service. No company that can ever be brought together will be able to give the mental and spiritual interpretation that you give it."

Mrs. Baker is in sympathy with the Woman's Peace Party and will organize groups following readings "if desired."

V.

"Lay Down Your Arms," a moving picture play from the novel by the Baroness von Suttner.

Special agreements have been made with the Great Northern Film Company in connection with the use of this film. Particulars relating to arrangements to be made with local moving picture theatres furnished by the Secretary at the National Headquarters.

"Lay Down Your Arms" was thrown on a screen after the addresses were made at the dinner given for the delegates to the Emergency Peace Convention in February. The parts are very well acted and the realistic scenes of the tragedy with the threads of romance leave vivid pictures on the memory.

VI.

Peace Pageant, by Cora Mel Patten and Elma C. Ehrlich. "A concrete lesson in Peace presented through dialogue, pantomime and song." The details of the pageant have been carefully elaborated by Miss Patten, who is experienced in such work with school children and the young people of the Junior Drama League. The personages of the play represent the dreamers and preachers of peace from the 14th Century to the present, when the "New woman and the New child" take up the mission; and the symbolic parts typify the people and the conflicting ideas that govern men. The starting of the crusade is symbolized by the planting of the peace tree and the placing beneath it of the pledges of the children. There is much beautiful verse in the text by Miss Ehrlich, and the musical setting provides an accompaniment that sustains the spirit of the scenes.

The text of the pageant is published by Miss Patten, who will provide a director, costumes, and banners at a reasonable fee; a small royalty required when not given under the supervision of Miss Patten or her assistants. Price of book, 25 cents, or in lots of fifty or more, 15 cents each.

VII,

Suggestions and Bibliography for Peace Day Programs, by Florence Holbrook. Printed by the Chicago Peace Society and the Arts Committee of the Woman's Peace Party for circulation among school teachers for the use of school children. Copies will be mailed from the National Headquarters if requested. It is hoped that as many schools as possible will celebrate Peace Day, May 18th, and that wherever possible the children may take part in out-of-door pageants, for the educational value of such activities is perhaps the greatest asset toward lasting peace.

VIII.

The Fuller Sisters, of Dorsetshire, England, present a program of old folk songs of War and Peace.

In this program is included a recent song by Ewer, "The Five Souls," printed in the London Nation, and set to music from Beethoven's Seventh Symphony by the Fullers. Clayton Summy Co. has published this song with music as sung by the Fuller Sisters for the Woman's Peace Party. Copies may be ordered through the National Headquarters—twenty-seven cents, postpaid. The song has been used in Chicago on peace programs at Hull House, in churches, and at mass meetings in theatres.

The following poem, by Florence Wilkinson, has been presented by her to the Peace Party:

THE FIGHTERS

BY

Florence Wilkinson

From the cathedral-steps of Cracow,
From the little calvaries of the Argonne,
From the green lands tattered with shells,
From the windy East Coast and the sighing West,
From the empty lace factories,
The deserted toy-shops,
The darkened squares of Paris,
And all the desolate, decimated villages,
Comes the singing of the women:

We are the mothers of fighters,
We are the children of fighters,
We are the children unborn,
We are the children never-to-be,—
We are singing to hearten you,
Brave fighters.

every day and drop a ballot occasionally, and so accomplish a great deal more good with less work? Spare the busy women. They are not overstrong, you know.

Ninth. "Because political equality will deprive woman of special privileges hitherto accorded to her by law."

This reason was not suggested by a politician, for they all know that when women come to help make and unmake legislators the man who wants to be re-elected, as most men do, will try to add greater privileges to those enjoyed by women. To please the women will then be a duty which he will "owe to his constituents."

Tenth and last reason. "Because suffrage logically involves the holding of public office, and office holding is inconsistent with the duties of most women."

Agreed! That is the reason why so few women have cared to hold office out in Wyoming, where all women have voted on all subjects for the last quarter of a century! And where the majority of men are so pleased with the results of woman suffrage that the Territory refused to come into the Union as a State unless it could be a free State for women as for men.

These things being so, dear ladies, may not your solicitude for the State and your love for all mankind turn your protest into a prayer, to which Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, and their thousands, tens and hundreds of thousands of co-workers may say AMEN, and AMEN?

SARAH BURGER STEARNS.

A WORD TO THE SILENT WOMEN:

MY DEAR SISTERS:—The daily papers testify that man's injustice and cruelty to poor women and girls are driving multitudes of them to despair, disgrace, and suicide. The silent woman seems to sanction all this crime and wrong, because it is said that "silence gives consent." The dear Saviour said: "He that is not with me is against me." And so each poor, despairing girl and woman feels that *she who pleads not for the power to save her* is giving aid and comfort to her foul destroyer.

And those noble women above named, who are all nearing life's sunset, and whom you all love and admire, must soon pass out of this world feeling that the silent women (those who neither oppose nor ask for the ballot) are the unconscious allies of those men who would keep women disfranchised and thus powerless to save their suffering sisters.

Eulogy of those grand leaders, after their great and loving hearts have ceased to beat, will not take the place, dear sisters, of the sympathy and help they now crave from you. They ask you to be no longer silent, but to declare yourselves to be in sympathy with that most sacred cause of womanhood, to which they have consecrated so much of their lives.

S. B. S.

NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS,
107 WORLD BUILDING, NEW YORK.

TO THE DEAR WOMEN OPPOSED TO

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

AN OPEN LETTER.

To the twenty-one Brooklyn women who helped to start a protest against any woman being allowed to vote, when in 1894 six hundred thousand men and women were petitioning for the omission of the word male in the new State Constitution:

DEAR LADIES.—You were doubtless very sincere in protesting against being allowed your liberty; but liberty-loving women must all protest against your attempt to stand between them and their freedom to vote, or not to vote, as may best suit them. Your reasons for protesting may be very good, as concerning only yourselves, if you prefer as women to be still governed as children. As affecting those who would prefer the freedom and dignity becoming adults, they are not pertinent. Let us examine them:

First. "Because suffrage is to be regarded not as a privilege to be enjoyed, but as a duty to be performed."

A good reason for a child who would rather play than study, and would like to excuse herself by saying that big brother would not let her study, but not a good reason for you, ladies, to apply to those who want to be free to do their duty.

Second. "Because hitherto the women of the State have enjoyed exemption from this burdensome duty."

Careful, ladies! You have "enjoyed" exemption, but not those who have been begging not to be exempted or barred from duty. To you this might be "burdensome." To them it would be as easy as going to prayer meeting, and a good deal more effective, you must admit, in securing answer to prayer. And, really, ladies, we think you would enjoy going to the polls two or three times a year to drop a slip of paper into the ballot box, to be counted as one in favor of some good man or measure, thus helping to bring answer to your daily prayer, "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." The labor would be nothing compared with the work you do for the church and for charities—hoping thus to do some good, but seeing very small results. With the ballot you could help to put such men in office as would protect the interest of the State, and also protect the innocent by making and enforcing laws for the punishment of crime, even such crimes as can be committed against girls and women only. Thus you could do more in an hour for the State and for the prevention of misery than you can now do in a year for its alleviation.

Third. "Because conferring suffrage upon the women who claim it would impose suffrage upon the many women who neither desire it as a privilege nor regard it as a duty."

A great mistake! No one ever dreamed of a law compelling all or any women to vote. The request has only been for *freedom* to vote or not to vote, as one pleases—just as man does, you know.

Fourth. "Because the need of America is not an increased quantity, but an improved quality of the vote."

Exactly so, and that is one great reason why the most thoughtful and conscientious among women are asking for the ballot—that they may by their own votes improve the *quality* of the vote. They have faith enough in womanhood to believe that when enfranchised the entire mass of professing Christian women will prove their Christian love for humanity by voting for good men to make and enforce good laws for the benefit of humanity. They think it must be true that in New York, and every State (as in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Kansas and elsewhere), the intelligent Christian women voters would far outnumber the ignorant.

You further say: "There is no adequate reason to believe that woman suffrage, by doubling the vote, will improve its quality." The fact that the quality of the vote is thus improved out West may be considered an "adequate reason for believing" that it would be thus improved in New York and elsewhere.

The second legislature of the State of Wyoming memorialized Congress in the following

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION:

"*Be It Resolved,* By the second legislature of the State of Wyoming, that the possession and exercise of the right of suffrage by women in Wyoming for the past quarter of a century has wrought no harm and has done great good in many ways.

"That it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism and vice from this State, and that without any violent or oppressive legislation.

"That it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, and has kept politics generally in a remarkable condition of purity, and has maintained a marvelous degree of civilization and public order.

"We point with pride to the facts that after twenty-five years of woman suffrage, not one county in Wyoming has a poorhouse, that our jail occupancy is very light, and that crime in the State, except by strangers, is almost unknown.

"As the result of our experience we urge every civilized community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay.

"*Resolved,* That an authenticated copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the Secretary of State to Congress, to the legislature of every State and Territory in this country, and to every legislative body in the world; and we request the press throughout the civilized world to call the attention of their readers to these resolutions."

It may be said that such a resolution may come very well from Wyoming, where there are no large cities, but in such cities as New York and Brooklyn, where there is so much ignorance and vice, it would be different.

But is it not as clear as daylight that it would not make any difference how many ignorant, and even vicious men and women voted, if only intelligent and virtue-loving men and women could and would see to it that only the most honorable and capable men received the nominations? This is done in the Western States where women are free to vote. And we know that *here* as there honorable, conscientious, and far-sighted men are to be found in all parties in sufficient numbers to fill *every office* from the President down.

Fifth. "Because the household, not the individual, is the unit of the State."

Ladies, did you ever know a household with several adult males in it to have but one vote? Ever know a man to have no vote because he belonged to no household? No! There is no such thing as a household unit in this country, never has been, and never will be. It is the number of individual units that count in the forming of a State, not the number of households. You further say: "The vast majority of women are represented by household suffrage." Represented in a very mythical way, ladies. No man, whether having a household or not, has more than one vote, and that vote represents his own individual wishes every time. As well say that one vote is sufficient for two men, as say that one vote is sufficient for a man and a woman.

Sixth. "Because the women not so represented suffer no practical injustice which giving suffrage will remedy."

Dear ladies, do you know nothing of the many forms of cruel injustice that thousands of defenceless women and children suffer for the want of good laws and good men to enforce them? Do I suffer no "practical injustice" when I am told, "You shall not vote because you are a woman," while I know that my vote would go as far toward securing good government and righting the world's wrongs as the vote of the best man living?

Seventh. "Because equality in character does not imply similarity in function, and the duties and life of men and women are divinely ordered to be different in the State as in the home."

Granted; but to enjoy in an unselfish, womanly way the State, a woman needs to be free to help guide and balance the great old ship by at least her own vote. To enjoy in an unselfish, womanly way the home (if she has any) and "the divinely appointed order of things," a woman again needs the ballot, that she may help secure the protection of law for other homes, and her own, from all evil outside influences.

Eighth. "Because the energies of women are engrossed by their present duties and interests, from which men cannot relieve them."

It is freely admitted that many women are, for some period of their lives, so much absorbed in the cares of home and husband and young children that they have time for little else. They may then omit going to vote or going to church or prayer-meeting sometimes. What of it? Is that any reason why they and all other women should be forever prohibited from going to vote or going to church or prayer-meeting? The energies of most men are engrossed by present duties and interests, from which women cannot relieve them. Should all men, therefore, be deprived of the ballot?

You add: "It is better for the community that women devote their energies to the more efficient performance of their present work than to divert them to new fields of activity." Consider what you say, ladies. Better for all women, as half of the community, to work harder than they do for home, church fairs, charities, society, and what not, than to take time to read the papers

Miss Penfield will Speak at

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on .....

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Admission.....

For further particulars address

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ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO 2



MISS PERLE PENFIELD

Lecturer and Organizer

For the National American Woman Suffrage Association

MISS PENFIELD was born in Iowa of America parentage. Her ancestral lines run back to colonial days in America, some of her ancestors having been distinguished as patriots and all having been substantial, well-educated citizens. Her girlhood was spent in various Western States.

She took a preparatory course at Rockford College (Illinois) before entering Oberlin College (Ohio) where she remained two years. Her junior and senior years were spent at the University of Texas from which institution she was graduated in June, 1905. She was the first president of the Women's Athletic Association of the University and is an enthusiast in various athletic sports. After her graduation she taught for two years in a preparatory school at Austin, Texas.

In Miss Penfield are combined executive ability and the qualities of a pleasing and magnetic speaker. She makes friends for herself and for the cause she is representing wherever she goes.



In 1907, Norway gave full parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage, Sweden made women eligible to municipal offices, Denmark gave women the right to vote for members of boards of public charities, and to serve on such boards, and England, with only 15 dissenting votes out of the 670 members of the House of Commons, made women eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town councillors. The new State of Oklahoma continued school suffrage for women.

In 1908 Michigan gave all women who pay taxes the right to vote upon questions of local taxation and the granting of franchises; Denmark gave women who are taxpayers or the wives of taxpayers a vote for all officers except members of Parliament, and Victoria gave full State suffrage to all women.

Years ago, when equal suffrage was much more unpopular than it is now, somebody asked Bishop Gilbert Haven if it were true that he had been speaking at a suffrage meeting?

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

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

Political Equality Leaflets, 10c. sample set, published at **National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.**

UNION LABEL 89 TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL NEW YORK

Progress of Equal Suffrage

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

It is sometimes said that while the movement for women's education and property rights has advanced rapidly, the movement for suffrage has made little or no progress. On this point, let the "hard facts" speak for themselves.

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden, and a few other places in the old world.

In 1838, Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows with children of school age. In 1850, Ontario gave it to women, both married and single. In 1861, Kansas gave it to all women. In 1867, New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869, England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows. Victoria gave it to women, both married and single, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women.

In 1871, West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. School suffrage was granted in 1875 by Michigan and Minnesota, in 1876 by Colorado, in 1877 by New Zealand, in 1878 by New Hampshire and Oregon, in 1879 by Massachusetts, in 1880 by New York and Vermont.

In 1880, South Australia gave municipal suffrage to women.

In 1881, municipal suffrage was extended to the single women and widows of Scotland, and parliamentary suffrage to the women of the Isle of Man. Nebraska gave women school suffrage in 1883. Municipal suffrage was given by Ontario and Tasmania in 1884, and by New Zealand and New Brunswick in 1886.

In 1887, municipal suffrage was granted in Kansas, Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona and New Jersey. In the same year Montana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers.

In 1888, England gave women county suffrage, and British Columbia and the Northwest Territory gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889, county suffrage was given to the women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in the Province of Quebec. In 1891, school suffrage was granted in Illinois.

In 1893, school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894, school suffrage was granted in Ohio, bond suffrage in Iowa, and parish and district suffrage in England to women, both married and single. In 1895, full state suffrage was granted in South Australia to women, both married and single. In 1896, full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho.

In 1898, the women of Ireland were given the right to vote for all offices except members of Parliament; Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees; Delaware gave school suffrage to tax-paying women; France gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce; and Louisiana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers. In 1900, Wisconsin gave women school suffrage, and West Australia granted full state suffrage to women, both married and single.

In 1901, New York gave tax-paying women in all towns and villages of the State the right to vote on questions of local taxation, Norway gave them municipal suffrage, and the Kansas Legislature voted down almost unanimously and "amid a ripple of amusement" a proposal to repeal municipal suffrage.

In 1902, full national suffrage was granted to all the women of federated Australia, and full state suffrage to the women of New South Wales.

In 1903, bond suffrage was granted to the women of Kansas, and Tasmania gave women full state suffrage.

In 1905, Queensland gave women full state suffrage.

In 1906, Finland gave full national suffrage to women, and made them eligible to all offices, from members of Parliament down.

To no class of women is this subject of equal suffrage of such vital importance as to the working women. To them it becomes an industrial as well as a political question.—*Jane Adams.*

By nothing have we been more deluded and blinded than by the traditional interpretation of what politics means. It is really something almost vulgarly commonplace, and very simple. People are everywhere finding out that their single strength is too weak. They have to group themselves, and make certain regulations for protection ; and that is politics. We are finding out that our cities ought to be governed as great business corporations. Are women less concerned than men in having clean streets, decent sewers, untainted milk, good schools, charities properly administered, hospitals put on a proper footing? Yet we can not have to do with any of these things without taking part in politics, pure and simple.

We are told it is unsafe to give suffrage to those who do not ask it. I deny that absolutely. Wagner, the head of the greatest University in the world, has paid a high tribute to Ferdinand Lasell; and what was Lasell's work? He went around for many years stinging the working classes into feeling that they wanted a vote. It is a commonplace that the laborers did not want it.

Our great pessimists, who think life is rotten to the core, despise suffrage and women. Between the text of trust in the people, modified by prudence, as against distrust of the people, qualified by fear, which will you take? There is no doubt as to what brave and fair-minded men will answer.—*John Graham Brooks.*

Under a representative form of government the execution of all law rests upon public sentiment, and the public sentiment which counts is that which is expressed at the polls. Though women now make their influence indirectly effective, that influence would be far more potent if it had fair expression. The execution of laws dealing with moral problems sorely misses the support of that half of the community which is most earnest and sensitive to plain questions of right and wrong. Men conduct the business of the country while women shape the home and family life of the people. Men see to it that the laws protect the rights of property, but the great interests of temperance, purity, the protection of the weak and the young are inadequately cared for. If it is said that nothing would be gained by an extension of the rights of suffrage to both sexes we need only to point to the fact that of the criminals of our land, there are nine men to every woman, and that in our churches there are two or three women to every man.

Yet that half of our population who possess the greater moral earnestness have no representation at the polls I believe in woman suffrage not so much because they desire to vote, as because we need their vote ; not because it is their privilege but their duty.—*Rev. Frederick B. Allen.*

If we are going to have a perfect system of government, we must have in it the largest development of the conscience of the nation. That is what we need in public life to-day more than any other factor. We have ability, but we know that things are not run always just as we would like to have them. Bring this superior responsiveness of womanhood to the duties of life to bear on the government of the nation, and I believe we shall have added the one factor now wanting in our national, State and city governments.—*John L. Bates.*

The objections to the political woman and to the educated woman present some instructive analogies. Fifty years ago it was seriously believed that knowing the classics would ruin her morals, philosophy her religion, and mathematics her health; in general, a college education would take away her desire to be a good wife and mother. To protect a being so frail, the colleges were carefully closed against her. Now, with the approval of wise men, more girls than boys are preparing for college, and this in the public interest. It may be found in politics, as in education, that the higher duties of women will be assisted, not hindered, by intelligent discipline in the lower.—*Alice Freeman Palmer.*

Eminent Opinions on Woman Suffrage.

In the administration of a State, neither a woman as a woman nor a man as a man has any special functions, but the gifts are equally diffused in both sexes.—*Plato.*

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assists in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

In the progress of civilization, woman suffrage is sure to come.—*Charles Sumner.*

We need the participation of woman in the ballot-box. It is idle to fear that she will meet with disrespect or insult at the polls. Let her walk up firmly and modestly to deposit her vote, and if any one ventures to molest her, the crowd will swallow him up as the whale swallowed Jonah.—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

If prayer and womanly influence are doing so much for God by indirect methods, how shall it be when that electric force is brought to bear through the battery of the ballot-box?—*Frances E. Willard.*

We used to ask for suffrage because women needed it as the means to larger opportunities. But the aspect of the woman question has changed. Women are now saying, as in the days of the war, "The country needs us."—*Mary A. Livermore.*

I believe in the admission of women to the full rights of citizenship and share in the government, on the express grounds that few women keep house so badly or with such wastefulness as Chancellors of the Exchequer keep the State, and womanly genius for organization applied to the affairs of the nation would be extremely economical and beneficial.—*Theodore Parker.*

Any influence I may happen to have is gladly extended in favor of woman suffrage.—*Lydia Maria Child.*

Every year gives me greater faith in it, greater hope of its success, and a more earnest wish to use what influence I possess for its advancement.—*Louisa M. Alcott.*

Those who are ruled by law should have the power to say what shall be the laws and who the law-makers. Women are as much interested in legislation as men, and are entitled to representation.—*William Lloyd Garrison.*

I am in favor of woman suffrage.—*Phillips Brooks.*

With all my head, and with all my heart, I believe in woman suffrage.—*Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.*

It is very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. . . . If the wants, the passions, the vices, are allowed a full vote, through the hands of a half-brutal, intemperate population, I think it but fair that the virtues, the aspirations, should be allowed a full voice as an offset, through the purest of the people.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

We have driven our leading opponents from one position to another, until there is not a thoughtful opponent of woman suffrage to be found who is not obliged to deny the doctrine which is affirmed in our Declaration of Independence.—*George F. Hoar.*

The correct principle is that women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue, when they enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God.—*John Quincy Adams.*

Woman's suffrage is undoubtedly coming, and I for one expect a great deal of good to result from it.—*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.*

For over forty years I have not hesitated to declare my conviction that justice and fair dealing, and the democratic principles of our government, demand equal rights and privileges of citizenship, irrespective of sex. I have not been able to see any good reason for denying the ballot to women.—*J. G. Whittier.*

You ask my reasons for believing in women's suffrage. It seems to me almost self-evident, an axiom, that every house-holder and tax-payer ought to have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being.—*Florence Nightingale.*

To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is governed is a means of self-protection due to every one. Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same. —*John Stuart Mill.*

Suppose, for the sake of argument, we accept the inequality of the sexes as one of nature's immutable laws; call it a fact that women are inferior to men in mind, morals and physique. Why should this settle or materially affect the subject of so-called Woman's Rights? Would not this very inferiority be a reason why every advantage should be given to the weaker sex, not only for its own good, but for the highest development of the race?—*Huxley.*

Just as woman in literature, both as authoress and as audience, has effected a radical reform, an elimination of the obscenity and harshness from literature and art, so woman in the State will avail to eliminate the rigors of law, and much of the corruption in politics that now prevails.—*Professor William T. Harris.*

If the principle on which we founded our government is true, that taxation must not be without representation, and if women hold property and are taxed, it follows that women should be represented in the State by their votes. . . . I think the State can no more afford to dispense with the votes of women in its affairs than the family.—*Harriet Beecher Stowe.*

A woman may vote as a stock-holder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other. But if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for. Why, in the name of good sense, if a responsible human being may vote upon specific industrial projects, may she not vote upon the industrial regulation of the State?—*George William Curtis.*

I leave it to others to speak of suffrage as a right or privilege; I speak of it as a duty. . . . What right have you women to leave all this work of caring for the country with men? Is it not your country as well as theirs? Are not your children to live in it after you are gone? And are you not bound to contribute whatever faculty God has given you to make it and keep it a pure, safe and happy land?—*James Freeman Clarke.*

It is difficult to choose names when the list is so long, but it is right to mention among the distinguished women who have been with this movement from the outset, the names of Mrs. Somerville, Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale, Mrs. Browning, Miss Anna Swanwick, Miss Cobbe, Mrs. Grote, Mrs. Richie (Thackeray), Mary Carpenter and Mrs. Jameson.—*Millicent Garrett Fawcett.*

I take it America never gave any better principle to the world than the safety of letting every human being have the power of protection in its own hands. I claim it for woman. The moment she has the ballot, I shall think the cause won.—*Wendell Phillips.*

One principal cause of the failure of so many magnificent schemes, social, political, religious, which have followed each other age after age, has been this: that in almost every case they have ignored the rights and powers of one-half the human race—*viz.*, women. I believe that politics will not go right, that society will not go right, that religion will not go right, that nothing human will ever go right, except in so far as woman goes right; and to make woman go right she must be put in her place, and she must have her rights.—*Charles Kingsley.*

Woman must be enfranchised. It is a mere question of time. She must be a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. Admit, in the slightest degree, her right to property or education, and she must have the ballot to protect the one and use the other. And there are no objections to this, except such as would equally hold against the whole theory of republican government.—*T. W. Higginson.*

I think women are bound to seek the suffrage as a very great means of doing good.—*Frances Power Cobbe.*

When you were weak and I was strong, I toiled for you. Now you are strong and I am weak. Because of my work for you, I ask your aid. I ask the ballot for myself and my sex. As I stood by you, I pray you stand by me and mine.—*Clara Barton to the Soldiers.*

The mightiest intellects of the race, from Plato to the present time, have always given their assent to the fact that woman is not identically but equally endowed with man in intellectual capacity, and it is Wendell Phillips, I think, who has said and well said, that it is the second-rate men who doubt, perhaps because they fear a fair field. But we rest our claim on a fair principle which I believe is invulnerable—that taxation and representation must be co-extensive, that rights and burdens must correspond with each other, and this is the fundamental principle of liberty.—*Lady Henry Somerset.*

Both for herself for the effect which her disfranchisement has upon her actual income, and for the sake of the government as it comes into beneficent contact or into ruinous collision with those who are dearer to her than life itself, does the wage-earning woman need the ballot.—*Florence Kelly.*

"No one who listens to the reasons given by the superior class for the continuance of any system of subjection can fail to be impressed with the noble disinterestedness of mankind. Hence, when it is proposed to give the women an opportunity to present their case to the various State Legislatures to demand equality of political rights, it is not surprising to find that the reasons on which the continuance of the inferiority of women is urged, are drawn almost entirely from a tender consideration of their own good. The anxiety felt lest they should thereby deteriorate would be an honor to human nature were it not a historical fact that the same sweet solicitude has been put up as a barrier against every progress which women have made since civilization began."—*Thomas B. Reed.*

You will find many a street in our Massachusetts towns, on which, of the adult residents, a majority are women owning property on which they are taxed for the municipal expenditures in which they have no voice. And yet in every such community the average intelligence and competency of the women is equal to that of the men. Some of the women don't know much. Some of the men don't know much. Some of the women would not vote if they could; and many of the men do not vote, although they can. Some of the women would vote as they were led or misled; and many of the men do the same thing. Most of the women would, if they were voters, exercise the suffrage with conscientiousness, understanding and advantage; and the men do no more.—*John D. Long.*



HALF A CITIZEN

WOMAN = CITIZEN
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

words on the subjectlon of women might be tortured into falsehood, in this very letter to the Corinthians, after mentioning the historical fact that the man is the head of the woman, he adds, "Nevertheless, neither is the man without woman nor the woman without the man in the Lord;" and in Galations he declares unqualifiedly: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Our children will be as much astonished that we could hold to the divinely-ordained subordination of women in the face of this last clause, as we are now astonished that slave-holders and Jews could hold to the divinely-ordained subordination of the slaves and the Gentiles in the face of the first two clauses.

The Bible For Woman.

By Bishop J. W. Bashford.

Many reforms have been greatly hindered by false interpretations of the Bible.

Opponents of Equal Rights for women generally go back as far as Genesis for arguments, but even then they do not go back far enough. They stop with a true account of the false relation into which man and woman were thrown by sin, and quote this account as the original charter for mankind: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." If they will only go back to the creation of Adam and Eve, and to their natural and divine relation before the fall, they will fail to find a sentence which hints at the subordination of woman. Woman was not made in man's image, neither was the dominion of the world committeed to him alone. On the contrary, the record plainly says: "In the image of God created He him, male and female created He them, and God said: Let them have dominion over all the earth."

Now when Adam and Eve descended from the sphere of spirituality to the animal sphere, when they turned from a life of faith to follow appetite, God said to man that even nature should rebel against his animal life: "The earth shall bring forth thorns and thistles." The history of every drunkard and man of lust proves that nature fights against him, and confirms the prophecy. And God said to woman that in

this lower animal life with man she would be constantly worsted: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." Six thousand years of history have proven the terrible truth of this prophecy.

And yet this declaration of woman'y subordination—which does not belong at all to the account of her original creation, and which is directly due to sin, and which we see sprang from the very nature of the two and from the sinful contest on which they then entered--*is quoted repeatedly as the divine declaration of the ideal state of the sexes, and we are constantly told that any attempt to change it is a violation of the divine constitution.* As well might one declare that the thorns and briars which God said the earth should bring forth on account of man's sin are an expression of the ideal attitude of nature toward man, and that we violate the divine constitution in tilling the soil and improving its products.

Again, the whole effort of Christ was to restore to mankind what was lost in Adam. "For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." If Christianity is completely to restore that which was lost in Adam, how can it stop short of completely abolishing the subordination of woman, which the Bible declares to be the direct result of sin, and of leading us back to that Edenic proclamation, "Let *them* have dominion over all the earth?"

Paul wrote the letter to the Corinthians, and all his other letters, not from the platform of rights, but from the higher platform of love. He declares in the ninth chapter that he has, from the standpoint of justice, a clear right to payment for his labor, but refuses it; says he has a plain right to eat any kind of meat, but declares that if meat cause his brother to offend he will eat no meat while the world stands. He asks the Jews and Romans who may be in Corinth, not to confess Christ in Hebrew or Latin unless an interpreter is present, tells the women to keep silence in the meetings and obey their husbands, forbids the slaves to contend for their freedom, but to choose service rather. He even says: Let no man seek his own but every man his neighbor's good," and the argument fitly culminates in the marvelous exaltation of love in the thirteenth chapter.

After reading Paul's letter as a whole, who would dream of affirming that Paul is writing, not an apothesis of love, but a magna charta of personal rights? As well might we say that the fact of his taking no compensation is proof that he had no right to compensation for his labor, that his command to Jews and Romans not to confess Christ, at Corinth is proof that they had no right to confess Christ, in Hebrew or Latin, and that his prohibition of any man to seek his own is proof that a man has no right to his property, as to say that Paul's command to women to keep silence in the churches, and to obey their husbands, is proof that they had no right to speech or liberty.

But still more as if Paul foresaw that his

decided against her. They held that by the law of Scotland the father had an undoubted right to the custody of his children, except where allegations are made, and presumably capable of being proved, affecting his moral character. In this case they held that there was nothing of the sort. There was "nothing but an allegation of an act of cruelty following upon a variety of threats and bad language." This was held to imply nothing morally wrong in him, nothing which could render association with him injurious to the child. Accordingly the mother was ordered to give up the child, with permission to see it at a friend's house twice a week. It is quite needless to spend strong words over such a decision. It is legal, and that is conclusive. But surely every instinct of justice and humanity rises in insurrection against such a law. It is a law fit for savages, though savages are libelled by the comparison. They would be more just. We sometimes have to listen to strains of lofty moralising on the duty of women to abstain from politics, and of the unseemliness of the part they play when they leave the sweet shelter of their homes to invoke justice for themselves and their sisterhood at the bar of public opinion. The monstrous barbarity of this Scotch decision should silence all captious tongues. It is enough to make thoughtful women mad with indignation. While such judicial iniquities can be practised, we must be content to see the gentle and the timid forego the privileges of their sex and enter the arena where outrages of this sort find defenders. The shame perhaps is ours that we do not join them in their denunciations, or relieve them of their task by taking it upon ourselves. The laws by virtue of which such shameful demands can be preferred and such odious decisions given are the survivals of times when women were literally the slaves of men. Much worse than this may be said. The actual state of subjection and legal inferiority in which women are found has been theorised upon and made to fit in with a theory of the relations of husband and wife with regard to their children which degrades one sex to the position of being mere accessories to the lordly rights of the other—mere instruments for replenishing the earth with heroes and clodhoppers. The practice of some Eastern peoples is more consistent when they kill off those of their female children whom they do not want. So long as these unjust laws prevail our civilisation stands arraigned. The judges blush to execute them. Their respect for law and precedent can hardly nerve them to bear the shock. When that point is reached the case must be bad indeed.

VERAX.

Mr. James Bryce, M.P., has given notice that he will, early next Session, move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Law relating to the Guardianship of Minors. All persons willing to help in promoting this amendment of the law are requested to write to Mrs. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY, Congleton, from whom petition sheets, with written or printed headings, leaflets, and other papers may be had.

Copies of this leaflet (price 3½d. per dozen, or 2s. per hundred, post free) may also be had on application to the same address.

A. Ireland and Co., Printers, Manchester.

The Custody and Guardianship of Children.

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN.

Reprinted by kind permission from the "Manchester Weekly Times" of Saturday, November 24th, 1883.

The question of the right of women to possess and educate their own offspring crops up on every side. The law declares that as against their husbands women have no rights in the matter at all, or next to none. So long as husband and wife agree the one-sided character of this arrangement is concealed, but the moment they fall out the wife is likely to discover that she has simply had the privilege of giving birth to her children, and that there all privilege ends. She has no right to say how they shall be educated, or in what religion they shall be brought up. When her husband dies he may, if he pleases, hand over the guardianship of her children to a stranger, in which case a court of law will, if need be, solemnly decree that she shall not attempt to intermeddle with his arrangements. It is even possible for a blameless wife to be deprived of the custody of her infant offspring, to be called upon, at any rate by the law of Scotland, to give up her child on a husband's order, with permission to see it once or twice a week in somebody else's arms. That such things should be possible and yet excite so little remark is on the whole a tribute to the general goodness of domestic life amongst us. If, by some dismal freak of passion, or some sudden and unusual development of connubial incongruities, all husbands were led to insist upon their rights and all wives be made sensible of their helplessness, the world would exhibit a strange spectacle. We should see the men march off with all the children, down to the babies, and the women left without a child to bless them. In such a state of things one would be driven to wish that the schism between the sexes might last long enough to render a repetition of the scandal impossible. But what would be so very dreadful on a large scale is to the full just as dreadful on any scale, however small, to the victim or victims on whom the wrong is practised. The classical Agar-Ellis instance is well known, but it may be referred to for a moment as a set-off to one which is to follow. Mr. Agar-Ellis is a Protestant. He chose to marry a Catholic lady, the daughter of Lord Camoys. Before the lady would consent he had to give a promise that if there were any children by the marriage they should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. This promise was the consideration on which the marriage was agreed to. If he had not given it, the lady would not have become his wife. But when the children grew up to be capable of receiving religious instruction, and joining in acts of devotion at church, Mr. Agar-Ellis thought fit to repudiate his promise, and to insist upon bringing the children up Protestants. The lady pleaded her husband's ante-nuptial

promise in a court of law, but without success. The court did not care to decide whether or not the promise had been given. It held that, supposing it to have been given, it could not be enforced. It belongs to the father to say what his children's religion shall be, and on so high a matter he is to be free to avail himself of his latest and best lights. Anybody who is under a contract may have been a fool when he made it, but if the contract is not immoral that circumstance is not allowed to secure his release. The law allows religious belief to be the subject of contracts. It is upon this basis that all non-established churches rest. If in the orderly fulfilment of a moral engagement a man binds himself to exercise his rights as regards religion in a certain way, there does not seem to be any good reason why he should not be held to his contract. But by the pharisaical purism of English law Mrs. Agar-Ellis found herself defrauded of her bargain. She had been decoyed into marriage on false pretences, or pretences which were afterwards falsified, and found too late that she had no remedy. By an order of the court, on an allegation that she had disobeyed its decree, she was deprived of the company of her children, and a daughter on her way to womanhood who loves her mother and clings to her mother's faith is hardly allowed to see her once a year during the holidays. A companion picture has just been exhibited in the Irish Court of Chancery. The judgment is not yet given, but as their Lordships are not likely to have their understandings warped by anything I may say, I hope there is no risk of committal for contempt of court. The late Dr. Walsh, of Castlebar, a Roman Catholic by profession, became attached to Miss Dudgeon, a Protestant lady of the same town, and proposed to marry her. The authorities of the Roman Catholic Church are opposed to mixed marriages, and not without fair reasons. They are not more exacting in this respect than other religious bodies, where religion is more than skin-deep. Being anxious to comply with the regulations of his Church, he asked the parish priest to be good enough to use his best offices with the Archbishop to procure a dispensation, pledging himself, as he said, "in the event of a family, to have them baptised and brought up in my own faith." It is to be presumed that the dispensation was given. But demands were made on the other side. The young lady's mother refused consent to the marriage unless Dr. Walsh would promise that any children of the marriage should be brought up Protestants. Poor Dr. Walsh, in a dilemma between love and faith, tried to embrace both horns at once. He gave to the lady and her mother substantially the same promise which he had given to his priest, but in the opposite sense. He was willing that the children should be baptised by a Protestant clergyman. He thought it possible that circumstances might arise which would oblige him to have them baptised by a Roman Catholic priest, but that, he said, would not at all make it binding upon him to have them brought up Catholics. Catholic baptism might be necessary, but they might all the same be brought up Protestants. Finally, he promised the lady herself that if "anything happened" to him he would not appoint anyone as the guardian of the children's consciences, but would leave her sole and undivided authority, nor suffer anyone to step in between her and them. On this understanding the marriage took place. When a baby was born Dr. Walsh's relatives importuned him on the subject, and he took it away from its mother's side soon after its birth to be baptised by the priest. The

priest was, no doubt, looking after his rights in fulfilment of the promise made to him, and Dr. Walsh had said beforehand that he might be compelled to go so far, though that need not prevent the bringing up of the child as a Protestant. He was afterwards pressed to fulfil his promise to appoint his wife by will sole guardian of the child, and he engaged to do so, but he was suddenly taken ill and died without having redeemed his pledge. The child is now five years old, and the father's relatives insist that it shall be brought up in the father's faith. To escape an obligation which would be distressing to a person of her views, Mrs. Walsh has applied to the Court of Chancery petitioning to be made sole guardian of her boy, and to have authority to educate him in her own creed. The relatives oppose, and hereupon issue is joined. No needless acrimony is displayed, but the relatives of the late Dr. Walsh ask that a joint guardian may be appointed with authority to bring up the child as a Roman Catholic. The judges owned the dilemma in which they found themselves. It is a clear rule of law that a child is to be brought up in the father's religion whatever the mother may say or do. This brings the posthumous rights of fathers on the scene. Not only have they absolute power while living, they have also absolute power when they are dead. There is a saying in Scripture that a living dog is better than a dead lion. But a living mother is nothing compared with a dead father. He is in his grave; but his presumed will is resuscitated and filled with life and armed with legal omnipotence, in order that the living mother may be deprived of the natural duties and functions of maternity. What the law should be is obvious on natural grounds. The "dead hand" is held to be unendurable and execrable when laid upon house and lands, which are dead things, and have no feelings to be injured. How much worse ought it to be counted when the "dead hand" is laid upon living souls. The difference between the maxims applicable to these matters illustrates a besetting infirmity of English law, which takes more care of property than of persons, and makes money and material interests supreme. While both parents are alive they are entitled to joint control. When one of them dies the full rights of guardianship should pass to the survivor. It should be impossible for any stranger to step in between a mother and her children and filch from her the authority to which she is entitled by every just and reasonable consideration. So far the question at issue has been one of education or guardianship, or of possession as subsidiary to guardianship. A case has recently been decided which affects possession in the barest sense of the word, when it is not sought for as the means of enforcing any obligation. A gentleman, whose name it is not necessary to parade, residing, if I mistake not, in Edinburgh, married a year or two ago. He is said to have treated his wife so ill that three months after their marriage she was compelled to separate from him and take refuge with her relatives. She alleges in court that she was compelled to adopt this course by his persistent unkindness and cruelty, which ended in actual assault the night before her departure. In a few months a child was born. For twelve months she was allowed to keep it unmolested, but at the end of that period the father applied to the Court of Session to have it delivered up to him. Against him there were these charges of cruelty which had forced the wife to leave him; against her there was no charge whatever. She was an innocent woman who had simply had the misfortune to be the victim of a violation of the marriage vow. Yet the judges

lead. We know, also, the evil results that followed in this particular case, and we are more than convinced that it is the duty of Christians to look after what appears to be exceptional cases, for the salvation of many, as these are simply a sample of a vast class.

As an individual worker, I did not intend to go down to the very depths of degradation and poverty to which I have since been led. Of what I have seen, heard and perceived with my own senses, of the need of workers among the neglected ones in poverty, the facts must be told only to women, with no motive of self-aggrandizement, but with a willing self-sacrifice in the effort to plant intelligence in the soil of ignorance.

I can but urge with renewed force the necessity of the work which the Christian League seeks to do on e ery line of social purity. This League has now two bills before the Legislature—one in the interest of youth, to prohibit the authorities in all prisons and jails in the State of New York from giving or selling tobacco to minors. The other bill is an amendment to the Code, with a penalty affixed for the breaking of the Seventh Commandment. The tobacco bill was drawn by Commissioner Elbridge T. Gerry, the other by Judge Arnoux, and is now in the care of Senator O'Connor.

My attention was particularly drawn to the necessity of prohibiting tobacco being given to minors, when a boy with whom I had an extended acquaintance was sent to Blackwell's Island for petty theft. He was a graduate of a public school, and was a physical wreck from having smoked two to five packages of cigarettes daily. But he had never had tobacco in his mouth except to smoke, until plug tobacco purchased with the State tax money, was given him by the prison authorities at the penitentiary. This boy was made very ill by his first attempt at chewing, but when his five months' sentence ended he was an expert tobacco chewer.

There has been much earnest work done in the interest of both these bills, and we have reason to believe that by constant watching, and aid from the friends of the tobacco bill, it will be passed and become a law before the Legislature disbands. In regard to the other bill, although the Empire State is ahead of many of our sister States along this l'ne, we ha e had no law in New York against the breaking of the Seventh Commandment for more than forty years. If this bill does not become a law this season, we shall work for it e ery year until it is passed. The Christian League is composed of both men and women. It has nearly doubled its membership last year, and we hope for a large increase during the coming year. It has no total abstinence pledge, though many of its members are also members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity, when it shall have waxed strong and reached its full growth, hopes to do a more aggressi e work in e ery line of social purity than has been done by any other agency in this special department of reform. We have "taken up the laboring oar," and we do not propose to lay it down while life lasts, unless the process of purification shall ha e made such masterly strides that our efforts shall no longer be needed.

New York City. —*Christian at Work.*

Published by The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.

Equal Standards of Purity.

BY MRS. E. B. GRANNIS,

President of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.

It is indeed a problem of applied Christianity to seek and find practical methods for establishing high and equal standards of purity in daily life for men and boys, such as ought to be sustained by, and is required of women and girls. The intelligent readers of these pages are, I trust, prepared to sympathize with this problem so difficult to solve. What are the duties of Christians with regard to this seriously neglected department? Individuals professing Christ, and assuming the duties and privileges assigned to His followers, are bound to hold their place on the watch-towers of Zion and exhort the brethren to quicken their efforts in building up the Christ character or Christ's kingdom in their hearts and lives, that the world or non-professing Christians may see the love that Christians manifest toward each other and the world, in seeking by purity of life the glory of God and the highest good of His creatures.

How to establish the same standard of chastity and morality for men and boys as is required for women and girls, is indeed a difficult problem to solve, in view of the present status of morality both in and out of the church. The "National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity" was organized with its chief idea to build according to the best methods upon this corner-stone the same standard for men as for women. Although the church and civilization has made wonderful progress, especially for women, we ask far more of the church. Where is the fairness, where the equality, where shall rest the responsibility with regard to unsophisticated women or lovely young girls without parents, without homes, with little, or even with much education, and comparatively no worldly experience with men in their contentions with life as it must be met? What of the rich bankers, the handsome club men, the proprietors and the heads of departments in our large mercantile and manufacturing establishments, with money, liberal education, and from ten to thirty years of varied worldly-wise experience, but lacking in religious and moral principle, and in control, with every advantage on their side, of from one to a thousand women and girls dependent upon them for employment? It is a very serious question with girls and women dependent upon men for their living how much attention or favor they may accept, or ought to reject. The more modest, shrinking and lacking in worldly wisdom those girls may be, the more quickly and more persistently they are sought by these men; at first little complimentary attentions are offered, with which the girl is pleased, but the meaning of which she is unable to comprehend, and she is led on and on, until from the pit into which she has fallen there is no escape, because the world refuses to recognize her, while it only smiles and shakes its head and still clasps the hand of him who is the chief transgressor.

None can realize the temptations, the escapes and the pitfall of the multitudes of cases which come into the experience of the men and women who investigate and seek to raise the standard of morality or chastity in social and business life. The society mother, though she be a communicant, forms the habit of participating in fashionable dinners, and especially when her husband is fond of such entertainments, she acquires the desire to make the home dinner equally attractive to her husband and sons. But as individual cases have a more pungent effect as a warning than general philosophizing, I may be pardoned for citing one of three different classes—cases in which I have known intimately for years.

A husband and wife of Puritan stock, both communicants of the Episcopal Church, removed to this city. They were good, well-meaning, nominal Christians, and prominent much of the time during the last twenty years in philanthropic church work. They moved in fashionable society and attended fashionable dinners. They served suitable wines with appropriate courses at their own table. This family had no daughters, but several sons. The mother, who was a very beautiful and attractive woman, in various conversations with me, has convinced me that she really believed it for the best interest of her husband and sons that after their social dinner they should enjoy their cigarette and cigar together in the library—which was a most delightful retreat, with choice specimens of art, paintings, sculpture, and various articles of virtu, besides rare books. This lovely mother learned here to enjoy first a cigarette, and afterwards she smoked strong cigars with equal dexterity and devotion. Her principal arguments were that if she did not make her home thus attractive, her husband and sons would seek their pleasure elsewhere. To-day each of the sons has become a husband, the father is still a fashionable club man, "seeking his pleasure elsewhere," and the mother has ceased to receive from cigarettes and wine sufficient consolation for the sorrows which inevitably result from excess of fashionable life, and is now addicted to more powerful and seductive opiates, to sooth her growing despondency, than can be found either in tobacco or wine.

A young and prepossessing widow, twenty-one years of age, sought and found a position as typewriter and stenographer in a well-known publishing house—a model, so far as business facilities are concerned. The head of the firm, an accomplished, cultured gentleman, more than double her age, with money, social position, and thirty years of worldly experience to back him, commenced to pay slight complimentary attentions to this young woman soon after engaging her. He often gave her dictations alone in his private office. After a few weeks he invited her to dine with him at a fashionable restaurant up-town. He treated her kindly, and she drank moderately of the champagne he furnished. She was much complimented by the attention, and saw nothing wrong in accepting what she believed only a kindly courtesy from her honorable employer. She needed but a few more invitations before she ventured to accept similar ones from other men. She lost her usual capacity as an efficient aid in office work, and this soon led to suspicion on the part of her employer. He placed a watch upon her movements. She attended the Casino, went to supper at Delmonico's in company with two gentlemen, and was seen at night alone on the street after twelve o'clock, in a reeling condition. Her employer called upon me, not knowing that I was conversant with the preliminary facts which led to the end, and

consulted with me as to what was his duty in the matter. He stated that he had given this young woman every opportunity, and she had abused his confidence; that he had given her the opportunity for recreation by sending her to matinees as a chaperon for his little daughters, and that he could not possibly keep her in his office under the circumstances. Instead of trying to provide another position for her, I told him of my early acquaintance with the case from the other side, as I knew the young woman. I explained to him as best I could the awful responsibility of his influence upon her character and future, in contrast with her influence over his own children. He was sufficiently impressed by my representation of the case to keep her in his employ, but under contract that she should board and live out of the city with an aunt. The romance of his association with her was at an end.

Where one such woman retraces her steps and is reformed, hundreds reap the fruit of the double standard of morality. The required code of morals for women and girls is altogether different from the one taught and practiced by the average man in a great variety of positions of trust; with these men women and girls are as unfit to cope as lame or young birds which attempt to fly, while experienced old mousers, feigning the innocence of kittens, are watching them, seeking their prey. Women and girls ought to be taught the dangers lurking in the way of self-support, which should be only joyous freedom from former dependency upon man. Innocence or ignorance is seldom a protection. Christian character, coupled with virtue and intelligence, is the only safeguard against the temptation as it exists to-day.

Some time since a member of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church enlisted my sympathies for a widow with four daughters, entirely dependent upon their own resources. The three eldest daughters were in good clerical positions, the youngest being less than fifteen, and the first member of the family who could not be controlled by mother and sisters. This young girl combined the qualities of intellect, book education, physical beauty and grace, to an alarming degree. She was so bright and attractive that I hesitated for weeks before employing her in my office in the Tribune Building. I was finally persuaded to take her as a clerk on trial. She was carefully watched, and guided by Christian influences. Her temptations, however, were many. One morning I was informed by a middle-aged lady in the office that the evening before a lawyer in the same building, the son of one of the most respected families in the city, a graduate of Yale College (thirty years of age), and possessing a fortune by inheritance, had invited this child to go with him after office hours to dinner. She had accepted the invitation, had pertaken of wine furnished with the dinner, of which entertainment she had given a glowing description to my other clerks, not expecting any one to inform me of the fact. I went immediately to the gentleman's office, talked with him earnestly on the subject, and to my question how he could have invited this child as a social equal with himself to dine with him alone, he acknowledged that he would not think of introducing her as an equal to his mother and sisters. He said she was such a bright, beautiful girl, that he felt sorry for her to be obliged to work at a desk all day, and thought he would invite her out for one good dinner. He promised me, however, that he would never invite her again, and acknowledged that he saw the danger of his influence upon her. He assured me there was no evil intent on his part, but we all know to what such things inevitably

bition party continues the contest against such tremendous odds. But the prohibition party cannot die, since it represents two principles which are essential to the continued existence of a free government, both of which are antagonized by the democratic and republican parties. First, that of protection to the central citadel of civilization, the home; from the destruction wrought by the liquor traffic. Second, the equal right of all women to share with men the responsibilities and privileges of electors. Not until this principle of the equal rights and obligations of all citizens is recognized and wrought into the frame-work of state and nation shall we become what we have so long falsely boasted of being, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The prohibition party is indispensable to the continued progress of Christian civilization. The character and conduct of a controlling number of delegates in attendance upon the presidential conventions of both of the old parties should admonish all who value the blessings of sobriety and social order that those parties are reaping fruit from the seeds of corruption which they have sown. Dr. Buckley of New York, a republican, was so much disturbed by the published reports of the drinking and licentiousness in which so many of the delegater to the Minneapolis convegtion indulged, that he telegraphed to a friend living in the latter city asking if such reports were not exaggerated. To this inquiry came the reply: "They could not be exaggerated," The democratic convention was no better.

What a contrast between those conventions and the prohibition convention at Cincinnati, where 2,000 sober, clean Chirstian men and women assembled to discuss the great questions which pertain to Christian civilization.

In carrying forward the work to which we are called we are not only opposed by the two dominant political parties of the nation, but we antagonize all of the powers of darkness which seek shelter in either of them. All who are interested in the liquor business are our enemies, from the owner of the palatial saloon to the keeper of the lowest dive. All keepers of gambling dens and brothels are against us also.

But while thus opposed by the powers of darkness and death we have as allies all the powers of life and light. Science, with its marvelous revelations, is on our side. The true preachers of the gospel are with us. That great and growing company of young people, the Christian Endeavor society, has spoken out boldly and unequivocally for prohibition. The National W. C. T. U., with its ceaseless energy and fervent prayers, is with us. God is on our side with all the inspiring and sustaining influences of his truth and love.

Whether the battle in which we are engaged shall be won by the peaceful means of the ballot rests with the people to decide. The time was when slavery could have been overthrown with the ballot. But those who opposed it, instead of voting against slavery, continued to divide their votes between the two old pro-slavery parties until made bold by its long domination, the slave power demanded aid and protection from every citizen of the republic, and thus compelled the nation to blot it out in blood.

If this nation is to be saved from the dark scenes of bloodshed which attended the overthrow of slavery the public conscience must be quickly aroused, and the friends of the home must hasten to break their connection with the old license parties and cast their votes for the suppression of the rum power.

There has been no time in the history of this country, since Abraham Lincoln's second election to the presidency, when a vote could contribute so much to the promotion of Christian civilization as will a vote for the prohibition party in the coming election, since such a vote not only tells of an awakening public conscience, but is also a potential protest against a continuation of the government's guilty partnership with the rum monopoly; a monopoly which, in extent, murderous greed, and the viscious methods by which it perpetuates and extends its power, exceeds any and every other monopoly in the world. The democratic and republican parties are both partners of this monopoly, sharing in its gains and its crimes. The prohibition party alone demands its overthrow.

With unfaltering confidence in the final triumph of the principles for which the prohibition party stands, I am, yours for a government which shall suppress, not license, crime.

S. H. TAFT.

Humboldt, Iowa, July 30, 1892.

For sale at 20c per Hundred by mail or $1.50 per Thousand by express, at expence of purchaser. ISAAC T. GIBSON, Chm. Prohibition State Com., 215 Chestnut St., Des Moines, Ia.

TAFT'S SOLID FACTS.

R. S. Beall, Esq., Secretary Prohibition State Central Committee. DEAR SIR: In answer to your favor of the 19th inst., formally notifying me of my nomination to the office of secretary of state, I have to say that I truly appreciate the confidence in me which such nomination indicates, and I accept it under the deep conviction that the triumph of the principles which the prohibition party represents is indispensable to the preservation of a free government.

While grateful for the honor which the nomination bestows, I am also conscious of the responsibilities and sacrifices involved in being a prominent actor in such a contest as we represent. The most painful experience comes from being misjudged by old-time friends and political associates who, failing to comprehend the deception and treachery of the leaders of the old parties, still cling to their membership in them. Then comes the denunciation and persecution of all of those who are incapable of appreciating moral force when it antagonizes their selfish plans. But deeper and darker than either of the foregoing is the malignant and murderous opposition of the direct representatives of the rum traffic who constitute the most extended, heartless and destructive monopoly that ever cursed civilized society. From this source, chiefly, comes the mobbings, burning of buildings, waylaying and murdering which are visited upon prohibitionists. This opposition and these dangers must be encountered by us for no other reward than what comes from a consciousness of duty performed, and the cause of humanity and the state promoted. We must sow, in tears, in order that others, in the better day for which we are toiling, may reap in joy.

In this connection it seems proper that I say something of the necessity and permanent character of the work to which we stand committed.

Most third parties have been short lived, for the reason that they represented no abiding moral or political principle. A third party that may hope to attain permanence and commanding influence in the political field must represent some one or more principles which the moral convictions of the people approve. Thus was born, fifty years ago, a third patry known as the liberty party, but aftewards, in 1848, as the free soil party. In 1852 it was the free democratic party, and in 1856 became the republican party, which, in 1860, attained control of the government. It is, to say the east, amusing to those who passed through the political contest extending from 1840 to 1860, to hear members of the republican party gravely assert that no third party can ever attain to power, that votes cast for a third party are thrown away. Have they forgotten the history of the times just referred to? The slave power had then obtained complete control of the two old parties, just as the rum power now controls both the democratic and republican parties.

Am I reminded that the demand of the liberty party for the overthrow of slavery was changed, by the republican party, to the restriction of slavery? Admitted. But the party made no progress in putting down the rebellion until it restored to its banner the motto of the liberty party: "Freedom to the Slave." God held the nation under the chastising hand until the republican party was not only compelled to proclaim emancipation, at the cannon's mouth, but to ask the poor hunted, despised slave to help save the nation's life.

A third party is as much a necessity now as it was fifty years ago, if Christian civilization is to be preserved.

The democratic party makes no pretense of protecting the homes of America from the ruin which the liquor traffic visits upon them. While the national republican party is distinctively committed to high license, which not only gives no protection to society but instead has become the chief bulwark of protection to those engaged in the rum traffic, thus creating a monopoly exceeding all others in extent and destructive power.

Advocates of license tell us that the saloon business cannot be suppressed. Whoever believes this is not a Christian but an atheist, for if the saloon business cannot be suppressed then does a malignant power, rather than a just and loving God, rule the world. If a representative government cannot overthrow the rum traffic then is the experiment of a free government a failure. The most ingenious and fiendish plotters against the peace of society and the stability of the state could never conceive of a plan so successful for the accomplishment of their dark purposes as the license of the liquor business. The government which grants such license is like the stupid, filthy bird that fouls its own nest. Worse than this, such a government

becomes the destroyer of its own citizens. It should be remembered that the most hopeless moral ruin which license brings upon society falls upon those whom the government licenses to engage in the business, since they are thereby tempted to become the despoilers of their fellow men, when needing to be protected from themselves. Instead of making it easy for them to do right and hard to do wrong, which Gladstone says is the province of government, this order is reversed and they are tempted to their own destruction. The moral and spiritual ruin of the rum seller is more hopeless than that of the drunkard. Of the latter the Bible declares that no drunkard can inherit the kingdom of heaven. But of the former the appalling sentence is: "Wo unto him that giveth his neighbor drink." Regarding the victims of these licensed criminals, who is equal to the task of speaking in fitting language of the desolation and despair which the traffic brings upon them?

The supreme court of the United States has declared that the saloon business is so destructive to the well being of society that no one has a natural right to engage in it. Gladstone lately said that the desolation wrought by intemperance exceeds that of war, pestilence and famine combined. And a hundred years ago John Wesley said that the dram seller drives the people to hell like sheep.

If such a business is not a crime, then there is no crime in all God's universe; all moral distinctions are obliterated. But it is a crime than which there is but one greater, and that is the act of government in licensing such a business for a fee, since by so doing it not only becomes a bribed partner of criminals, but, by debauching and destroying its citizens, imperils its own existence.

It is this central citadel of the rum traffic, the license system, that must be abolished before any substantial victory can be won elsewhere. Once let the magnitude of the crime of licensing crime be fully recognized by all honorable, conscientious people and the doom of the licensed saloon is forever sealed. When thus convinced, the honest, law-abiding citizen would no sooner think of voting for a party which favored license than for one which favored prostitution or murder. Then the spectacle of the minister of the gospel and the saloonkeeper, of the honest citizen and the professional gambler, of Dr. Fellows and Editor Rosewater, of Warner Miller and Sheridan Shook, all voting the same ticket, will no longer shock and confuse the moral sense of society.

The duty of prohibitionists in Iowa seems to me plain. It is stultifying and suicidal for them to longer remain in the republican party, since it has thrown prohibition overboard under the pretense that it is not in issue in this campaign. I can believe that honest prohibitionists, who are not informed regarding the vacillation and treachery that has characterized republican conventions and legislatures in their dealings with prohibition, may be so misled as to accept the statement as true, that this being a national campaign, prohibition is not in issue. I ask the attention of such to a brief review of the history of the Republican party of this state.

In 1855 the legislature, under a democratic governor, enacted a stringent prohibitory law, which law the republican party repealed when it came into power, so far as related to wine and beer. This repeal opened the door through which freely flowed throughout the state all kinds of drink poison.

In 1866, I offered a resolution in the State republican convention, pledging the party to the enforcement of the law against the sale of distilled liquors. But the resolution called forth such a storm of opposition that I was not even permitted to speak upon it, the leader of the opposition declaring that temperance being a moral, and not a political issue, it should have no place in a republican platform. To which I replied: "So much the worse for the republican party."

In 1877 a like resolution was voted down in the state republican convention. That year Jessup was nominated by the prohibitionists as candidate for governor and received 10,000 votes. To call back this vote and prevent further desertions, the state convention of 1879 adopted a resolution pledging the party to submit to a vote of the people a prohibition amendment to the constitution. This amendment was adopted on the 22d of June, 1882, by a majority of nearly 30.000. The state republican convention met in the following August, but instead of congratulating the people upon their glorious victory for the home and pledging itself to the passage of laws for the enforcement of the amendment, the convention would not even permit this child of heavenly birth to be brought within its doors. This was soon after followed by a decision of the state supreme court, composed entirely of republicans, declaring the amendment unconstitutional on account of a slight verbal inaccuracy in one of the stages of its adoption by the legislature. Thus was the careless or intentional error of a mere transcribing clerk exalted above the expressed will of the people as declared in a state election. So infamous was this decision that it has retired from the supreme bench each and every judge who joined therein.

After the amendment was thus slain in the house of its professed friends the Democrats, by open advocacy of the saloon, compelled the republicans in self defense to enact the prohibitory law. That this was done by the republican party from policy, for the purpose of retaining the temperance vote, rather than from principle, is amply proven by the subsequent refusal of the legislature to make adequate provision for the enforcement of the law. For while in complete control of the state government, and with an overwhelming majority in the legislature, the republicans refused to give to the governor authority to remove perjured officials who would not enforce the law, as also to make any appropriation for its enforcement in rebellious districts. Law enforced is law respected. And had the Republican party vigorously enforced the law while it had the power so to do both the party and the law would have commanded the respect and confidence of the people and the party might easily have maintained its ascendency in the state.

In March last, while the Gatch bill was still pending in the house, a bill that had passed the state senate by the aid of two republican senators who had violated the pledge of the party by voting to legalize the sale not only of wine and beer, as in anti-prohibition days, but also of all kinds of liquors; when as corrupt and persistent a lobby as ever represented the powers of evil was seeking to secure enough republican aid in the house to procure the passage of the bill by that body; at this critical time, when the cause of prohibition and the home was trembling in the balance, a republican state convention assembled at Des Moines. Did that convention prove its right to the continued confidence and co-operation of temperance men by promptly rebuking its recreant senators, and by strengthening its members in the house to stand for the home as against the saloon? Nothing of the kind. Instead, it not only remained dumb in the presence of this tremendous onslaught on prohibition, but it bestowed its chief honors upon a man who had deserted the party and repeatedly voted the democratic ticket solely on account of his opposition to prohibition.

Three months later the party again assembled in convention for the nomination of state officers. Again it tried to repeat the role of silence as to the question of prohibition, a question which the State Temperance alliance had unanimously declared to be the paramount issue of the present time. But this time it was compelled to show its traiterous hand, by the introduction of a resolution pledging the party to the continued support of the prohibitory law. This resolution it quickly tabled and again bestowed its chief honor upon the saloon's most active advocate the Hon. A. B. Cummins, who thanked the convention for taking the muzzle from his lips.

With such a record of vacillation, cowardice and treachery; with the Democratic party pledged to the return of the licensed saloon; with two of its own senators actively working to secure the same end, with towns, cities and whole counties in open rebellion against the prohibitory law; and with an attorney general to be elected whose special duty it is to secure the enforcement of law; prohibition not an issue! Surely if retribution always quickly followed wrong doing such a falsehood would have blistered the lips of the demagogues who conceived and uttered it.

That prohibitionists of limited information might be misled by this falsehood seems possible, but that those of wide intelligence and recognized ability should be led to give it currency is indeed amazing. Have Senator Mack Hon. L. S. Coffin, Dr. Fellows and other members of the State Temperance alliance who have taken exception to the very mild address issued by the alliance executive committee, been locked in such a Rip Van Winkle sleep that they still remain ignorant of the fact that the Republican leaders of Iowa have deliberately thrown prohibition overboard and thus brought the state republican party into line with the great high license national republican party? What other conclusion can be reached without questioning either their intelligence or their integrity?

There is good reason to believe that a large proportion of the rank and file of the republican party are enemies of the saloon, but the party as such is now so completely controlled by leaders who are seeking to divide with the democratic party the saloon vote that they can win no substantial victory for prohibition while remaining in that party.

Much surprise has been expressed by politicians at the tenacity with which the prohi-

Junior Civic League

MOTTO:

"If You Would Love Your City, You Should Make Your City Lovely."

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I. NAME AND OBJECT.

Section 1. We shall be known as the Junior Civic League of (name of town).
Section 2. The object shall be to help keep our city beautiful, clean and healthful.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1. All pupils in the schools from seven to fourteen years of age can become members by making known their wish to join and signing the pledge.
Section 2. Every member is entitled to a button inscribed, "We Work for Beauty." Dues are 5 cents annually.

ARTICLE III. OFFICERS.

Section 1. The officers of such League shall be President and Vice President and Secretary ,and who shall hold office for one school term. These officers shall be elected by ballot by a vote of majority of the members present.

ARTICLE IV. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The President shall call the meeetings to order, call for reports on violation and the performance of the pledge, and act as captain of the League.
Section 2. The Vice President shall preside over all meetings in the absence of the President.
Section 3. The Secretary may olso act as Treasurer, if a fee is desired, and shall keep a record of all reports given and shall read the reports at each meeting.

ARTICLE V. MEETINGS.

Section 1. Meetings shall be held once a week, subject to the wishes of the principal or teachers of each school or school room.

PLEDGE

I will not injure any tree, shrub or lawn.
I promise not to spit upon the floor in a street car, school house or other public buildings, nor upon the side walk.
I pledge myself not to deface any fence or public building.
Neither will I scatter paper or throw rubbish in public places.
I will not use profane language at any time.
I will always protect birds.
I will always protect the property of others the same way that I would my own.
I will promise to be a true, loyal citizen.

Buttons may be had from Mrs. George B. Keeper, 2841 May St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

State Meeting Louisville
May 2 - 15.

Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs

"HELP US STAR OUR STATE"

WHAT IS FEDERATION?

It is a growth from separateness to fellowship.

It is qualifying with the plural our, rather than with the personal my.

It is uniting for a common purpose, which would fail of accomplishment if worked out alone.

ARE YOU FEDERATED?

Do you work for a large unselfish ideal rather than for individual pleasure or profit?

WILL YOU FEDERATE NOW?

Will you be counted in this co-operative membership of Clubs to help put Kentucky where she ought to be and must be?

The need, the responsibility, the opportunity are yours to-day. They cannot be ignored. Will you help by using your power of influence for the general good?

REQUIREMENTS.

First, Application to the State President, stating name and number of members, enclosing the constitution and program. Upon acceptance by the State, the payment to the Treasurer of annual dues of $3.00 if the club numbers fewer than thirty members, ten cents per capita if over that number.

CIVIC LEAGUES

Woman's Clubs, Musical Clubs, Mothers' Clubs, Parent-Teacher Associations, Humane Societies and Civic Leagues are invited.

Every county seat in Kentucky which has a Civic Organization or Woman's Club, is a STAR upon our map.

FORTY-EIGHT have starred county seats.

There are SEVENTY-ONE county seats NOT starred.

Won't you help us "STAR THE STATE?"

At the State Federation meeting a map will be unveiled on Civic Night showing where we have Clubs. Will your county be counted in?

The retiring president will present a gavel to the county outside of Jefferson winning the largest number of Stars.

There are three ways in which you can help:

(1) Organize a Club of Civic League in your town of women.

(2) Organize Junior Civic Leagues in your schools.

(3) If you can do neither of these send to the Chairman of the Civic Department or President of the State the name of some one who might be interested in the work. By so doing you will "HELP STAR THE STATE."

The object of every Civic Organization should be to keep its town

HEALTHFUL
CLEAN
BEAUTIFUL

There are five centers for each town (county seat) to be cared for:

The COURT HOUSE
The SCHOOL
The CHURCH
The POST OFFICE
The RAILWAY STATION

MRS. JAMES A. LEECH, President.
1249 First Street, Louisville.

MRS. R. B. HUTCHCRAFT, Treasurer,
Paris.

MRS. BENJAMIN L. BANKS, Chairman Department of Civics.
808 West Main Street, Richmond, Ky.

CONSTITUTION

For Clubs or Leagues in Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs

ARTICLE I. NAME.

This Club shall be called the.....Club or League of.....

Regular meetings shall be held monthly, or.....time.

ARTICLE II. OBJECT.

Its object shall be.....

ARTICLE III. OFFICERS.

The Officers shall consist of a President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer, elected annually by a majority of the members present. A vacancy shall be filled by special election.

ARTICLE IV. MEMBERS.

The Club shall not be limited in numbers. Candidates shall be nominated at one meeting to be elected by ballot at a succeeding one. Five dissenting votes in a Club of twenty members shall defeat a condidate.

ARTICLE V. DUES.

The annual dues shall be....., payable at the first meeting and thereafter at the annual election. Non-payment of dues for one year shall suspend a member for thirty days following notification, after which time the name shall be dropped.

ARTICLE VI. AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at a regular meeting.

BY-LAWS

I.—The duties of the Officers shall be those pertaining to their offices.

II.—A Program Committee shall arrange the topics for the year and attend to the printing.

III.—No member, following time of organization, shall be eligible to office until she has served one year in the Club.

IV.—The President may appoint members from any Committee to carry out the work agreed upon by the Club.

WHAT TO DO

If you believe in Votes for Women—**do something.**
If you don't find your kind of work in the list below, keep thinking, and asking, and hunting till you **do,** then **do it.**
Subscribe to "The Woman's Journal", Official Organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, $1.00 per year—25c. trial for 4 months.
Join some Suffrage Association. If there isn't any where you live, **form one.**
Buy Suffrage Literature.
Give away Suffrage Literature.
To friends, To clubs, In letters, At meetings.
Use Suffrage Postal Cards.
Use "Votes for Women" rubber stamps.
Write Suffrage articles for the papers.
Answer every article opposed to Equal Suffrage.
Offer to do some clerical or other "work" at headquarters.
Provide students with material for debate.
See that your Public Library has good Suffrage Literature.
Ask your minister to preach on Suffrage.
Speak if you can; if you can't, get up a meeting and find a speaker; if you can't find one, ask help from headquarters.
Get some young folks to sell Suffrage papers on the streets.
If you are a woman, give a Suffrage Tea.
If you are a man, have a Suffrage speaker at your club.
Whichever you are, introduce the subject to all individuals and organizations possible.
Whichever you are, interview or write your legislators **personally,** and convert them, if they need it.
If you live in a town—never let a town meeting go by wiihout distributing literature.
If you live in a city—never let an election go by without distributing literature near the polls, or advertising the cause by posters, on bill-boards, in street cars, in newspapers, or otherwise.
Most Important of All, join in the work of securing Suffrage interest in **political form,** by political district organization. Ask the City or the State Association for information or advice.

ORGANIZE! ADVERTISE! GIVE SOMETHING!

Time, Service, Money, Yourself. Everything Counts.

Kentucky Woman Suffrage Association
(address)
branch of the

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Alice Henry

Author of "The Trade Union Woman" (Appleton), formerly editor of "Life and Labor" and lecturer for the National Women's Trade Union League of America



OFFERS LECTURES ON

Women the Workers
The Minimum Wage
The Girl and Vocational Training
The Women's Trade Union League
Working Women and the Vote
The Vote — and After
Effective Voting or the Ashtabula Plan (with model election)
The City of Today

NOTE: A special entertainment is a display of Australian views with descriptive talk.

A few places where Miss Henry has spoken: University of Chicago; University of Wisconsin; Wellesley College; Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, City Club, St. Louis; Women's City Club, Boston; Theological College, Meadville; Summer Conferences of the National Y. W. C. A.

ADDRESS—Care of National Women's Trade Union League, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois. 236 Full particulars sent on request.

Article IV, section II of U. S. Constitution says: "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states". Shall you in non-suffrage states not enjoy same privileges, now enjoyed in Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Idaho and Washington? Work therefore; watch and pray, giving the spirit of Jesus full control in thought and life; thus doing your part in bringing about the glorious prophecy: "The kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord the Christ."

For the legislative drama which helped to bring the ballot to Washington women, called: "An entertainment to make votes for women"—Twenty-five cents per copy.

A farce, partly musical—"A dream come true"—Fifty cents per copy; especially adapted for young people, and all literature send to National W. C. T. U. Literature Building, Evanston, Ills.

Plan of Work

NATIONAL W. C. T. U.

Franchise Department

S. L. W. CLARK, Superintendent
Burton, Wash.

FRIEDA C. DAVIDSON, Associate
6214 27th Avenue N. E., SEATTLE, WASH.

Plan of Work
National W. C. T. U. Franchise Department.

1. Use literature freely. Use the press systematically and insistently.

Each state, each county (or district), leader should establish a bureau of clippings and original matter to supply, with regularity, all editors who consent to help the cause.

The subject is alive, present it with vigor and persistence; with clear, sane arguments, but always keep sweet.

2. Hold meetings; public, parlor, hall (or church) or street, as may be wise in your locality. Hold Franchise Institutes, give entertainments, dramatic, musical, literary. Do some or all of these things and do them NOW!

3. Influence school authorities, (public and private) to have biographies of noted women studied in their schools—no more inspiring lives than those of Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, Florence Nightingale, Madame Currie of Radium fame, and others not forgetting our Sainted Frances E. Willard.

4. Give prizes for essay writing from 8th grade on up into all higher schools.

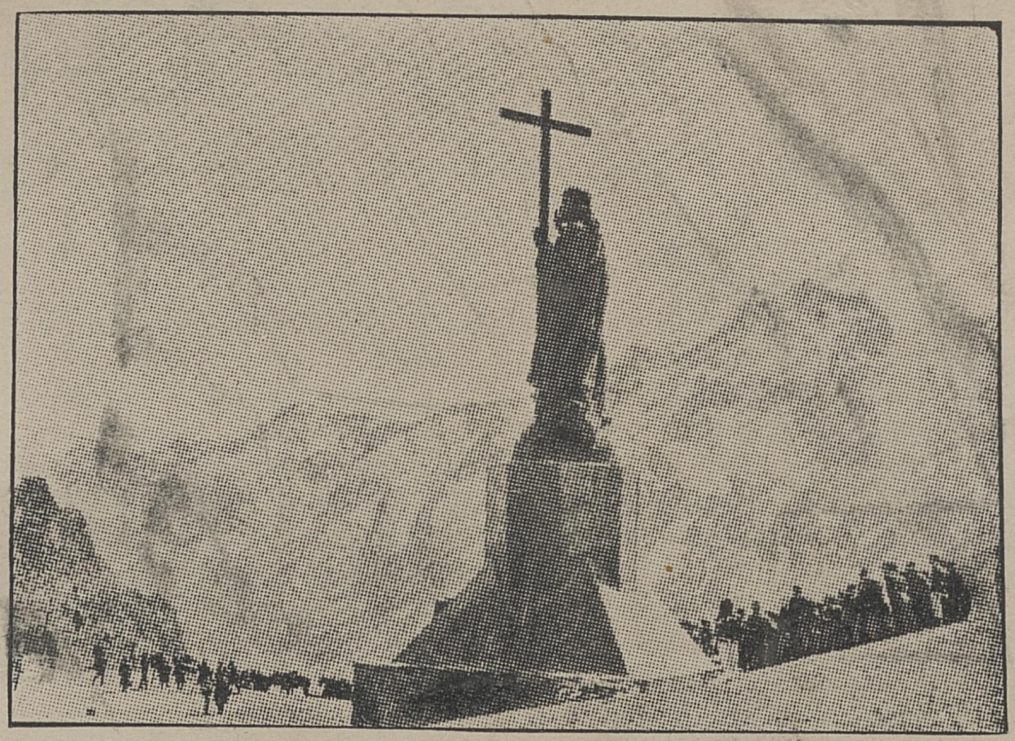
5. Use the leaders of every department, in our wonderfully organized W. C. T. U. to work for the ballot from their view point, that their influence and power may be greatly increased.

A better effect is obtained by one or two recitations on suffrage than to have all the orations in a medal contest on same subject. Send for medal contest book No. 14 for franchise selections.

6. Study the status of woman, BEFORE THE LAW. No other plan is so effective in awakening the indifferent woman.

7. Write on every phase of the woman question. Send manuscript to me for Union Signal. We want our department represented effectively and periodically, IN OUR OWN PAPER.

8. Legislation and Franchise State Superintendents should unitedly ask for uniform legislation, through their own governor, who will bring the matter up in the new House of Governors for discussion and decision as to method in obtaining a Federal law which will repeal all laws or part of laws which makes a husband's nationality control that of the wife.



Statue of Christ of the Andes, Erected on One of the Highest Peaks of the Andes, Celebrating the Disarmament by Mutual Agreement of Chile and Argentina.

THE Tablet on the statue bears the following inscription:

"Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."

The Joint Commission on Social Service



A STATEMENT OF ITS WORK

✦

"It shall be the duty of this Commission to study and report upon social and industrial conditions; to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interests of Social Service; to co-operate with similar bodies in other communions; to encourage sympathetic relations between capital and labor; and to deal according to their discretion with these and kindred matters."

Resolution of General Convention, 1913

✦

The Joint Commission on Social Service
of the Protestant Episcopal Church
Church Missions House, New York City

THE JOINT COMMISSION ON SOCIAL SERVICE

THE Joint Commission on Social Service was appointed by the General Convention of 1910 to succeed the former Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor, which had been in existence since 1901. The scope of the new Commission's work was defined in the following resolution, which was reaffirmed in 1913, when the Commission was made permanent:

"It shall be the duty of this Commission to study and report upon social and industrial conditions; to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interest of social service; to co-operate with similar bodies in other communions; to encourage sympathetic relations between capital and labor; and to deal according to their discretion with these and kindred matters."

A five-fold duty was thus laid upon the Joint Commission. How has this duty been discharged?

"To Study and Report Upon Social and Industrial Conditions."

In the first place it was out of the question, by reason of inadequate resources, for the Commission to make any detailed investigation, at first-hand, of "social and industrial conditions." Such a study would have involved the employment of a corps of trained investigators and the use of funds not at the Commission's command. Such a study, with special reference to industrial conditions, has not been adequately or satisfactorily accomplished even by a Federal Commission, with an appropriation of several hundred thousand dollars, which, after two years' work, has presented a report to the present Congress. The Joint Commission has, however, been from the outset in touch with the general trend of developments in this wide field: it has recognized certain basic principles which, in its judgment, must be observed in any adequate solution of the social problem. These it has called to the attention of various Church agencies, particularly diocesan social service commissions, throughout the country, as well as of the last General Convention in its triennial report.

"To Co-ordinate the Activities of the Various Organizations Existing in the Church in the Interest of Social Service."

Secondly, the Commission has attempted the co-ordination of the "various organizations existing in the Church in the interest

of social service," and has been largely instrumental in securing the appointment of additional organizations where needed. When the Commission began its work in 1910 there were already in the field several volunteer Church agencies of social reform, and a number of diocesan social service commissions. One of these volunteer agencies—the Christian Social Union—voluntarily disbanded in 1912, to hand over its activities to the Joint Commission; and with the others, such as the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, the Social Service Department of the Girls' Friendly Society, the Church Mission of Help, the Church Socialistic League, etc., the Commission has established and maintained friendly relations, even though it has not for the present seemed feasible, if desirable, to merge them with the Commission or to effect a formal "working alliance" with them.

In increasing the number of diocesan social service commissions during the past five years from eighteen to eighty, the Commission has played an active part: these diocesan agencies have in many, if not in the majority of instances, been appointed in response to the Commission's recommendation. Five of these local organizations—New York, Newark, Long Island, Chicago, New Jersey—at present employ paid executive or field secretaries, either on part or full time, and others are considering its advisability. These eighty commissions, almost without

exception, have accomplished something in educating and organizing for community service the parishes in their respective fields; in influencing social legislation of state and community, either independently or in co-operation with secular social agencies; in creating a public opinion which should stand back of organized social effort; in a word, in applying Christian principles to "social solutions."

When also the creation of the new Provincial system was under consideration the Commission used its influence, in co-operation with the Board of Missions and the General Board of Religious Education, to secure the provision of Provincial boards or commissions charged with the development of these three interests. Each one of the eight Provinces has now appointed social service agencies which act on the one hand as connecting links between the Joint Commission and the diocesan commissions, and, on the other hand, work independently in their respective territories. The total result, then, of the Commission's efforts under this second head is that the Church generally and locally has now a definite and systematic organization for social service,* reaching down to the parishes, many of which have also already engaged in community service.

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* A glance at the Living Church Annual for 1916 (pp. 143-150) will give some idea of the extent of this organization.

"To Co-operate With Similar Bodies in Other Communions."

In the third place the Joint Commission has not failed to "co-operate with similar bodies in other communions." Through the medium of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in which the Episcopal Church is represented through its Joint Commissions on Social Service and Christian Unity, co-operation has been effected between the present Commission and the social service commissions or boards of the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, and North Baptist Churches, all of which are represented in the Federal Council's Commission on the Church and Social Service. The executive secretary of the Joint Commission is also a member not only of the last named Commission, but of its advisory board and its secretarial cabinet, as well as of the Council's Commissions on Federated Movements—for purposes largely of community service—and on Country Life. These various commissions, with all of which the Joint Commission is thus related, meet with comparative frequency during the year for consultation and the formulation of definite plans of co-ordinated effort.

"To Encourage Sympathetic Relations Between Capital and Labor."

The encouragement of "sympathetic relations between capital and labor"—the fourth

part of the Commission's task—has been rendered increasingly difficult by the growing industrial unrest characteristic of recent years. Some members of the Commission there are indeed who feel that the most effective method of discharging this responsibility is to encourage the gradual assumption by government—federal, state, local—of the entire system of production and distribution of life's necessities, or, as an alternative, the thorough democratization of our industrial order. Other members favor less radical measures. It remains for the future to determine the way out of this insistent problem. The Commission at least has recognized the urgency as well as the difficulty of a satisfactory industrial solution, and has not omitted to call the entire question to the notice of the Church at large.

"To Deal According to Their Discretion With These and Kindred Matters."

In addition to the specific duties laid upon the Commission by the resolution already quoted, discretionary power was left to it with regard to other phases of the social problem and the relating of Church forces thereto. Perhaps the most outstanding of these other matters is the rural life problem, which has "emerged" within recent years and now challenges the attention of the Church. Less dramatic in its appeal than the industrial problem, the problem of

the country community and the country church is increasingly urgent. Briefly stated, the problem involves adequate provision for better living and working conditions in our rural districts. How to make the life of the country more attractive to those who have been coming in increasing numbers to our large urban and industrial centers, is a question of no easy solution; unless it be solved the recent drain upon our rural life will place our natural existence in jeopardy. For this reason the Church must necessarily be concerned with the "gospel of good farming," which implies not only that our present tillers of the soil shall find their vocation both profitable and attractive, but also that the "younger generation" shall be subjected to a training which shall fit them for country life and work. In the solution, if not the formulation of this problem, the Joint Commission has been deeply interested and has not omitted to call it to the attention of our rural parishes throughout the land.

Other "kindred matters" have to do with co-operation with secular agencies of social reform, and with various phases of the total problem, such as housing, recreation, vocational training, the elimination or reduction of vice, crime and intemperance, better civil administration, and the like. In all these matters the Commission has taken an active part: it has supported reform legislation of state and nation; it has helped to create pub-

lic opinion, without which such legislation must be ineffective; it has in general endeavored to stimulate the Church at large to a realization of its duty and opportunity with reference to social problems.

The work of the Commission may, in short, be conveniently summarized in the single phrase: the education and organization of the Church—in province, diocese, parish—for effective social action, in co-operation with secular social agencies—whether governmental or voluntary—and with other like religious agencies. To this end the Commission has issued over twenty publications, which have been widely distributed, not only within but without the Church, and its secretary has traveled upwards of 50,000 miles, has made several hundred addresses, has held frequent consultations with representatives of Church and outside social agencies, and has carried on an extensive correspondence. Under the Commission's auspices also a "Social Service Week" was held in connection with the General Convention of 1913, the features of which included a mass meeting, a series of conferences, an exhibit, visits to social agencies of New York City and vicinity, and sermons in local pulpits by visiting clergy.

Finances.

In order to achieve its full task, however, the Commission has had to undertake a systematic financial campaign. For the first

three years the necessary funds were forthcoming from members and their friends; since 1913, a definite and widely extended appeal has been made for individual contributions, and for diocesan appropriations in an amount equivalent to one per cent. of the regular missionary apportionment. As a result of these efforts during the past year the Commission is now in a more satisfactory financial position, including present receipts and prospects, than ever before. The Commission still needs, however, and will continue to need, the active support of every diocese and missionary district in the country, forty-odd of which have already responded to the Commission's appeal, *as well as of individual Church members.* Checks should be made payable to William Fellowes Morgan, Treasurer, and mailed to the Commission's office, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City, to which also requests for literature and other information should be addressed.

SOME THINGS THE COMMISSION HAS DONE

1. Employed since October, 1911, an executive secretary, who has traveled fifty thousand miles on the Commission's business.

2. Maintained since October, 1912, an office in the Church Missions House, New York City, from which an extensive correspondence and educational propaganda has been carried on.

3. Been instrumental in the organization of provincial, diocesan and parish social agencies, and in co-ordinating their efforts.

4. Maintained friendly relations with volunteer Church agencies of social reform.

5. Co-operated with secular social agencies and with social agencies of other communions—through the medium of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, with which the Commission and its secretary are closely related.

6. Supported general movements devoted to social service, and advocated social legislation of state and nation, in co-operation with recognized secular agencies.

7. Urged the instruction of social study in Sunday school and theological seminary, and prepared a correspondence course (in ten lessons) for parish workers.

8. Issued over twenty pamphlets and leaflets, besides a two-hundred-page volume of addresses, etc., in connection with a "Social Service Week" (under the Commission's auspices) during the General Convention of 1913.

9. Prepared a traveling exhibit showing the social work of dioceses and parishes, which has been extensively displayed throughout the country, and is now included in a traveling Exhibit of National Religious Forces (interdenominational). Part of the Commission's exhibit was also displayed at the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

10. Gathered between two and three hundred lantern slides showing the social work of the Church.

JOINT COMMISSION ON SOCIAL SERVICE of the PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

✦

Rt. Rev. C. B. Brewster, D.D., Chairman

Rev. J. H. Melish, Secretary
157 Montague Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. F. M. Crouch, Executive Secretary
281 Fourth Avenue
New York City

W. Fellowes Morgan, Treasurer
Arch 11, Brooklyn Bridge
New York City

Rt. Rev. Charles Fiske, D.D.
Rt. Rev. W. A. Guerry, D.D.
Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.
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Rev. Samuel Tyler

Jeffrey R. Brackett
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Rathbone Gardner
John M. Glenn
Dean Susan T. Knapp
Samuel Mather
Vida D. Scudder
Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch
Robert A. Woods
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FRANCHISE BIBLE LESSONS

National W. C. T. U.



FRANCHISE DEPARTMENT

S. L. W. CLARK,
BURTON, WASHINGTON

National W. C. T. U. Literature Building,
Evanston, Ills.
For Sale at 50c per 100

Bible Lessons for Franchise Department.

Compare the law of life with the law of death or sin. References: Life: Gen. I, 27-28; Gen. II, 23-24; Rom. VI, 14; John I, 17; Acts IV, 33; Rom. VIII. Ref.—Death Gen. III, 16-19. Christ had to taste death for us all: Mark XIV, 34; Rom. V, 10-21.

The right of daughters under Moses law; Numbers XXVII, 1-9. Moses law given because of transgression; could not bring life. Justice relative in law given to Israel.

Abraham commanded to obey the voice of Sarah: Gen. XXI, 8-12. In Isaac (Sarah's son), shall thy seed be called—Ref: Psalms CV, 7-10; Gal. IV, 22-31.

Story of Deborah. Judges IV. A Deborah and a Jael necessary to rid the land of its oppressor.

Story of Esther. Both read and tell the whole story; emphasizing the truth that God's purposes will not fail tho we fail to meet our opportunity.

Woman's Warrant to Preach: Psalms 68, II; Joel II, 28-29. Day of Pentecost, Women were present: Acts I, 14. Prof. of Theology—Priscilla: Acts XVIII, 24-26, Priscilla mentioned first. Women prophets: Acts XXI, 8, 9; Phil. IV, 3—Apostolic provision.

The new yet old ideal of woman—Prov. XXXI, 10-31. God's conception of husband to be restored: Hosea II, 14-20.

Spirit of Jesus---Gal. III, 27-28; Cor. XI, 11-12—Man and woman are one. Service—Keynote: I Cor., 7, 21-23; Luke XXII, 25-27. Trace this spirit in history; Rev. XIX, 7. Bride of the Lamb—Not Lord or God.

COURSE OF STUDY

IN

Governments

BY

FRANCHISE SUPT.

National W. C. T. U.

National W. C. T. U. Literature Building,
Evanston, Ills.
For Sale at 50c per 100

COURSE OF STUDY IN GOVERNMENTS

LESSON No. 1—Outline of your local government. How many officials; how elected; their duties and qualifications?

LESSON No. 2—Our educational system; local, county and state. Discuss; Should all officers be elected, or some appointed, if the latter, how and by whom?

LESSON No. 3—Our state government; number of departments etc.

LESSON No. 4—Our system of taxation. Discuss; How can revenue be secured without license fee? Can a dry town prosper?

LESSON No. 5—Should public utilities be controlled by the people; and how?

LESSON No. 6—How can a living wage be established? Cite New Zealand's laws.

LESSON No. 7—Constitution of the United States, without amendments 1776, Articlesof confederation. Topic for paper; comparison and elucidation.

LESSON No. 8—Amendments to Constitution of the United States; the reasons therefor and events leading to them.

LESSON No. 9—Woman's status in our colonies. Study ancient laws of Europe for light. Each colony adopting the laws of its mother-country on the question. C. Loring Brace's "Gesta Christi" can be used as reference.

LESSON No. 10—Woman's status in the United States today. Give a brief history, WHEN and HOW changes were brought about. Give special honor to Susan B. Anthony.

LESSON No. 11—Laws of your state regarding woman's property rights. Disabilities of married women. Discuss law which makes marriage control woman's nationality.

LESSON No. 12—The co-guardianship law and all laws affecting the rights of children; to protection; to work or play.

ON INDEPENDENCE DAY—Discuss the question, "What does Citizenship mean to a White Ribboner?"

¶Appoint your brightest woman to prepare the lesson. Send for necessary literature in advance. If you live near a public library, use it exhaustively. All members should come prepared to take notes, for the purpose of successfully passing an examination on the lessons. Let the General Officers prepare the questions. Allow the members to answer them at home with all the helps necessary. Later, hold public graduation exercises; the brightest students may shine, but all should receive a diploma.

WORK! STUDY and THINK and DO IT NOW!

S. L. W. CLARK,
National and State Franchise Supt.
Burton, Wash.

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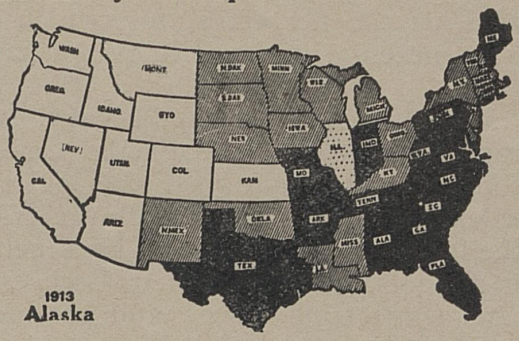
Votes for Women a Success

Proven by the Map of the United States



White States: Full Suffrage. Shaded States: Taxation, Bond, School Suffrage. Dotted State: Municipal, Presidential, Partial County and State Suffrage. Black States: No Suffrage.

By MINNIE J. REYNOLDS

It is absolutely proven by the inexorable logic of geography that equal suffrage works well. No one who looks at the map of the United States can deny that proof.

The women of Wyoming got the vote in 1869. We got it in Colorado in 1893, twenty-four years after. Does anybody suppose that if there had been any bad effect, in any way, shape or manner, of that twenty-four years of women's voting just north of us, the men of Colorado would ever have given it to us? Does anybody suppose that if the position of women had been lowered, by even a hair's breadth, we Colorado women would not have fought this thing, instead of asking for it, as we did?

The next states to give it were Utah and Idaho, which border Colorado and Wyoming on the west.

Next came Washington in 1910, and Washington borders Idaho on the west. The women of Idaho had been voting for fourteen years when Washington enfranchised its women. After fourteen years' trial, Idaho did not abandon her equal suffrage law in favor of the man suffrage law of her neighboring state of Washington. Instead, Washington abandoned her man suffrage law in favor of the law which had been tried out for fourteen years in the adjoining state of Idaho.

In 1911, for the first time since its birth in Wyoming, the suffrage germ showed that it could jump. It jumped across the state of Oregon and gave us California. But one year later, in 1912, Oregon filled the gap, and joined hands with her sister states of Washington on the north and California on the south.

On the same day Kansas and Arizona came in, and both of them bordered states in which women had been voting for years.

Up to this time in our history it had not been distant states, having no personal knowledge of the workings of equal suffrage, which enfranchised their women. It had been the nearest states, which from their very geographical position must necessarily have known what was going on just across the border.

But in 1913, the men of Alaska—perhaps because so many of them came from the equal suffrage states along the Pacific Coast—enfranchised their women; and a little later in the same year the legislature of the State of Illinois passed a law extending to women all the franchise rights it was within the power of the legislature to bestow. This includes about two-thirds of the electoral offices of the state—all municipal offices except police magistrates, some county and some state offices, and presidential electors, everything in fact, but the offices created by the State Constitution. To remove this disability the women of Illinois will have to secure an amendment to their State Constitution, and this they are now preparing to do.

One state then remained which was entirely surrounded by equal suffrage territory. This was Nevada, and the men there had the opportunity of judging of the working of equal suffrage in the neighboring states of California, Oregon, Idaho, Utah and Arizona, every one of which touches on the borders of Nevada. With the results of woman suffrage visible, so close home to them, the men of Nevada voted, in November, 1914, to give the vote to the women.

At the same time the men of Montana, who had had many years of opportunity to observe the effects of equal suffrage in Wyoming and Idaho, also voted to enfranchise the women.

You may at times hear charges made against the workings of equal suffrage in some state in which it has been adopted. You may not be able to answer these charges. You may not have the information at command which will enable you to know whether they are true or not. But there is one answer which you can always make to your opponent. Ask him why it is then, if equal suffrage works so badly, that it has been the nearest state, which knew best what was going on in its neighboring commonwealths, which extended the franchise to its own women.

SEND TWO-CENT STAMP FOR CATALOGUE OF SUFFRAGE LITERATURE AND SUPPLIES.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
Publishers for the
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

UNITED PRINTING TRADES WOOD LABEL COUNCIL 154

WOMEN IN THE HOME

We are forever being told that the place for women is in the HOME. Well, so be it. But what do we expect of her in the home? Merely to stay in the home is not enough. She is a failure unless she attends to the health and welfare, moral as well as physical, of her family, and especially of her children. She more than anyone else, is held responsible for what they become.

SHE is responsible for the cleanliness of her house.
SHE is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.
SHE is responsible for the children's health.
SHE, above all, is responsible for their morals.

How Far Can the Mother Control These Things?

She can clean her own rooms, BUT if the neighbors are allowed to live in filth, she cannot keep her rooms from being filled with bad air and smells, or from being infested with vermin.

She can cook her food well, BUT if dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk or stale eggs, she cannot make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and refuse, BUT if the plumbing in the rest of the house is unsanitary, if garbage accumulates and the halls and stairs are left dirty, she cannot protect her children from the sickness and infection resulting.

She can take every care to avoid fire, BUT if the house has been badly built, if the fire-escapes are inadequate, she cannot guard her children from the horrors of being maimed or killed by fire.

She can open her windows to give her children the air that we are told is so necessary, **BUT** if the air is laden with infection, with tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, she cannot protect her children from this danger.

She can send her children out for air and exercise, **BUT** if the conditions that surround them on the streets are immoral and degrading, **she cannot protect them** from these dangers.

Alone, she cannot make these things right. **Who** or **what** can?

The city can do it—the **city government** that is **elected by the people to take care** of the interests of the people.

And **who** decides what the city government shall do?

FIRST, the officials of that government; and, **SECOND, those who elect them.**

Do the women elect them? NO, the men do. So it is **the men** and **not the women who are really responsible** for the

Unclean Houses **Bad Plumbing**
Unwholesome Food **Danger of Fire**
Risk of Tuberculosis and Other Diseases
Immoral Influences of the Street

In fact, **MEN are responsible for the conditions** under which the children live, but we hold **WOMEN responsible for the results** of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, **let them have something to say** as to what these conditions shall be? There is **one simple way of doing this.** Give them the same means that men have. **LET THEM VOTE.**

Women are, by nature and training, housekeepers. Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house-cleaning.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS FOR THE
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue New York City

ENDORSEMENTS

MISS SPENCE'S SCHOOL, NEW YORK CITY.

Your recital of "A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM" gave my pupils great pleasure. It was not only instructive, but sympathetic and artistic.

CLARA B. SPENCE.

AMITY BAPTIST CHURCH, NEW YORK.

Your rendition of "ENOCH ARDEN" was most satisfactorily done. You impressed your audience remarkably with the interest of the story and the loftiness of its moral teachings.

REV. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, Pastor.

ALBANY COUNCIL NO. 279 OF THE U. C. T. OF AMERICA.

The evening with Charles Dickens' "CHRISTMAS CAROL" was most enjoyable. This charming story, so delightfully told by Mr. Mead, captivated the audience.

W. G. GEORGE, Senior Counselor.

THE BAPTIST MINISTERS' CONFERENCE OF NEW YORK CITY AND VICINITY.

The message of the play, ("THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE,") and its charming rendition, called forth the hearty approbation of all assembled. The Conference commends Mr. Mead to the churches of our denomination in this inspiring recital.

ARTHUR T. BROOKS, Secretary.

THOUGHT AND WORK CLUB, SALEM, MASS.

I want you to know how much we enjoyed Mr. Mead's rendering of "A MAN FROM HOME." It was splendid. . . . I think you cannot recommend Mr. Mead too highly to your patrons.

EMMA A. MISSUD, President.

FOR TERMS AND DATES ADDRESS

WILLIAM B. FEAKINS

SUCCESSOR TO THE CIVIC FORUM LECTURE BUREAU

21 WEST 44TH STREET, NEW YORK

TEL. BRYANT 4897

How the Vote was Won

"When argument fails, try laughter."



EDWARD A. MEAD

ONE of the mediums through which numbers of people are having their thoughts turned to the subject of Equal Suffrage is the reading of that delightful little comedy, "HOW THE VOTE WAS WON."

To meet the numerous requests that come to me from organizations interested in the suffrage question, I am now able to offer Mr. Edward A. Mead, of New York City, in a dramatic recital of this play.

This recital is especially appropriate as an entertainment for "Gentlemen's Night" at Women's Clubs.

William B. Feakins

HOW THE VOTE WAS WON

A ONE-ACT PLAY

By Cicely Hamilton and Christopher St. John

CHARACTERS

Horace Cole	A clerk
Ethel	His wife
Winifred	Her sister
Lily	A maid-of-all-work
Gerald Williams	A neighbor
Agatha Cole	Horace's sister
Molly	His niece
Madame Christine	His distant relation
Maudie Sparks	His first cousin
Miss Lizzie Wilkins	His aunt

COMMENTS ON THE PLAY

DR ANNA H. SHAW, *President of the National Woman Suffrage Association:*

I approve of the play, and think it would be of excellent service to any suffrage club, or in any community where suffragists would desire to make propaganda.

BERTHA KUNZ BAKER:

There's a lot of good sense and good fun in the comedy, "How the Vote Was Won."

THE LONDON STAR:

Genuinely funny. . . The desolating effects of a general strike of women workers as observed in operation are as significant as they are truly comic.

THE STAGE:

Beneath its fun there is a deal of propaganda.

DAILY GRAPHIC:

The play is full of clever lines. A crowded house was provoked to cheering and counter-demonstration by the vigorous arguments.

THE NEW AGE:

It is the most rippling piece of fun which has been on the boards for a long time.

PALL MALL GAZETTE:

It is clever and witty. . . . It is in fact a long time since we have seen nearly so amusing a one-act play.

OTHER READINGS BY MR. MEAD

SHAKESPEARE:

The Merchant of Venice.

Twelfth Night.

A Midsummer Night's Dream. (With the Mendelssohn music.)

The gayest and most beautiful of poetic comedies; the supreme masterpiece in the world of fairy lore.—Hamilton Wright Mabie.

TENNYSON:

Enoch Arden. (With the Strauss music.)

Tells a tender, tragic story, in language of exquisite beauty . . . Depicts the sublimity of self-sacrificing love.—Rev. Leighton Williams.

DICKENS:

A Christmas Carol.

The sunniest bubble that ever floated on the stream of light literature.—Thackeray.

The Cricket on the Hearth.

Program of Miscellaneous Readings from Dickens.

(Especially appropriate for the Dickens Centenary, Feb. 7, 1912.)

BOOTH TARKINGTON and HARRY LEON WILSON:

The Man from Home.

A strong American play, with a wholesome moral.

CHARLES RANN KENNEDY:

The Servant in the House.

Thrills the hearer with glowing and healthful emotion, and sends him away with a softened and chastened heart.—New York Post.

JEROME K. JEROME:

The Passing of the Third Floor Back.

Quaint and tender . . . Brings out best in us . . . Restores man's faith in mankind; makes life altogether seem worth while.—The New York Press.

ALSO

MISCELLANEOUS READINGS

FROM

CLASSIC AND MODERN LITERATURE AND PLAYS

WAS SCHOOL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN A FAILURE IN LEXINGTON?

THE PEOPLE HAVE SPOKEN

OFFICES SEEK THE WOMEN

The citizens of Lexington have just elected two women, Miss Linda Neville and Miss Margaret Brown, to the Board of Education. These two women were candidates on the Fusion ticket. Their opponents on the regular Democratic ticket were two prominent educators of the city of Lexington, Professor M. L. Pence of the State University, and Professor T. B. McCartney of Transylvania University.

This indicates somewhat the strength of the desire for women on the Board of Education in Lexington. These women, it will be recollected, were elected by the votes of men, no women in Lexington being allowed the school ballot. They were nominated by men, without any solicitation either from them or from other women, as a measure of party wisdom as well as of principle.

As it happens, a strong effort was made by more than one of the masculine leaders in the Democratic party to have women nominated on that ticket. This was over-ruled by a small coterie of Democrats opposed to any recognition of women's services. Lexington is the city represented by the Honorable William Klair, who has in two Legislatures opposed the extension of school suffrage to Kentucky women.

It has been represented that the trial of school suffrage for women in Lexington some years back proved a failure. A flat contradiction of this statement of the politicians did not destroy its currency, though this contradiction was made by those who knew that Lexington was still profiting from the reforms instituted by women on the School Board; who could point to the State-wide reputation of some of the women who then gave their services free to their city; who knew that the suffrage was repealed without a demand from the people, practically without their knowledge, at the behest of a few politicians only.

Does it look as if the people of Lexington had found school suffrage for women a failure, or women on their School Boards a failure, when over the dead bodies, as it were, of those Democratic politicians who opposed the recognition of women in school affairs, they nominate and elect women—who did not seek the offices—to serve upon the School Board? Let the people of the State judge.

The editor of The Lexington Herald, in an editorial of November 10th, entitled "The Local Election," has the following to say on the subject:

"The Democrats made a grievous mistake—and as we believed and so stated at the time it was made, a possibly fatal error—in refusing to nominate women for the Board of Education They had the opportunity to win to their support the influence of the women of Lexington. They not only did not avail themselves of that opportunity, but permitted their opponents to get the advantage which should have been theirs The same short-sighted, narrow and unwise policy which led to the repeal of the law giving women the right to vote, and to the defeat of the bill giving to women the right of school suffrage, prevented the Democrats from nominating women for the Board of Education. There could be no more severe rebuke of such policy than the election of the ticket on which two women were nominees in an election in which women had no vote.

"The Democratic party certainly, and probably the schools also, are to be congratulated upon the election of the Republican ticket. It is well for the Democratic party to be relieved of the odium of the charge of using the schools as a political asset. There has been only a modicum of truth in this charge. Yet there has been sufficient truth to create a profound prejudice against the Democratic party which has done it infinite damage and probably hurt the schools Politics has no place in the Board of Education nor in the public schools; the Democratic managers would have shown much greater wisdom had they recognized this overwhelming public sentiment and agreed to the nomination of a non-partisan Board of Education upon which there would have been two Democrats, and two Republicans, and two women.

M. McD. BRECKINRIDGE.

No. 11.

TIMELY ❖ TALKS.

Does the Bible Teach Subjection of Women?

BY MRS. S. A. BURKHALTER.

It is a common saying that "you can prove anything out of the Bible." Mormonism professes to have its corner stone on the same teaching of apostles and prophets which we render so differently. It is within the memory of some of us doubtless that many eloquent voices in the pulpit proved from the word of God that slavery was of divine origin and its overthrow would be sacrilege. A few years ago it was heresy to find that God did not make the world in six days of twenty-four hours each. Geology was thought to be a device of the devil. The same people who maintained that God made the world, stoutly claimed that it was sinful to study how He made it. A little further back was the prodigious wickedness of Galileo who found that the earth moved, and the church interpreted God's word to aver the contrary.

All this shows one fact very plainly, namely, that the church is not infallible; that as the world turns over and over, the church is overturned and overturned with it. By "the church" I mean the organized and visible body which claims that title, which erects the building and confers the titles and degrees. I do not mean the "mighty choir invisible," the true Body of Christ on earth and in heaven who know His name and are known by Him. Doubtless they who seek light shall find light, and they who seek the guidance of God's spirit shall be led by that spirit into all truth. Many self-styled and man-ordained God's interpreters, have stood up and declared many things, obscuring the light? It is as if the candle was behind them and their shadow thus cast grotesque images and created a wierd darkness upon their hearers. That branch of the church which depends most upon these interpreters is in the grossest darkness. I refer to the church of Rome, which holds that the Bible must be explained by teachers and the multitude must not be the judge of its meaning. The lesson from this is quite plain. Each must gather his own daily manna for himself. You cannot eat for me; neither can you eat the bread of life which cometh down from heaven for me.

Though you sit in consecrated places and wear mitre and robe, or get a salary to be my expounder of the Word, yet must I read, study, gather for myself. What I gather one day is not enough for all my life. Even as the typical manna must be daily gathered, and spoiled if it were kept over, so must I "search the Scriptures" continually, and God sends new food for each day.

The only consecrated place is where God's Spirit is. The only earthly temple now is the human heart. Your heart, my heart, the heart of man, the heart of woman, of Jew and Greek, of bond and free, all alike.

God made the world round. Eternity, truth, is like a circle. The Bible truths are round. You cannot stand on this side and say, This is truth; or on that side and cry Here is truth. You must look at it on all sides and by the light from above. Your points of observation all around are like an arch and the light from above is the keystone of the arch. Build over this structure and your bridges will not break down.

All that has ever been said to prove that the Bible teaches the subjection of woman to man will be fonnd to be a very feeble, tottering structure, judged by these standards. Somebody rises with his eyes closed and his fingers in his ears and solemnly ejaculates, "Let woman be in subjection, for the man was first formed and then the woman." A little child retaliates: "Why, God made the monkey before either, and the oyster before that. You make man 'too previous'!" And truly in the first chapter of Genesis it is written as the child states: so if the "Got there first" argument proves anything it proves man the lowest of all creatures—except woman. No, not that; for they were created one and the same and simply divided into halves afterward. That part of the curse, "Dust thou art, unto dust shalt thou return," applies equally to both halves of the fallen image of God.

Another brother who hasn't looked at it all around, and whose soul is too small to see that his mother and his sister are quite as good and great as he, remarks: "The woman was first in transgression and that's why she should be in subjection." He forgets that by the same logic it is wrong for him not to eat bread in the sweat of his brow every day. He is content that his wife (or somebody's else) shall earn a livelihood for him at the washtub, and doesn't clamor for a monopoly of his part of the curse. He doesn't search the scriptures to find that as by woman came the first transgression, God sent to her, and her alone the unspeakable glory of bringing into the sin-cursed world, the Savior and Redeemer and Son of God.

The book which tells of the curse on account of sin, is not silent about the redemption from sin. But some are still found who hang to the curse, though God in Christ has been steadily lifting it as fast as humanity will permit.

The doctrine of the Romish church, the celibacy of the priesthood, is founded on Paul's statement that it is better to be unmarried than married. What kind of an arch could we build of Bible truth to support this? In the beginning God said it was not good for man to be alone and one of the historical injunctions to the bishops was to be "The husband of one wife." The keystone light from overhead shows us the practical working of this celibacy and the utter failure of man's judgment as set up against God's laws.

Just here a word to those who are worried about disturbing the old order of anything, whether bad or good, for fear of vitiating the nature of woman. Don't alarm yourselves on that score. Not one law of nature has ever gone wrong yet. When they do—being founded on the nature of God, there will be a financial crash of the universe—and its Author. Not more fixed is God Himself, the "same yesterday, to-day and forever," than woman's nature. A mother will be a mother till the end of time,

and a wife will be a wife. Her God-given qualities will shine out with glorious luster when the fogs of traditions of men, the fogism of Pharisees, mists and miasms of the devil are dispelled by the clear-shining of the sun of truth and righteousness.

Now somebody says, "Isn't the Bible given by inspiration?" Yea, verily. I for one, think its internal evidence quite sufficient to prove that. But as James says, "Elijah was a man of like passions as we are." He was the representative of the revealed word of God who appeared with Moses on the Mount of Transfiguration. If he was of like passions, much more was Saul—that Saul of Tarsus, whose bigotry hailed men and women to the death for a mistaken idea. Nor strange if into his writings, along with mighty truths, taught him by the spirit, creep in some things which as St. Peter says, "are hard to be understood: which they which are unstable wrest." The way to be stable is to build no structure without a careful study of what God reveals by His word written, and His word made flesh, and His examples of history from the beginning and around us on all sides.

The bad boy at school may quote that a woman shall not teach nor usurp authority over the man, but he gets his strapping promptly, and public sentiment and common sense support the school-ma'am. If religious teaching or prophesying is referred to, it is written that the Spirit shall be poured out upon sons and daughters, and they shall prophesy. This was fulfilled on the Day of Pentecost, and has been fullfied at every good and profitable prayer-meeting since.

It was the devil's original argument to quote scripture, you know. Thereby he deceived Eve, but our Lord answered to his "It is written," "It is written *again*:" thus teaching us to compare scripture with scripture.

Yet there are women to-day so short of vision and poor in logic that they will pray and speak in a female prayer-meeting and will not open their mouths if a man be present. Why? Are they afraid of the man? Not at all. The same women will perhaps sing before the footlights in a crowded house, or give a recitation or an essay to entertain ladies and gentlemen, and converse with perhaps more fluency if addressing men than women.

Get them to explain it who can. I give it up. I only know that I have observed that when women have been so filled with Christ's spirit that they have risen up out of the dust and ashes of custom and worked and talked for the objects they once only prayed for, mighty results have followed, and God has been with them. I think it is a poor kind of love to Christ which will not follow where He leads. And if where He goes the harems open doors for women to go free, the red man's wife ceases to be his slave, the Chinese women can no longer be bought and sold; if, in short we behold Christ lifting the curse from woman, it ill becomes a Christian woman not to help Him lift it, not to follow the same path He treads. The women who call for the ballot to-day want it to do God's work with, to lift the burdens from humanity; to bind the the devil and destroy his works.

They want none of their talents wrapped in a napkin and buried in the earth, or under a tile of their "ain fireside."

They would help bear man's burden of work and take on their shoulders all burdens of humanity, counting it joy, for so did their *only* Master, Christ. They want a share of the cross and a hope of the crown of the Great Deliverer who came to emancipate the whole earth from the curse. Woman's friend and companion was Jesus on earth. Woman's captain and co-worker is Jesus in heaven. To Him she looks to establish the truth that in Christ Jesus is neither male nor female, but all alike accountable for every talent bestowed.

In the third chapter of Genesis 16th verse, a part of the curse on account of sin occurs these words: "Thy desire to thy husband and he shall rule over thee." In the 4th chapter, 7th verse, speaking to Cain who is angry because his offering is not accepted as Abel's, God says, "Unto thee his desire and thou shalt rule over him." The next verse recounts the killing of Abel by his brother Cain. Now let those who say that it is God's holy ordinance and a law of nature that woman be subject to man, tell us also that it was God's ordinance and a law of nature for Abel to be subject to and ruled over by Cain; for exactly the same formula of words is used in both cases. Well, there have been people to hold the rights of elder brothers as against younger; but America does not produce them, and we think we see the evils of that system very plainly. Have we not also seen in this land of Christian light, the evils of woman's subjection quite as clearly? Is it not true that the further you get from civilization, the more complete the subjection of women; and the higher you rise toward light and truth, the more free and equal is woman? How foolish, then, to impede this progress toward the true and natural condition of perfect equality!

I suppose this subjection of the younger to the older was in the line of types teaching that the natural is first and the spiritual second; that the natural ill-treats and abuses the spiritual, and by this process the spiritual is refined of its dross and made perfect. There were Ishmael and Isaac, whose history Paul explains in the 4th chapter of Galatians. There were Esau and Jacob, and Jew and Christian, and Adam and Christ. In each case the elder abused and drove away and put to death the younger. In each case it was the younger which developed the spiritual and enduring qualities. Shall we not expect to find then, the woman's nature refined by a like process? At least we can never say that the Bible teaches subjection as a permanent quality, but only a refining process, to prepare the way for the greater elevation.

The prodigal son was in rags and amidst the husks and these consequences of sin led him back to his father's house.

The Bible teaches the crucifying of the flesh because of sin—that by this means the spirit may be made alive to God and righteousness. It nowhere intimates that the prodigal should remain amongst the swine, nor that the dead in sin should lie forever buried, nor that mothers, wives, daughters are an inferior and subject half of the Divine image.

CHAPTER 27.

An Act to amend the Law relating to the Guardianship and Custody of Infants. [25th June, 1886.]

A.D. 1886.

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the law relating to the guardianship and custody of infants:

Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Short title.

1. This Act may be cited as the Guardianship of Infants Act, 1886.

On death of father, mother to be guardian alone or jointly with others.

2. On the death of the father of an infant, and in case the father shall have died prior to the passing of this Act then from and after the passing of this Act, the mother if surviving shall be the guardian of such infant, either alone when no guardian has been appointed by the father, or jointly with any guardian appointed by the father. When no guardian has been appointed by the father, or if the guardian or guardians appointed by the father is or are dead, or refuses or refuse to act, the Court may, if it shall think fit, from time to time appoint a guardian or guardians to act jointly with the mother.

Mother may appoint guardian in certain cases.

3. (1.) The mother of any infant may by deed or will appoint any person or persons to be guardian or guardians of such infant after the death of herself and the father of such infant (if such infant be then unmarried), and where guardians are appointed by both parents they shall act jointly.

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

(3.) In the event of guardians being unable to agree upon a question affecting the welfare of an infant, any of them may apply to the court for its direction, and the court may make such order or orders regarding the matters in difference as it shall think proper.

Powers of guardian.

4. Every guardian in England and Ireland under this Act shall have all such powers over the estate and the person, or over the estate (as the case may be), of an infant as any guardian appointed by will or otherwise now has in England under the Act twelve Charles the Second, chapter twenty-four, or in Ireland under the Act of the Irish Parliament fourteen and fifteen Charles the Second, chapter nineteen, or otherwise.

Court may make orders as to custody.

5. The court may, upon the application of the mother of any infant (who may apply without next friend), make such order as it may think fit regarding the custody of such infant and and the right of access thereto of either parent, having regard to the welfare of the infant, and to the conduct of the parents, and to the wishes as well of the mother as of the father, and may alter, vary, or discharge such order on the application of either parent, or, after the death of either parent, of any guardian under this Act, and in every case may make such order respecting the costs of the mother and the liability of the father for the same or otherwise as to costs as it may think just.

Power to Court to remove guardian.

6. In England and Ireland the High Court of Justice, in any division thereof, and in Scotland either division of the Court of Session, may, in their discretion, on being satisfied that it is for the welfare of the infant, remove from his office any testamentary guardian, or any guardian appointed or acting by virtue of this Act, and may also, if they shall deem it to be for the welfare of the infant, appoint another guardian in the place of guardian so removed.

Guardianship in case of divorce or judicial separation.

7. In any case where a decree for judicial separation, or a decree either nisi or absolute for divorce, shall be pronounced, the court pronouncing such decree may thereby declare the parent by reason of whose misconduct such decree is made to be a person unfit to have the custody of the children (if any) of the marriage; and in such case, the parent so declared to be unfit shall not, upon the death of the other parent, be entitled as of right to the custody or guardianship of such children.

Application of Act to Scotland.

8. In the application of this Act to Scotland the word guardian shall mean tutor, and the word infant shall mean pupil.

Interpretation of terms.

9. In the construction of this Act the expression "the Court" shall mean—

In England the High Court of Justice or the county court of the district in which the respondent or respondents or any of them may reside:

In Ireland the High Court of Justice or the county court of the district in which the respondent or respondents or any of them may reside:

In Scotland the Court of Session or the sheriff court within whose jurisdiction the respondent or respondents or any of them may reside.

Any application under this Act to the High Court of Justice in England or to the High Court of Justice in Ireland, shall be made to the Chancery Division of the said Courts respectively in such manner as may be prescribed by Rules of Court.

In Scotland the expression "The Court of Session" shall mean either division of the said court, and in vacation the Lord Ordinary on the Bills.

As to removing proceedings and appeals.

10. In England and Ireland when any application has been made under this Act to a county court the High Court of Justice shall, at the instance of any party to such application, order such application to be removed to the High Court of Justice and there proceeded with before a judge of the Chancery Division, on such terms as to costs as it may think proper.

In England and Ireland an appeal shall lie to the High Court of Justice from any order made by a county court under this Act; and, subject to any rules of court made after the passing of this Act, any such appeal shall be heard by a judge of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice at chambers or in court, as he shall direct.

In Scotland any application made under this Act to a sheriff court may be removed to the Court of Session, at the instance of any party, in the manner provided by and subject to the conditions prescribed by the ninth section of the Sheriff Courts (Scotland) Act, 1877.

40 & 41 Vict. c. 50.

In Scotland an appeal shall lie to either division of the Court of Session from any order made by the Lord Ordinary on the Bills or a sheriff court under this Act.

Rules as to procedure.

11. Rules for regulating the practice and procedure in any proceedings under this Act, and the forms in such proceedings may from time to time be made—

(*a*) so far as respects the High Court of Justice or Her Majesty's Court of Appeal in England or Ireland by Rules of Court; and

(*b*) so far as respects the Court of Session in Scotland by Act of Sederunt; and

(*c*) so far as respects any county court in England or Ireland and the Sheriff Court in Scotland in like manner as rules and orders respecting those courts can respectively for the time being be made.

Tutors.

12. In Scotland tutors being administrators-in-law, tutors-nominate, and guardians appointed or acting in terms of this Act who shall, by virtue of their office, administer the estate of any pupil, shall be deemed to be tutors within the meaning of an Act passed in the twelfth and thirteenth years of the reign of Her Majesty, intituled "An Act for the better protection of the "property of pupils, absent persons, and persons under mental incapacity, in Scotland," and shall be subject to the provisions thereof: Provided always, that such tutors being administrators-in-law, tutors-nominate, and guardians aforesaid shall not be bound to find caution in terms of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sections of the last recited Act, unless the court, upon the application of any party having interest, shall so direct.

Saving clause.

13. Nothing in this Act contained shall restrict or affect the jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice in England, and of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, or of any division of the said Courts, and of the Court of Session in Scotland, to appoint or remove guardians, or (in the case of Scotland) tutors or factors loco tutoris or otherwise in respect of infants.

COMBINE AGAINST WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

Those Who Opposed Woman's Suffrage in Oregon Resorted to Everything to Defeat

"The Degrading Combine Against Women Suffrage in Oregon. Liquor Dealers Rally Forces Against Cause."

There are the headlines takes from Oregon newspapers during the campaign for woman suffrage, less than a year ago.

The handful of women who formed the opposition to woman suffrage was too pitifully small to make any impress on Oregon politics. The strength of the opposition came from the liquor dealers, and their allies. One of the first circulars against woman suffrage was issued by the Knights of the Royal Arch. A liquor men's secret society of Portland, and which has members all over the state of Oregon, and is particularly active in organizing saloon men against the people. The qualifications for mtmbership are thus set forth on the circular:

"The Knights of the Royal Arch is a benevolent and fraternal order, whose object is the betterment and protection of the liquor business. No person is eligible for membership unless he is engaged in, or connected with, the brewing, liquor or cigar trade."

This circular cautions the recipient that "woman suffrage is to be voted on."

The next circular letter we submit in full. It is self-explanatory. The names appearing on the letterhead are significant of the business interests which fear the woman's vote.

Firms Opposing Woman Suffrage

Weinhard's.
Star Brewery.
Gambrinus Brewery.
North Pacific Brewery.
American Brewing and Ice Co.
Roseburg Brewery.
Schultz and Striker.
Julius Roesch.
Albany Brewery.
Mt. Hood Brewery.
Olympia Brewery.
Salem Brewing Asociation.
Enterprise Brewery.

Wholesale Liquor Houses

Rothchild Bros.
W. J. Van Schuyver and Co.
Blumauer and Hoch.
H. Fleckenstein and Co.
Fleckenstein, Mayer and Co.
Charles Kohn and Co.
F. Zimmerman and Co.
Brunn and Co.
H. Varwix and Son.
Coblentz and Levy.
Penni, Hickman and Co.
Otto Rothchild.
Chas. Stern and Co.
D. Germanus.
F. Botefuhr and Co.
E. Martin and Co.
J. Muller and Co.
C. J. Stubling.
Sherwood and Sherwood.

Liquor Interests Oppose Woman Suffrage

During the woman suffrage campaign in Oregon 1905-6 the brewers and liquor dealers combined to defeat the amendment.

A secret circular judiciously mailed to liquor dealers of Oregon read as follows:

Brewers and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Oregon.

Manager's Office, 413-414 McKay Bldg., Telephone Main 6150.

Members Of Association

Portland, May 21, 1906—Dear sir: Two laws are to be voted on at the election June 4th, which are of vital importance to every liquor merchant in Oregon, without exception.

The first is woman suffrage.

The second is the amendment to the local-option law.

The members of this association have worked hard for a long time on both of these matters. So far as the amendment to the local-option law is concerned, they have prepared the amendment, defending its title successfully in the supreme court, and placed it on the ballot. But, being few in number, they cannot by themselves pass the local-option amendment or defeat woman suffrage.

That part of the work is up to the retailers. We write this letter to earnestly ask you to help.

It will take 50,000 votes to defeat woman suffrage. It will take 50,000 votes to pass the amendment to the local-option law.

There are 2,000 retailers in Oregon. That means that every retailer must himself bring in 25 votes election day.

Every retailer can get 25 votes. Besides

his employes, he has his grocer, his butcher, his landlord, his laundryman and every person he does business with. If every man in the business will do this we will win.

We inclose 25 ballot tickets showing how these two laws will appear on the ballot and how to vote.

We also inclose a postal card addressed to this association. If you will personally take 25 friendly votes to the polls on election day and give each one a ticket showing how to vote, please mail the postal card back to us at once. You need not sign the card. Every card has a number and we will know who sent it in.

Let us all pull together, and let us all work. Let us get 25 votes each. Yours very respectfully,

Brewers and Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association.

HOW THE LIQUOR INTERESTS DEF EATED WOMAN SUFRAGE IN ORE GON

The circular issued by the Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers, was accompanied by a postal card for reply. This card was addressed to the

Brewers' & Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association.
413-414 McKay Building.
Portland, Oregon.

The reverse side of the card bore this message:

Dear sirs: I will attend to it.
..... 25 times.
Yours truly, "0000."

We believe this combine of the liquor interests against woman suffrage tells its own tale of the kind of people and interests that oppose suffrage for women.

The suggestion to the retailer to coerce "the grocer, the butcher, the landlord, the laundryman and every person with whom he does business, is a conspicuous illustration of the methods employed to prevent women from having a voice in conditions surrounding the home.

It is said that several prominent liquor firms contributed over $300,000 to defeat the woman suffrage amendment in Oregon.

Do you stand with women for morality or with the liquor interests?

It was stated on unquestionable authority, that a wealthy brewer acknowledged that the liquor interests had subscribed a fund of over $300,000 to defeat the woman suffrage amendment. The first sum of $250,000 was deemed insufficient, and this was agumented by an additional $50,000. This was the real cause of the defeat of the woman suffrage campaign in Oregon. A cause may be loved for the enemies it makes.

This is the history of the opposition in the Oregon woman suffrage campaign. The potent enemy being the liquor interests.

It is a significant co-incidence that the women of Washington voted in territorial days, bnt lost this right by a scheme in which Mrs. Nevada Boomer, a saloon-keeper's wife, opposed to suffrage, was the chief actor.

The women who are asking for suffrage in Oklahoma are the peers of those in any state. Women who do not wish to vote will not be compelled to do so. They can only follow the example of the Massachusetts women if they desire. But those of keen intellect, and the broad philanthropy, for which western energy is noted can render efficient aid to home and state if possessed of that attribute of American citizenship which expresses its conscience at the ballot box.

KATE H. BIGGERS.

No. 5.

TIMELY ✣ TALKS.

License—High or Low—Wrong in Principle.

By REV. HERRICK JOHNSON, D.D.

License—whether high or low—is *wrong in principle.* This objection to the system is radical and fundamental. It goes to the root of the whole matter. If once persuaded that it is well taken, it ends all advocacy or connivance on the part of him of a good conscience.

The ground upon which the objection is based is this: The actual saloon is an iniquity. The evils directly traceable to it, and that inevitably in greater or less degree flow out of it, whenever and wherever opened, are absolutely appalling. These evils affect public order, public health, public decency; they increase taxes, imperil property, endanger life. They are by confession the prolific source of crime, poverty, orphanage, disease, death. They are open, public, notorious, civic and social. There is no such assault on health, on life, on property, on liberty, on society, on the home, as that which comes from the liquor traffic. There is not one solitary privilege that can be afforded the dram seller *consistent with the public good.* The saloon exists as a moral abomination.

Now the government, in issuing its license, virtually says, and without any possibility of question as to its meaning, "Pay me $500 and for one year you may proceed with that moral abomination. You may open a saloon and deal out strong drink, notwithstanding the fact that the saloon in any community is the invariable precursor and cause of social and moral blight and curse." The government thus lends its high sanction to the traffic, gives it a legal status, throws about it its sacred shield, and stamps it with a legitimacy as real as if it were the most innocent and beneficent business of life.

For the government to do that thing, whether for five dollars, or five hundred dollars, or five thousand dollars, *is a moral wrong!* Governments, like individuals, must forevermore do right. Permits to pursue the liquor traffic are permits to make inroads on almost every interest of life. License to sell intoxicating drink carries with it, not only liquor-selling, but the known and inevitable consequences of liquor-selling. This law of responsibility is true of the individual. It is just as true of the state.

But it is denied by some good men that license carries this fearful implication. It is held by them that license is simply in the nature of a tax, and is, so far as it goes, restrictive and prohibitory, giving no sanction and implying no approval.

Consult any legal

License gives legal status. Tax gives nothing, but requires. License is for regulation. Tax is for revenue. The very essence of license is a permit to do. The license *fee* is simply an incident of regulation, and does not affect the nature of license at all. Whether the fee be five hundred dollars or five dollars, or not a dollar, or not a cent, the act is the same, viz., governmental permission and sanction to do a certain thing. No quibble of words can change this simple axiomatic truth. Tying Esau's hair to Jacob's hands and neck does not change Jacob's voice. The fundamental feature of license abides, whether with high fee or low fee, or no fee.

If license carries no sanction, but is only prohibitive, then why not license prostitution? "No," say the good men who are confounding things that differ, "No; that is a sin *per se.*" But what difference does it make whether prostitution is a sin *per se* or a sin per circumstance, if the licensing it is simply in the nature of a tax, and merely restrictive? If the position of these men is correct, then the licensing of prostitution carries no sanction, and their running to shelter under "sin *per se*" is blank cowardice and logical suicide. If their position is not correct, then licensing the drink shop is formal official investment of the drink shop with full right to open its doors and proceed with its work of ruin. One horn of the dilemma or the other, gentlemen. There is no alternative, save to wash hands clean and forever of the whole business of license.

I know the fallacies with which honest and conscientious men strangely delude themselves here. They get their chief expression in this concentrated piece of wisdom, viz., that half a loaf is better than none at all. But *is* a half loaf better than no bread at all? If in getting the half loaf I must compromise with an iniquity, then let the bread go! It is better to perish with hunger than to do a wrong. If in getting a few saloons closed, I must sanction the *saloon business* by advocating license, high or low, then let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth before it speaks approval. I must not do evil that good may come.

Listen now to some of the misleading analogies by which good men seek to prop their judgment in this case: "If I have five children sick with some malignant fever, I will save three if I [illegible] Yo[illegible] at fa[illegible]

tainly not, in lessening the number by five, the government must issue its formal license to commit the fifteen.

"But this kind of argument in the old slave-holding days would have made it wrong at the South to advocate a law prohibiting the sale of husbands from their wives, or any other cruel feature of slavery." Not at all. Such a law would not have been a provision for licensing slave-holding; but a provision for stopping one of its wrongs. Any honest opposer of slavery living in the South could have advocated such a law with a good conscience. But suppose the question had been, Shall the state issue annual licenses to men to hold slaves, it being provided in the license that they shall not sell husbands away from wives? Or, to make the case exactly parallel, it being provided that the license fee shall be $500? You see the difference, and you see the fallacy.

It is the *license* feature in this business—the *giving the legal right to do a moral wrong*—that commands the protest of many good men, and which we believe will command the protest of millions more before the discussion is through. The half-loaf-better-than-no-bread theory goes to pieces against this rock of principle.

"But do not the Scriptures speak of times of ignorance that God winked at, or overlooked? Did not Moses suffer divorce because of the hardness of the people's hearts? Were not slavery, polygamy and the taking of human life, divinely tolerated or regulated?" Yes. But the dim twilight of that distant past is not the high noon of to-day. The "times of that ignorance" are not the times of this knowledge. A fifteenth century conscience before Christ cannot justify a nineteenth century conscience after Christ. For a blinded Israelite to be allowed to do what he thought right, is no reason why an intelligent Christian should do to-day what he thinks wrong.

It is the action of a man who acknowledges the evil and curse of this saloon business that we are discussing. Shall he by voice and vote favor a law licensing the drink shop when he knows the drink shop is everywhere and always the prolific source of moral abominations? To put us under the toleration of that distant, blind, groping patriarchal age, would justify our regulating and licensing Mormon polygamy and letting back southern slavery.

The supreme business of the hour, therefore, is to make men see the truth about the dram shop; that there is no possibility of just compromise with it, that it is evil and only evil, and that continually; that licensing it is bad policy and bad morality. If men say, "The state is not ready for prohibition," let the answer be, "We mean to make it ready." Meanwhile let us do what in us lies to enforce every prohibitory feature of the license laws. Inflexibly opposed to the adoption of any law that licenses, let us be inflexibly determined to enforce all legal restraints upon the licensed.

It is claimed that high license *will lessen the number of saloons*. "The men who pay $1,000 for the privelege of opening and running a drink-shop will prosecute the men who pay nothing." Not by any means. Saloon [illegible] Saloon [illegible] the licensed. And Capt. Riebsame, of that city, owner of one of its gin palaces, rivalling Chicago's best gilded haunts, first president of the State Liquor Dealers' Association, a republican and a delegate to the late state convention at Peoria, said recently in the Bloomington *Leader*, over his own signature, "We liquor dealers who pay our license of $600 per year could afford to pay $1,000 a year if we were protected against infringements of our business by unlicensed parties." Yet Bloomington is cited as a sample of the beauties of high license.

Well, if this be the truth as to illegal sales under high license, what about the other point? Do the licensed saloon keepers prosecute the unlicensed? Not at all. I challenge the production of a single case. Look at Bloomington again. Capt. Riebsame pays his big fees, bewails its injustice, trusts "the time will come when the malignant persecution of legitimate dealers in liquor will cease, and the efforts of officials will be directed against unlawful sellers," but he, himself, lets the illicit sales go on. He dare not prosecute. He knows it would ruin him. No licensed liquor seller in Bloomington has ever been known to enforce the law against the unlicensed. Nebraska's cities have had high license and illicit sales for years. No such case of prosecution has ever been known in Nebraska. Nor anywhere.

Another claim of high license is that *it makes the business more respectable and decent*. Outwardly, yes. It gives the saloon thus licensed a certain importance, a broader seal of legitimacy. But it is gilded corruption, after all; "a goodly apple, rotten at the heart." Almost without exception these high licensed saloons sell to minors, sell to drunkards, sell on Sunday, and are linked with gambling—often with harlotry. It is these gilded haunts of vice, not the low doggeries, that the mothers chiefly dread as the *first* tempters of their boys. The respectability is only in glitter and tinsel and sham show of decency, while within are "dead men's bones and all uncleanness."

Still another claim of high license is that *it will educate public sentiment and prepare for prohibition*. But how can public sentiment be educated by painting vice? And what kind of preparation for prohibition is it that thrusts a tremendous temptation before every taxpayer to bribe him to vote against prohibition?

Another claim of high license is that *it will increase the revenue*. Without a doubt it will. The claim is true. But its truth involves a vicious circle in which crime and lust and pauperism and orphanage are made their own inevitable successors. Here is the inescapable logical process—let the words be repeated until they get burned into the public conscience in letters of fire: GROG SHOPS CONFESSEDLY MAKE CRIMINALS, PRODUCE STREET BROILS, VIOLENCES, THEFTS, MURDERS. THESE NECESSITATE INCREASED POLICE. POLICE COST MONEY. HIGH LICENSE MAKES THE GROG SHOPS PAY THE MONEY. In other words, high license says to the saloon keeper, "Messrs. Saloon keepers, we give it up. Your saloons [illegible] the open sl[illegible]ways through which monstrous in- [illegible] shut [illegible]n,

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THIS CHRONICLE of real people during momentous times which saw the disruption of a civilization holds the reader's interest in a way that proves truth is even more entertaining than fiction.

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The wholesome influence of the Old Cane Spring Church, built in 1812 and still standing, is given, and other peaceful characteristics of the community are graphically described, until the war disturbs this tranquility. Then the Negroes' voices are no longer heard singing "Down in the Cornfield" during the moonlight corn huskings and the preacher's voice is no longer heard in the old church saying that "in Old Cane Springs, man . . . realizes what he is . . ."

The tale not only follows the interesting episodes of the war in Madison County, but it also reaches the Northern prison camps; and through it all runs the inspiring love story of a Southern girl whose courage in aiding her sweetheart and others, many of whom fought and were captured with Morgan the Raider, makes intensely exciting reading. But finally the war is over, Boys in Blue and Boys in Gray return to Old Cane Springs, marriages become the order of the day, and life begins again. But it will never be what it was when the story began. Remember, the story is true. The characters really lived, and their descendants live today.

The book is carefully indexed and has an abundantly annotated bibliography highly interesting in itself.

• • •

APPRECIATIONS

★ "Let me congratulate you on having brought such an important and interesting task to conclusion."—Dr. J. G. Randall, University of Illinois.

"Allow me to congratulate you upon your completion of the book, *Old Cane Springs,* a work which will be a permanently valuable source book for the history of our section of the country. It should be prized by the schools and colleges of the State."—Dr. Wm. J. Hutchins, President, Berea College.

★ "Professor Dorris has rescued and edited in this book a delightful narrative of the ante-bellum and war days in Madison County. He takes the account written by the late Judge Chenault and by adding a great many valuable historical notes, he makes of the whole a work of great merit and interest . . .; few Kentuckians I think will want to forego the pleasure of reading it; and I know many who are not blessed with the distinction of being a Kentuckian can read it with much pleasure and profit."—Dr. E. M. Coulter, University of Georgia.

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★ "To those for whom the history of the Old South holds charm, *Old Cane Springs* will be charming; to those to whom the romance of the Old South holds delight, this book will be delightful."—*The Louisville Courier-Journal.*

". . ., *Old Cane Springs,* in the final assay, seems to be a belated voice from the South answering the diatribes of William Lloyd Garrison and his *Liberator.*"—*New York Sun.*

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★ "The fate of this community, disorganized by the war, presents an interesting study of the disintegration of a slaveholding squirarchy."—*Mississippi Valley Historical Review.*

". . . his account of events during the Civil War is both interesting and informative, particularly in respect to the effect of the war on this rural community of divided sympathies: the crumbling of the plantation system, the changing relations of masters and slaves, the activities of home guards, the operations of the draft, and friction between neighbors and within the church."—*The American Historical Review.*

★ "The attractiveness of the book is considerably enhanced by the inclusion of sixty half-tone illustrations and two maps. One of these pictures, hitherto unpublished, is that of the Cassius M. Clay battalion guarding the White House during the siege of Fort Sumter and before the arrival of Federal troops in Washington in 1861. President Lincoln and his cabinet are shown in the picture."—Richmond, Kentucky, *Daily Register.*

The Farmers of the Whole Land Need Co-operation.

Ex-Gov. C. G. Luce, past master of the Michigan State Grange, in speaking of coöperation in the Grange, says: "The first great lesson to be learned in coöperation is confidence in ourselves, confidence in each other, confidence in our Order, and love for and confidence in our calling. If we entirely fail in this, we fail in all. This kind of coöperation is not all embraced by membership, paying dues, or even attending the meetings of the Grange; something even broader than this is required. The farmers of the whole land need coöperation more than any other portion of our people. In the very nature of our calling we are of necessity more isolated than others. It is needed for social improvement as well as for intellectual achievement. It is demanded for the protection of political rights. It is required by the highest and dearest interests of all."

It is the universal sentiment of all who are interested in the welfare of our rural population, whether members of the Order or not, that the Grange is worthy of the confidence and support of our entire farming population.

Keep up the Organization.

In speaking of the Grange a few years ago, Ex-Senator Geo. F. Edmunds of Vermont said: "I hope the farmers will keep up their organization and continue to press for the simple justice and fair play they are entitled to."

The organization is "kept up," and its members are pressing for "simple justice and fair play" through the channels of coöperative efforts in the different departments of Grange work, and we ask the thousands of farmers, with their families, who are not members, to join our ranks and coöperate with us, not alone for the greater material prosperity which might come to them through business coöperation in the Grange, but also for the larger blessings which would come to the home through the culture and refinement which are incident to the broadened thought and social intercourse to be derived from active membership in the Order.

Issued by authority of National Grange. Additional copies can be had free by addressing N. J. Bachelder, Lecturer, Concord, N. H.

Circular No. 8.

NATIONAL GRANGE.

Co-operative Features of the Grange.

In some sections of the country there is a growing demand among the larger class of farmers who are not members of the Grange for a more definite knowledge of the coöperative features of the Order than they have thus far been able to obtain. To give some information upon this subject in as few words as possible, and in plain language, is the object of this leaflet, and it is presented with the hope that when coöperation in the Grange is more fully understood, thousands of these farmers and their families will join existing Granges, and that hundreds of new Granges will be organized for the financial advantages and the social and educational uplifting of all who may become members.

Co-operation Defined.

The late Dudley W. Adams, second Master of the National Grange, said that "Coöperation, rightly understood, is the practical realization of Christian ethics. The salient virtues of temperance, forethought, just dealing, and fellowship in work will do more to correct the moral disorders which darken our land and have tainted our government, as well as trade and commerce, than all the penal statutes that have been or can be devised. The material, moral, social, and intellectual influences are in near connection with each other. The more material things have great influence on mental subjects, a sentiment that ages ago the poet Homer gave vent to, in saying 'that when man becomes a slave he loses half his virtue.'"

Without coöperation none of the salient features of the Orde

could be made a success. In its social and educational work associated efforts are an absolute necessity; in its legislative work it is the united expression of its vast membership upon a given question that makes the Grange a convincing power in the halls of state and national legislation; in its business features it is the concentration of individual orders into larger shipments that enables members to secure goods at wholesale rates or at manufacturers' prices, and what is true in one line of business is equally true in all others, including fire and life insurance.

A Complete Organization.

Thus it is in the different departments of Grange work. Coöperation makes the Order a complete farmers' organization, which is peculiarly adapted to the tastes, conditions, and requirements of farm life in all parts of the country. In this connection Prof. Arthur A. Brigham, past master of the Massachusetts State Grange, says: "The farmers must save themselves, and by the aid of the Grange they can do it. One of the best thoughts in all this work is that it is a work for country and civilization. It is a Christian duty to outwit and circumvent counterfeiters, lobbyists, and trade politicians, as well as those men who, in their selfish greed, would reduce the poor to absolute poverty and want, if they might thereby add a few more dollars to their 'pile.'"

Co-operation a Success.

The coöperative work of the Grange in its social and educational features is a grand success, and it has a splendid record in securing the enactment of many just and wholesome laws for the benefit of agriculture and the best interests of the great body of the people. Wisdom has been gained from experience, and as Past Master T. R. Smith of the Ohio State Grange says: "We do not seek to overturn business principles or cripple business industry, but we do claim the right to buy or sell in the best market. Our merchant and dealer will not pay the home grower a cent more for potatoes or corn than he can import them for from a distant state. Coöperative buying is but the application of their principles to our business."

What Business Co-operation Does.

In the Eastern states coöperation in the Grange includes the buying of flour, grain, feed of all kinds, and fertilizers, mixed and unmixed, in car-load lots at lowest wholesale prices, and in all parts of the country seeds and general supplies for the farm and the household can be purchased on the coöperative plan, with a large saving of dollars and cents, and it also largely reduces the cost of fire and life insurance.

Additional Advantages.

Of late, additional advantages to the business coöperative features of the Order are being brought to the front, through arrangements which are now in progress for an exchange of farm products between members of the Order in different sections of the country, by means of a business-like system of information in regard to what is for sale by members of the Grange in one locality, and what is needed by members in another state or county. If these opportunities are improved, coöperation in this line will be of great advantage to all concerned.

Farmers Must Keep Abreast of the Times.

Conditions are such at the present time that farmers must use every available means within their reach to increase their knowledge and strengthen their position or they will surely be left behind in the race for life. Upon this point Hon. Aaron Jones, master of the National Grange, makes the following pertinent remark: "The farmer, to keep abreast of the rapid changes, needs now to possess all the knowledge of a business man, to understand not only how to cultivate the farm, but must understand the requirements, not alone of his state and community, but of the world; and he has to watch the development of other countries and the agencies being used to intelligently forecast the future. Hence, to be a good farmer now requires study, thought, and organization, and coöperation one with another."

WHY JOIN THE GRANGE?

Because it is inexpensive.

Because it is the farmer's only organization national in character.

Because it has stood the test for thirty-two years, and has never been found wanting in any respect.

Because it has exerted greater influence in securing state and national legislation in the interest of agriculture than any agency in the country.

Because it is officered by those engaged in agriculture, who know from experience the needs of farmers, and are sincere in their desire to aid them in every possible way.

Because it is the duty of farmers to coöperate with one another, if they would successfully meet the influence of organization in every direction, and secure for wife and home a fair share of what the harvest yields.

Because it has secured national legislation in the Oleomargarine law, the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the establishment of Rural Free Mail Delivery, and state legislation in every state in the interest of the farming population.

Because it has exerted the greatest influence known in breaking up the isolation of farm life, and in making farm life attractive to the boys and girls, bringing sunshine and happiness into the farm home to such an extent as has never before existed.

Issued by authority of National Grange. Additional copies can be had free by addressing N. J. Bachelder, Lecturer, Concord, N. H.

We acknowledge the broad principle that difference of opinion is no crime, and hold that "progress toward truth is made by difference of opinion," while "the fault lies in bitterness of controversy."

We desire a proper equality, equity, and fairness; protection for the weak, restraint upon the strong, in short, justly distributed burdens and justly distributed power. These are American ideas, the very essence of American independence, and to advocate to the contrary is unworthy of the sons and daughters of the American Republic.

We cherish the belief that sectionalism is and of a right should be, dead and buried with the past. Our work is for the present and future. In our agricultural brotherhood and its purposes, we shall recognize no North, no South, no East, no West.

It is reserved by every Patron, as the right of a freeman, to affiliate with any party that will best carry out his principles.

OUTSIDE CO-OPERATION.

6. Our being peculiarly a farmers' institution, we cannot admit all to our ranks.

Many are excluded by the nature of our organization, not because they are professional men, or artisans, or laborers, but because they have not a sufficient direct interest in tilling the soil, or may have some interest in conflict with our purposes. But we appeal to all good citizens for their cordial co-operation to assist in our efforts towards reform, that we may eventually remove from our midst the last vestige of tyranny and corruption.

We hail the general desire for fraternal harmony, equitable compromises, and earnest co-operation, as an omen of our future success.

CONCLUSION.

7. It shall be an abiding principle with us to relieve any of our oppressed and suffering brotherhood by any means at our command.

Last, but not least, we proclaim it among our purposes to inculcate a proper appreciation of the abilities and sphere of woman, as is indicated by admitting her to membership and position in our Order.

Imploring the continued assistance of our Divine Master to guide us in our work, we here pledge ourselves to faithful and harmonious labor for all future time, to return by our united efforts to the wisdom, justice, fraternity, and political purity of our forefathers.

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[CIRCULAR No 1.]

THE NATIONAL GRANGE.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSES

OF THE

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY.

PREAMBLE.

Profoundly impressed with the truth that the National Grange of the United States should definitely proclaim to the world its general objects, we hereby unanimously make this Declaration of Purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry:

GENERAL OBJECTS.

1. United by the strong and faithful tie of Agriculture, we mutually resolve to labor for the good of our Order, our country, and mankind.

2. We heartily endorse the motto: "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things charity."

3. We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplish the following objects:

To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and co-operation. To maintain inviolate our laws, and to emulate each other in labor, to hasten the good time coming. To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate. To buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining. To diversify our crops, and crop no more than we can cultivate. To condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel and more on hoof and in fleece; less in lint, and more in warp and woof. To systematize our work, and calculate intelligently on probabilities. To discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement, as occasion may require. We shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the Grange. We shall constantly strive to secure entire harmony, good will, vital Brotherhood among ourselves, and to make our Order perpetual. We shall earnestly endeavor to suppress personal, local, sectional, and national prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry, all selfish ambition. Faithful adherence to these principles will insure our mental, moral, social, and material advancement.

BUSINESS RELATIONS.

4. For our business interests, we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers, into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence we must dispense with a surplus of middle men, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits.

We wage no aggressive warfare against any other interests whatever. On the contrary, all our acts and all our efforts, so far as business is concerned, are not only for the benefit of the producer and consumer, but also for all other interests that tend to bring these two parties into speedy and economical contact. Hence we hold that transportation companies of every kind are necessary to our success, that their interests are intimately connected with our interests, and harmonious action is mutually advantageous, keeping in view the first sentence in our Declaration of Principles of action, that "Individual happiness depends upon general prosperity.'

We shall, therefore, advocate for every state the increase in every practical way, of all facilities for transporting cheaply to the seaboard, or between home producers and consumers, all the productions of our country. We adopt it as our fixed purpose to "open out the channels in nature's great arteries, that the life blood of commerce may flow freely."

We are not enemies of railroads, navigable and irrigating canals, nor any corporation that will advance our industrial interests, nor of any laboring classes.

In our noble Order there is no communism, no agrarianism.

We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tends to oppress the people and rob them of their just profits. We are not enemies to capital, but we oppose tyranny of monopolies. We long to see the antagonism between capital and labor removed by common consent, and by an enlightened statemanship worthy of the nineteenth century. We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest and exhorbitant per cent. profits in trade. They greatly increase our burdens, and do not bear a proper proportion to the profits of producers. We desire only self-protection, and the protection of every true interest of our land, by legitimate transactions, legitimate trade, legitimate profits.

EDUCATION.

We shall advance the cause of education among ourselves, and for our children, by all just means within our power. We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial colleges, that practical agriculture, domestic science, and all the arts which adorn the home, be taught in their courses of study.

THE GRANGE NOT PARTISAN.

5. We emphatically and sincerely assert the oft repeated truth taught in our organic law, that the Grange—National, State, or Subordinate—is not a political or party organization. No grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss partisan or sectarian questions, nor call political conventions, nor nominate candidates, nor even discuss their merits in its meetings.

Yet the principles we teach underlie all true politics, all true statesmanship, and if properly carried out, will tend to purify the whole political atmosphere of our country. For we seek the greatest good to the greatest number.

We must always bear in mind that no one, by becoming a Patron of Husbandry, gives up that inalienable right and duty which belongs to every American citizen, to take a proper interest in the politics of his country.

On the contrary, it is right for every member to do all in his power legitimately to influence for good the action of any political party to which he belongs. It is his duty to do all he can in his own party to put down bribery, corruption, and trickery; to see that none but competent, faithful, and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our interests, are nominated for all positions of trust; and to have carried out the principle which should always characterize every Patron, that

THE OFFICE SHOULD SEEK THE MAN, AND NOT THE MAN THE OFFICE.

Congressman Manahan Declares Suffrage Position

Woman's Duty to Help Make Laws, He Writes to Leader of Minnesota Antis

Mrs Gilfillan of Minneapolis. This re placed on the desk of the senators & members of the House.

I have given very careful consideration to the Woman's Suffrage amendment, and cannot see wherein any injustice could be done the States in granting political equality to the women of the country. I cannot concede that the women lack either intelligence or patriotism, and both intelligence and patriotism of the highest order should be brought to the support of our institutions on election day. Pardon me if I suggest that the number of women allied with the movement on one side or the other does not affect the important consideration of duty. And inasmuch as the welfare of every home, both from an economic and moral viewpoint, is directly affected by legislation; the cost of living, as influenced by the cost of transportation and distribution of necessities, is a matter of law; the control of vice, including the saloons, is likewise a matter of law. It follows that every woman concerned in the public welfare and the preservation of homes, should be vitally and personally interested in legislation. Obviously, the only potent influence that anyone can have in legislation under our system of government is by the ballot.

Selfish greed influences care little for resolutions by clubs or non-voters and fear only law and its enforcement. I can readily understand why men engaged in any line of business which makes it necessary for them, for selfish reasons, to control the making and enforcement of law, should oppose woman's suffrage, but I cannot understand why any legitimate and fair-dealing enterprise should fear the judgment or doubt the intelligence of womankind. Personally, I believe that the average woman has a clearer mind and a greater love of home and square dealing than the average man. Believing this, and knowing from personal study and investigation how stern is the necessity of reform in law making and law enforcement, I confess that I see no hope for the right solution of our economic difficulties and social evils except by bringing to the task the combined intelligence and civic virtue of all of the men and women of the country.

I feel sure that the cultured and splendid womanhood represented by the names on your letterhead could, if they directed their efforts to the sacred task of making better laws in Minneapolis and Minnesota accomplish a great good in a few short years. With the ballot as an instrument, it would not take long to eliminate selfishness and graft in public affairs. And inasmuch as the happiness of so many homes depends upon the economic and social conditions made by the law from day to day, it does seem to me as though no good, earnest woman has the right to hold aloof and refuse to do her share in the work of making laws. Life, as well as living conditions, being subject to law in our land and women having as much right as men to life and liveable conditions, it follows, of course, that she has equal right to participate in law making. I think no intelligent people ever question her equal right with men in all things that vitally affect life. It is therefore, as I view it, a simple matter of public necessity and the responsibility of us all in meeting that necessity.

Holding these views, it is hardly necessary for me to say that it is my purpose when the matter comes before the House to do everything in my power to give the women of the United States political equality with men. I do not do this as a matter of concession to womankind, nor as a matter of favor to any organization or individual, but solely on the ground that it is the duty of every man and woman not only to vote but to put into that vote every bit of patriotism and judgment possible. To my mind, election day should be a holy day of obligation to every man and woman in the country.

HOW TO WIN

Victory in Ohio This Year Entirely Possible

By Elizabeth J. Hauser.

Developments in the suffrage situation are taking place so rapidly that the conviction grows daily upon the workers at state headquarters that victory this fall is entirely within the range of possibility.

The demands for literature are so many that the chairman of the State Literature Committee assures the State President that this committee will bankrupt the association. However it is really the State President who is in danger of bankruptcy since quantities of literature are being turned out by Warren printers on her personal credit. Four organizations have been formed in connection with the suffrage debates at the Coit-Alber Chautauqua and these want literature and speakers which must be furnished them free of charge until they get upon their own feet. The corps of organizers at work under the direction of Miss Florence E. Allen can give out 1,000 choice leaflets in about the same length of time that it takes us to make the selection of them at headquarters. The county fairs are coming on and the demands in that connection are great. This means that we have more organizations with virility and enterprise enough to make demonstrations at the fairs than ever before.

We dislike "personal references," but there are occasions when they are necessary, and this seems to be such an occasion. We learn that in several quarters the impression prevails that the State Association has plenty of money, or that the members of the State Executive Committee are so circumstanced that they can, without inconvenience, supply the deficit. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The State Association is very limited as to funds. There is not a rich woman on the executive committee. All contribute to the extent of their means in time and in money, and in order that Ohio might be made a campaign state without outside help, the committee

members made themselves personally responsible for two large loans. It is the money thus raised and volunteer service which made the petition campaign possible.

The newspapers have said so much about the $15,000 which Ohio may get from the National Association as a result of Self-sacrifice Day, that some people are apparently under the impression that this $15,000 is in our treasury now. We wish it were, but to date not a dollar of it has been received, nor have we had any advices from the National concerning the possibility of such a fund materializing.

The state needs money and it needs it now in order that the many opportunities crowding upon us may be utilized. People are very ready to tell the state officers what they ought to do, to point out the things they leave undone, but they are not so ready to help to devise ways and means of getting funds so that the necessary work may be done. There is a limit to the extent upon which the state office is able to do the work on faith and personal credit. **There is no reason** why that limit should be reached, for the simple reason that if every suffragist in Ohio—man and woman—would give just one dollar to the campaign we should have a fund entirely adequate to our needs, a fund large enough to carry the state.

From the beginning we have been trying to make this a popular campaign, asking small contributions of many people rather than large ones of a few. If you give a dollar, a quarter, a dime, even a nickel, it makes you feel that you have a stake in the campaign. Have you, who read this, done that? If not, will you do it now? Make Sept. 15th your day to give. Whether you sacrifice to give, or give to sacrifice, **Give.**

With money for literature, for press work, for field workers, **we can win in November.** Do you care enough for freedom to help make this victory possible?

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Meditations On
VOTES
For WOMEN
Together with
ANIMADVERSIONS on the closely related subject of *VOTES* for MEN
BY
SAMUEL McCHORD CROTHERS

Meditations *on* Votes *for* Women

That husbands have some political rights that their wives are bound to respect

AT a meeting in opposition to the further extension of the suffrage I heard a charming woman object to such extension on the ground that a woman already has more influence than can be measured by a mere vote. And she proved her point, at least so far as women like herself are concerned.

As I listened I was almost converted, and was prepared to believe that government by charm was to be preferred to any of the coarse methods of democracy. It was only when I seated myself in the street-car that my reflections took another turn. The car was filled with business men returning from their work. I could not but notice how deficient in charm these citizens were. There was no subtle witchery about them that could make the worse seem the better reason, or the good reason seem better than it is. Not one of these men was capable of changing my opinion by a subtle appeal to my emotions. Any cause they advocated must have some merit independent of them in order to succeed. They were unable to invest it with any irresistible personal attraction.

I considered how helpless these men would be when they returned to their homes and were beset by the propagandists who refused a vote of their own in order that they might vote by proxy. I could not but feel that an unfair advantage was being taken of these proxies, for they might have opinions of their own, which they would like to express.

For the voter who is a son I make no plea. It is doubtless better for him to vote as his mother tells him. The voter who is a brother is amply able to take his own part, and the lover-voter yields voluntarily. But the husband of the woman with a conscience elicits my sympathy. He is so helpless. He loves his wife dearly and is ready to share her joys and sorrows, but he does not share all her opinions in regard to local government. Of course she does not choose to exercise her influence except in a great moral issue. But she will find a great moral issue or make one. From this harvest field she expects to return bearing her sheaves with her. And her husband's vote is her most precious sheaf. To be deprived of that were treason to the cause of Anti-Suffrage.

When the husband and wife have set their minds on the same vote, the result is not doubtful. The husband, in voting according to the dictates of his wife's conscience, feels a bitterness that he is unable to express. It was not quite fair. If his wife could have used her conscience in a more impersonal way, it would have been a good diffused over the whole community. But she concentrated it all on him and bore down all opposition.

If instead of having only one vote for the family they could have their individual votes, what a convenience it would be! It would give the husband a sense of independence like having a check book of his own.

A CHAPTER FROM DR. CROTHERS'S BOOK



Who are the cultured?

This Little Booklet Is Addressed To Five Distinct Classes

Check the Class That Fits You

Class No. 1

THE hostess who wondered why her dinner guests smiled when she served thin-sliced bread for dinner; who discovered the next day that she had not given the seat of honor to the distinguished guest, and that she should have entered the dining-room last, instead of first, when the maid announced dinner by sounding the dinner chimes, which, of course, a well-trained servant would not have done at a formal dinner.

Class No. 2

The girl who said, "Mr. A., I want you to meet my college chum, Miss B." The one who does not know what to say to her partner after a dance, or whether she or the young man caller should suggest the hour of his departure. The one who does not know the polite way to refuse a dance or gift; or the one who thinks the young man should ask to call upon her.

Class No. 3

The man who does not know that he should eat peas with a fork and not with a spoon, that he should only open one fold of his napkin, and should always send his knife and fork with his plate for a second helping. The one who thinks he should deposit his overcoat, hat, cane, and gloves in the hall upon entering a drawing-room for a brief call—all of which he should not do. The man who takes a woman by the arm when crossing a street, instead of offering her his arm.

Class No. 4

The woman who wondered why Mrs. Jones left one of her calling cards and two of her husband's when she paid an honor call, and who says, "It is time to retire," when she means it is time to go to bed, and says "charming lady" when she means a charming woman.

Class No. 5

The people who count themselves social leaders, yet say Green-wich when they mean Grinnidge; or do not know what words R. S. V. P. stand for. The ones who do not know the meaning of the phrases Le beau monde, Vis-à-vis, A la russe, Sang-froid, or Ma chérie. Also those who still pronounce valet "vallay," which is no longer given its French sound in high social circles.



What Would *You* Have Done?

It Was His First Call—

YOU were enjoying his company immensely, but you realized that it was almost an hour past the time when a young man should say good-night. Should you suggest the hour of his departure? Should you ask him to call again? Should you tell him how much you had enjoyed his company?

Do you know the correct thing to do and say upon all occasions? How would you thank Mr. A. for a beautiful bouquet of flowers? Would you write him a letter, telephone to him, or would you wait until you saw him?

Did This Ever Happen to You?

While walking in the street you met a certain young man upon whom you wished to make a favorable impression. After a moment's talk you walked on, and by accident caught a glimpse of yourself in

a window mirror. What a sight you were—shiny nose, tilted hat, straggling hair, dusty shoes, and a dozen other defects seemed to jump out at you in the full glare of the sun on that mirror. You were shocked! You never appeared so shabby in all your life! What did he think of you?

"The Book of Good Manners" will show you your social defects just as the mirror showed you your shiny nose and dusty shoes. It will not only point out your defects, but will tell you in a brief, interesting way how to correct them.

How would you feel if you knew that your defective manners made you appear vulgar in the presence of the cultured young man?

How Much Do You Know About Good Manners?

Try This Test on Yourself

Q. No. 1. How should corn on cob be eaten?
Q. No. 2. How should a formal dinner be announced?
Q. No. 3. Should a man attach a letter to flowers which he is sending to a young woman?
Q. No. 4. Should a man precede or follow his feminine companion up and down the aisle of a church or theater?
Q. No. 5. Upon leaving a dining-table, should one's chair be pushed up to the table, pushed back from the table, or left where it happens to be when one rises?
Q. No. 6. Mrs. Brown is introduced to Mrs. Black. They desire to cultivate friendship. Who should make the first call?
Q. No. 7. Where is the seat of honor at the table?
Q. No. 8. Is it proper for a woman to appear in the aisle of a sleeping-car in negligée?
Q. No. 9. If you were paged in a fashionable hotel by a member of the opposite sex, how would you answer?
Q. No. 10. Should a man precede or follow his feminine companion off a street-car or railway-coach?

Do You Fool Yourself?

If you could take a picture of the inside of a cultured person's head, you would get a picture of his true thoughts about you. This picture would show you just as you appear and not as you would have people think you are. The well-bred person will never appear to notice your crudeness. If you are his guest and eat rice with a spoon instead of a fork, as you should, he will also eat rice with a spoon. This is a mark of true culture. But remember—you are the only one being fooled.

Never

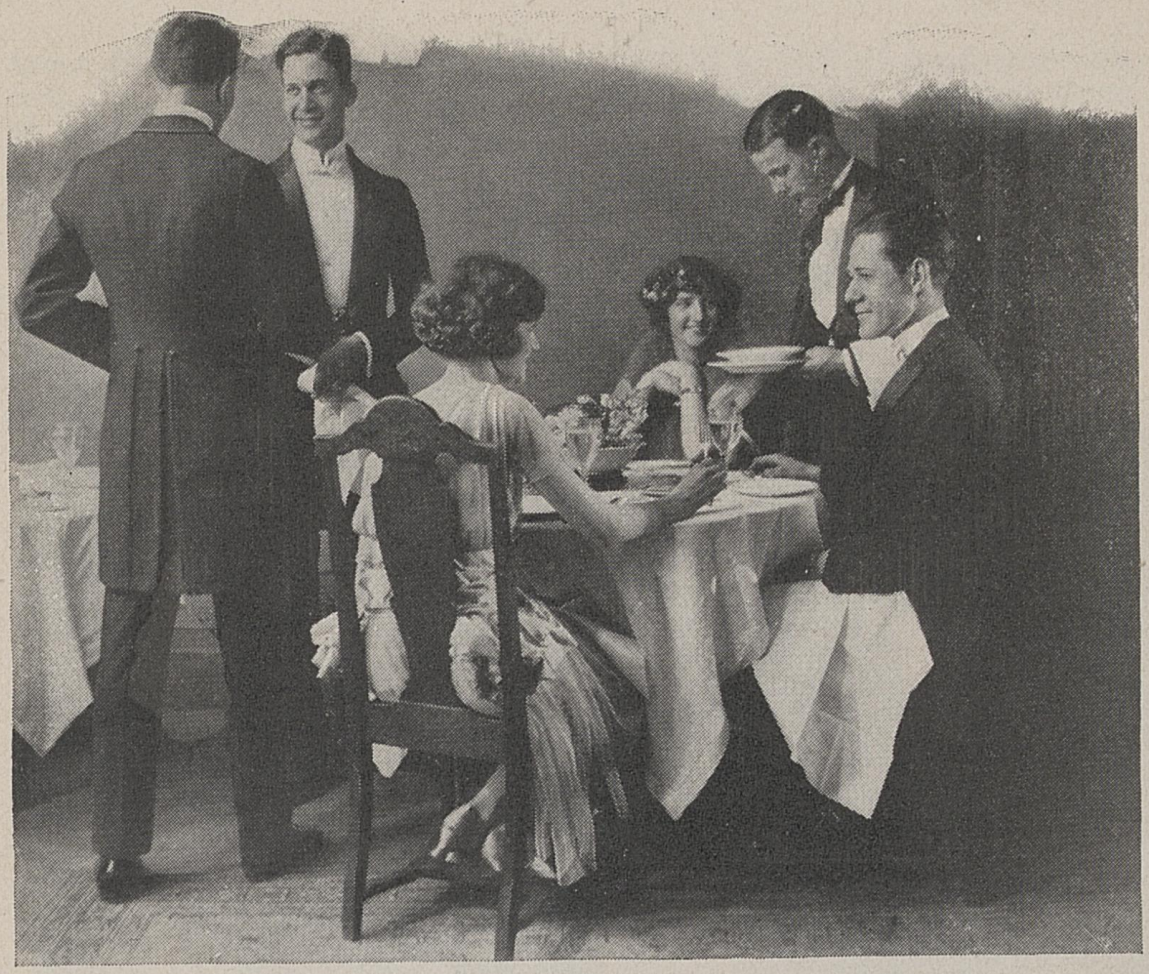
Unpardonable Table Habits

Never tuck your gloves in at the wrist.
Never permit your knife and fork to strike your plate.
Never drink a beverage without first placing a napkin to your lips.
Never grasp a spoon as though it were an umbrella or a golf-club.
Never eat with your mouth open.
Never skim the soup or any liquid off your spoon by scraping the bottom of the spoon over the edge of the dish.
Never permit the point of a spoon to enter your mouth first.
Never use a piece of bread as a pusher to aid your fork.
Never lay your knife or fork on the table.
Never allow your spoon to remain in your cup or glass.
Never "eat" your coffee with a spoon.
Never force soup from spoon by suction.
Never permit your elbows to rest on the table.
Never serve a gentleman until all the ladies have been served, even though you have a very distinguished male guest.
Never permit a servant to pour wine when you do not expect to drink it.
Never ask for a second helping of soup.
Never butter a whole slice of bread—break it into small pieces and butter each piece as you need it.
Never push food on the back of your fork.
Never touch a potato with your knife.
Do not accuse us of going below the class we are addressing. We see people in every walk of life committing these errors daily.

Which One of These Forms of Introduction Is Correct?

No. 1.—"Mrs. A., allow me to present Mr. B."
No. 2.—"Mrs. A., meet Mrs. B."
No. 3.—"Mr. A., I have the honor of introducing Miss B."
No. 4.—"I want you to meet Mr. A., Mrs. B."

Have you ever sat in a restaurant and observed some vulgar person trying to "eat" bouillon with a spoon instead of drinking it, as he should; or using his knife and fork to carve a lettuce salad, instead of eating it with a fork? If you have had this unpleasant experience, just what did you think of that person? Can you blame your friends for thinking the same things of you when you are introduced to their friends, or when you introduce them to your friends and you hesitate, look embarrassed, then mumble some untimely, meaningless words?



Seven Social Blunders Are Being Committed in This Picture. Can You Find Them?

Which is Correct?

SHOULD a male escort sit on the right or left of his feminine companion? What special viands should be served at public places? Should the knife and fork be sent with the plate after each course at a public café? Should a course be refused, or should you permit it to be served and then not eat it?

Did you ever enter a fashionable hotel or restaurant and, due to your ignorance of conventionalities, find yourself so ill at ease that you imagined you were doing everything wrong? You felt that every one was watching you and noting your crudeness. Your limited knowledge of good manners turned an otherwise pleasant evening into an occasion of regret and humiliation. It is these very occasions which test your poise. "The Book of Good Manners" will unravel all these knotty problems and show you how to overcome self-consciousness—tell you how to appear at perfect ease when others appear ill-bred.



Did His Silence Spell Disgust?

IT seemed to her that every one was pleased with the dance except her partner. Why did he remain silent? Why did he not thank her for the dance? What had happened that could cause this sudden expression of his disappointment in her? Should she first express her pleasure or remain silent until he thanked her for the dance?

Have you ever planned what you expected to be a happy evening, and then, just as you were in the height of the merriment, done or said something that made you want to run away and hide? Do you

know that these embarrassing slips are due to lack of good manners, and that it is just as impossible for you to do and say the right thing at all times without the aid of a book of etiquette, as it would be for you to try to learn to speak English properly without a grammar?

What Do You Know About Good Manners at the Dance?

Should Miss DuBarry return to Mr. Westervelt, who accompanied her to the dance, immediately after each dance with other young men? When Mr. Hannibal has finished a dance with Miss Clark, who is a stranger, how can he gracefully leave her to join friends whom he promised to return to immediately after the dance? Should he simply excuse himself and walk away, leaving her alone, or should he remain with her and disappoint his friends?

How many and what particular dances should Miss A. give Mr. B., who accompanied her to the dance? Should the male escort suggest the hour of departure? Do you know the polite way to refuse a dance?

Check the Ones That Are Wrong

Jane introduces her room-mates to her mother as follows: "Mother, may I present Miss Brown and Miss Thompson?"

Mr. Black introduces his sister by saying, "Mr. Gower, I want you to meet my sister, who has just returned from your home town."

Mrs. A. uses this form, "Mother, I have the pleasure of presenting Mr. Durham."

When only does the distinction of age decide the form?

Is an American woman ever presented to the holder of a foreign title?

How should a husband present a gentleman to his wife?

Should a woman always remain seated when being introduced to a man?

When should a gentleman offer his hand to a lady?

Is it conventional for Miss A. to respond to an introduction by saying, "How do you do?"

Should the hostess of a large reception ask permission to present Mr. A. to Miss B.?

"The Book of Good Manners" will not only teach you how to avoid being embarrassed, but will develop your finer senses, teach you the niceties of dress—how to acquire personal charm and that force of character which makes you welcome in every society though without beauty, or wealth, or genius.

"The Book of Good Manners" **is to your social life what Webster's Dictionary is to your literature.**

DO you know the conventional way to serve tea, or do you serve the way "Mrs. Jones" serves? If you were to check up "Mrs. Jones," you would be surprised at the many blunders she makes. For instance, how does she announce dinner? We could go on endlessly asking questions about afternoon teas, dinner parties, bridge parties, luncheons, and other home functions, where the matron's culture is put to the acid test. It is at these little affairs that a woman's conduct marks her as cultured or ill-bred in the eyes of her guests.



What Is Wrong in This Picture?

Find Six Blunders Displaying Ignorance on the Part of the Hostess

Perhaps you have answered every question to your own satisfaction, but do you know you are right, or are you following "Mrs. Jones," who is the social leader in your circle and is supposed to know all about conventionalities? **Who is your authority? Do you want to**

embarrass your friends when they present you to cultured people who know etiquette from "Mrs. Jones'" localisms? *"The Book of Good Manners"* is not dry, uninteresting reading. It is written by the highest authority on American social laws, and is so brimful of valuable information that one can hardly lay it aside until every page has been carefully read. Every one has felt the need of this book many times in his or her life, but it is one of those things which most people put off buying from year to year until finally they become so set in their ways and habits that they are content to go through life branded with that harsh English class word—COMMON.

Whom Do You Patronize in Your Social Circle?

What is it about that person which makes you feel she is your superior?

Isn't it a fact that that person possesses something which bars you from intimacy with her? Do you not "put on your best manners" when you are with her? Isn't that person quoted and copied by all the members of your set? Don't you feel that you have moved up a step on the social ladder when you have been paid a special honor by that individual? It even makes one feel good to have her telephone or stop for a moment's chat on the street. One never forgets to mention that Mrs. A. "stopped" me on the street and said so and so.

What is that Something about that Person?

Her charm, magnetism, or whatever you wish to call it, is not an accident. She discovered that she must possess poise if she would appear individual. She found that good manners—the art of saying and doing things in the correct way—was the first step she must take to acquire this poise, personality, or magnetism. You, too, can tear down the wall which is separating your present ordinary self from the magnetic person you should and can be, if you will turn loose that personality which is lying inside of you, stagnating because you have thrown up your hands and said, "I am not attractive. I do not possess personal charm."

Stop and think of twenty people whom you know, who are socially prominent, who for some reason seem to possess qualities which compel attention, admiration, and respect. You know that you possess more real intelligence than the majority of these people. If you desire to acquire that personal charm—which is as unconcealable as fire—those manners which mark you as well-bred, you must use the same common sense that you would use if you were preparing to learn to play the piano or sing—you must buy a text-book and learn the rules.



How Would You Have Introduced Him?

He Had Called Unexpectedly—

YOUR out-of-town friend was visiting you and you knew she was bashful. You wanted to say something when you introduced them that would create conversation. How would you have done it? Would you mention his name first? Would you have said, "Miss Lloyd, I am so happy to have you meet Mr. Dixon" ?

Don't Refuse to Face Facts

You are continually being checked up and judged by what you do and say. For instance:

You have been introduced to Mr. Grayson. Should you offer him your hand? How should you acknowledge the introduction? You

sit down together and he remains silent. You are at sea. Should you open the conversation or should you wait for him to do so? You are both very anxious to renew the acquaintance at an early date. He very cleverly continues to impress you with his desire to call upon you, but for some reason does not ask your permission. You feel that one of you has committed a blunder but would rather discontinue the friendship than appear impertinent or bold by asking him to call. Should you ask him to call at a definite time or should you merely give him your card?

There are so many of these little things which are so essential in discharging the ordinary social duties. Are you always at perfect ease when you are invited to a dinner or luncheon? Are you sure whether you should use your fork, spoon, or your fingers to serve your plate with olives? Do you wonder whether you should convey them to your mouth with your fork or your fingers; where should you lay the seed, on your dinner plate or your condiment plate?

The most important person in the world to you is yourself. This is the reason that you will find it difficult to stop reading "The Book of Good Manners" until you have finished it. It tells you things about yourself that you never dreamed of. It is talking to you in your own language. For the first time in your life you are discovering yourself.

Ten Questions to Test Your Knowledge or Ignorance

Q. No. 1. When Mr. A. asks Mr. B. for the heart and hand of his charming daughter, should Mr. A. make a statement of his financial responsibilities?

Q. No. 2. Should a male escort always walk on the side next to the curbstone?

Q. No. 3. Is it correct to eat asparagus with your fingers?

Q. No. 4. Should "please" and "thank you" be used when addressing one's servants?

Q. No. 5. What portion of the wedding expense should be paid by the groom?

Q. No. 6. Should one's street and number appear on personal stationery?

Q. No. 7. What does *Bal poudre* signify when it appears on a dance invitation?

Q. No. 8. What toilet requisites should a hostess provide for her house guests?

Q. No. 9. If Miss A. and Miss B. are walking in the street and chance to meet an acquaintance of Miss B.'s, who stops for a moment to chat, should Miss A. be introduced?

Q. No. 10. Mr. and Mrs. Dunn entertain with a dance in honor of their son, and invite Mr. and Mrs. Brand. When Mrs. Brand pays her honor call, she leaves four cards. What appears on each card?



How Would You Introduce the President of Your Firm to an Old College Chum?

Do You Know or Do You Guess?

WHAT is the proper form to use when introducing an elderly man to a young man? If you were to meet the president of your firm at the club to-morrow, would you speak to him first or would you wait until he greeted you? Would you remain seated or would you rise when you spoke to him?

If you were at the head of a great corporation would you want to employ executives who could not meet their business associates on an equal social plane as well as on an equal business basis? Good manners are not a mark of a man's business ability or ignorance, but reflect a higher degree of civilization. Good manners are absolutely essential to a man who would be a success. There was a time when the sturdy American rather prided himself on his abrupt, common manners, but the American of to-day requires polish, poise, and culture. The present-day business man is checked up just as closely as a woman. It is true that many men are successful without a single mark of culture, but few men, indeed, want to be the object of ridicule because of their ignorance of conventionalities.

How do you feel when you neglect to shave? You are simply all out of gear. You apologize to every one you meet. Why feel so uncomfortable over such a trifle and neglect the very thing which reflects your bringing up, your environment, your rank in society? Robert Burns said:

"Oh wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as ithers see us!"

As you read this little booklet you will undoubtedly recall a dozen occasions when you did or said something which indicated your ignorance of good manners. If you are a business man you want to see yourself as others see you. It is only good common sense that you should. *"The Book of Good Manners"* will show you your social defects, and tell you in a brief, interesting way just how to correct them.

"The Book of Good Manners" covers every phase of correct social usage on all occasions for men, as well as women and children.

The Watchful Waiting Policy

Have you ever sat at a table where every one seemed to know what to do but you? You were so ill at ease that you were afraid to trust yourself to make a single move without first glancing around in a casual way to see how others were doing it. You were not sure whether you should unfold your napkin immediately or whether you should wait until you were served. You wondered what you should do with the roll that was inside the folded napkin, what those two knives were for, which one you should use for butter. You have been served with celery and you do not know how to salt it. You are trying to appear at perfect ease. You talk and show your interest in such a way that you will have a chance to see how others act before you start. Perhaps you went home thinking that you had not exposed your ignorance, but remember that this "watchful waiting" policy means the same to the well-bred person as your saying, "I really don't know how to act here. I am not well bred. I am used to vulgar manners and am very ill at ease."

"The Book of Good Manners" will tell you in two evenings what would require a lifetime to learn by observation. Can you afford to be without this volume?

What Is There About That Girl?

She is not beautiful. What is that something which gives her that irresistible charm, so uncommon among girls, that something which men fall in love with? What happy days, what bright years are awaiting her. Can YOU see happiness ahead? Do you ever close your eyes and think? Can you see yourself three or four years from now? Have your fairy dreams come true, or do you see yourself the same ordinary person you are at present—only a little older—still wishing that wish that you alone can make come true? Happiness all around you, yet days which you can never recall are passing by without leaving the fond memories which you are entitled to. You alone are robbing yourself of the greatest thing in the world.



Should She Invite Him In?

They Have Returned from the Theater—

IT is rather late, but her parents have not gone to bed. She feels that he expects to be invited in and she wants to show him that she appreciates his kindness, but she is not sure whether it would appear becoming. What would you have done?

Is That Your Dummy and Is That You Hiding Behind It?

Have you worked up a beautiful alibi for yourself? Now honestly, just why haven't you a large circle of friends? Or just why is it that you have never been popular with the opposite sex? "I don't care for social life; I have been too busy; I can't afford it; my health will not permit it; I prefer to remain single; I do not care for the opposite sex." Are these your alibis? Are you hiding behind these transparent phrases? Isn't it a fact that you do not know how to appear attractive? Will you go through life fooling yourself, or will you do the common-sense thing and set yourself right on the things you should know in order to make your social life a success?

What Would You Think, Mr. Father and Mrs. Mother?

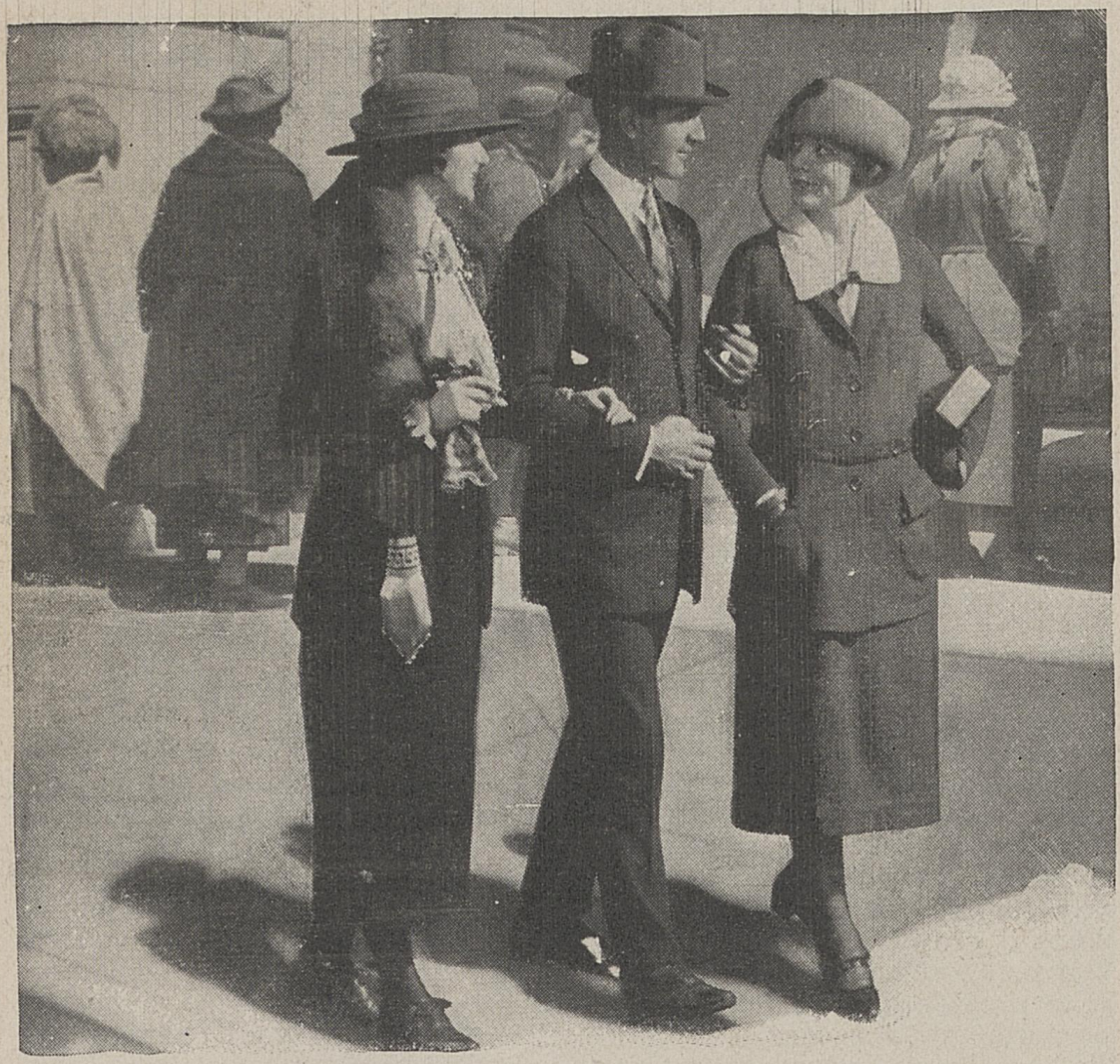
Suppose that your child visited friends, attended college, or entered business, and found that due to your neglect of training he was continually blundering, being humiliated. Think of it! Your child! Not only ashamed of himself but an object of pity. Ashamed for you; continually excusing you for your neglect. Don't let a circumstance like this blot that great love. Don't try to excuse yourself. Don't say, "I am too poor to teach my child good manners." This excuse will only serve to relieve your conscience while the child is still a child. When it grows to manhood or womanhood it will discover your neglect. You may not be financially able to give your child a college education or to provide luxuries of life which are beyond your means, but good manners are one of the fine things in life which gold cannot buy. Without them your child enters life handicapped.

The Bride

There is, of course, something very beautiful in making one's wedding the crowning event of one's life. But even the very simplest wedding is attended with a great deal of ceremony. Among the perplexing problems that arise are: Should R. S. V. P. appear on a wedding invitation? Should an invitation to the reception be engraved on the wedding invitation or engraved on a separate card? Should the maker of the wedding-gown be invited to the wedding? Should the bride invite friends to view her wedding-gifts. Should the donors' cards be removed from the presents?

And there are so many things about the trousseau that one is not quite sure about—the bride's attendants, the bridal procession, the wedding breakfast, and a hundred other problems in connection with the ceremony and the decoration of the church or home.

And the groom—he must be prepared to go through the ceremony without error. Could there be anything more disappointing than a **blunder on one's wedding-day?**



Find Three Blunders in This Picture

The College Girl

THERE is no time in one's life when charming manners can be used so effectively as during the college days. Here are assembled a body of people who come from refined homes. Can you blame them for considering you vulgar when you commit blunders, blunders which mark you common as they would think?

Let "The Book of Good Manners" teach you how to meet people on an equal footing. Be prepared to meet an emergency when it arises. Do not lay this little booklet aside until you have filled out the enclosed order blank. Do it NOW while you are thinking about it. You simply cannot afford to put off this important duty any longer, even though you must deprive yourself of something you can get along without. The chances are that you will never have this volume unless you send for it ***RIGHT NOW.*** ***Price $3.00***

Social Culture Publications

Publishers of

The Book of Good Manners

151 Fifth Ave.

New York

Testimony from the Governors of the Four Free States.

Mrs. Mary Bentley Thomas, of Maryland, addressed a letter to the Governor of each of the states where women vote on equal terms with men, and asked them four questions. At the Washington Convention she reported the result of this correspondence as follows:

No. 1.

Are your women as devoted to house and home interests as formerly, and are they as good wives and mothers as before they voted?

Wyoming answers: "Woman suffrage has no effect whatever on the house and home interests, and women are just as good, if not better, wives and mothers."

Utah answers: "Yes, in every respect."

Idaho's Governor says he is "glad indeed to comply" with our request, but he evidently overlooked the first question.

Colorado answers: "The women of the State of Colorado are just as devoted to their homes and families as they were before they were granted the right of suffrage; in fact I am of the opinion are more so for the reason that they are better acquainted with the necessities of good citizenship, and are trying to raise their children, both boys and girls, with a realizing sense of the duties devolving upon them."

No. 2.

Is marriage less common or divorce more so than ten years ago?

Wyoming answers: "It has no effect whatever on marriage or divorce."

Utah answers: "No."

Idaho answers: "No."

Colorado answers: "Marriage is just as common as it was ten years ago, and I do not believe there are as many divorces granted now as then, in proportion to the number of marriages."

No. 3.

Do your best men object to women at the polls or in office, and do the latter seek office to any great extent?

Wyoming answers: "No one objects to the presence of women at the polls, in fact our elections are perfectly quiet and a lady is as safe going into the voting booth as she would be going into the theater."

Utah answers: "Of course there are some men who do not believe in woman suffrage, but there appear to be few objectors. Official positions are not much sought after by women."

Idaho answers: "No."

Colorado answers: "The best men of Colorado do not object in the least to the presence of women at the polls or in office and while the names of women do not predominate on the ticket, still the men vote for them just as readily as they do for members of their own sex, and the experience has been that women officials make most excellent public servants. As to the latter part of your third question, I cannot see that women are "chronic office seekers"; in fact not nearly so much as do the men.

No. 4.

Has there been any direct benefit or injury to your State from the woman element in politics, and if so, what are they?

Wyoming answers: "There certainly has been no injury to Wyoming on account of woman suffrage. I think it has been a benefit, because it has been demonstrated that a man of known immorality or dishonesty, has little chance of election."

Utah says: "Certainly no injury. A law providing for a State Art Institute was enacted through the influence of a lady member of the Legislature who also introduced the bill."

"Other laws due to woman's part in politics are the laws providing for the removal of ladies' hats in public places and the establishment of the Kindergarten as part of the public school system."

Idaho answers: "In my judgment political parties have been more careful in their nominations. The moral tone is distinctly better and character has its reward. The example thus set has an elevating influence in all departments, social, political and industrial."

Colorado answers: "Time and space will not admit of my expatiating upon the many good things that have come to Colorado from 'the woman element in politics', other than to say that it has been indeed beneficial."

FAITH, HOPE, CHARITY, FIDELITY.



In essentials, Unity; in non-essentials, Liberty; in all things, Charity.

. . . THE . . .

Pennsylvania State Grange,

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY.

Its Achievements, Principles and Purposes Briefly Explained.

W. F. HILL, Master,.....Chambersburg, Pa.

J. T. AILMAN, Secretary, Thompsontown, Pa.

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. . THE . .

Pennsylvania State Grange,

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY.

Its Achievements, Principles and
Purposes Briefly Explained.

The object of this pamphlet is to answe. briefly some of the many inquiries concerning the Grange and to set its claims before the public in their true light.

ORGANIZATION A NECESSITY.

The necessity for organization is found in the nature of man. Without it progress, even civilization itself would be impossible. Alone, man is helpless; associated with his fellows and assisted by them his achievements are marvelous. Primitive man had but little advantage over the animal in getting the necessities of life. Only when men began to cooperate did they begin to use the forces of nature for their benefit. Civilization is the outgrowth of association. Communities have organized governments, churches, schools, charities and the multiplied industries of modern times.

Not only have these general institutions grown up, but men engaged in particular callings have banded themselves together for their own benefit until today we have combinations of men and money in every line of thought and industry. That this power is sometimes used to trample on the rights of others only helps to show its possibility for good when rightly used. Modern comforts, conveniences and luxuries are possible only because men work together.

But it is unnecessary to multiply words to show the benefits of organization.

WHY FARMERS SHOULD ORGANIZE.

The agricultural class comprises about forty per cent. of the population of the United States. They equal in number nearly all the other wealth producers combined. They furnish about seventy-two per cent. of the exports and sixty-eight per cent. of the internal commerce of the country. Their products form not only a large part of the nation's wealth, but are the basis of all wealth. They should have prestige, influence and power in proportion to their numbers. Does anyone contend that they do have? To run a farm successfully requires knowledge, skill, executive ability and capital that would win success and doubtless competency if employed in other lines. It should receive fuller recognition and more liberal reward when employed in this—the industry on which all other industries rest.

Farmers should retake to themselves the place they once held in public affairs. Most of the men of Revolutionary times were farmers. They fought the battles, founded the government, sat in the halls of Congress, and a farmer first occupied the Presidential chair. Again in 1860 they left their plows stand in the furrows, their cattle in the stalls, and mounting their horses rode to the front. Had they not done so who can say what the result would have been? On their return from the field of battle, they left the affairs of government entirely too much to other classes. Today the

voice of the farmer is seldom heard where law makers meet. As a consequence his interests are overlooked and his rights disregarded. He can regain what he has lost and should do it outside of partisan politics and when it is done, real estate will no longer, as it now does in Pennsylvania, pay four times as much tax on the dollar as other money pays nor be hampered and controlled on every hand by corporate power.

FARMERS SHOULD ORGANIZE NOT FOR MATERIAL CONSIDERATIONS ONLY.

Money and its equivalents are not the only things and by no means the most important things for which to live. In the country home should be found good breeding, intelligence and high morals. These are attained only as a result of the contact of mind with mind. "As iron sharpeneth iron so does a man the countenance of his friend." Rev. E. H. Hale says the best he got from going to school was that he learned to know the other fellows. The farmer is falling behind in the race for want of this knowledge. He will recover his true position only through organization. Let no one say that this is impossible. If the future of the country holds in store happiness and prosperity for the masses, the farmer must occupy a leading place. If agriculture declines and the agriculturist deteriorates how long will our cherished institutions remain?

WHY JOIN THE GRANGE?

Because it recognizes every want and its platform is broad enough to support every interest of the farm. It is a moral, social, educational, co operative, patriotic institution. It is entirely non sectarian and non-partisan. Its teachings are founded on the Bible. Bad morals are not tolerated in its members and it seeks to produce the highest citizenship. The social feature of the Grange offsets the isolation of the farm and the disadvantages arising therefrom. Where there is a live Grange the boys and girls are not so anxious to get to town.

WOMEN ADMITTED.

It fully appreciates the fact that no class of women deserve better of their country than farmers' wives. The farm has furnished a large proportion of the best intellects of the land. To keep abreast with the times the women of the farm must have full opportunity for needed rest, variety and change. The Grange fully meets this want. It is proud of the fact that women are admitted within the gates to all the rights and privileges of men.

EDUCATION.

In the line of education it supplements the public school by literary programmes and by

discussions on any and all subjects except such as savor of partisan politics and sectarian religion. Libraries are established and books of reference kept at hand. Here the young learn to use their knowledge and the old not only keep from growing rusty but get new ideas and, what is no less important, the power to express them.

CITIZENSHIP.

As citizens, members of the order are urged to take an active interest in public affairs. It seeks to make its members honest, self-reliant, independent in politics, securing desired legislation through the party of their choice if they can, outside if they must. Both the National and the State Granges have standing legislative committees whose duty it is to look after legislation as it affects the farmer. The Grange points with pride to what it has accomplished in this line.

It is national in its scope. When it speaks it commands attention as no other body of farmers can. Its committees are listened to with respectful attention by the highest in the land. It is consistent and conservative, asking only what is manifestly just—many of its demands have been enacted into law.

CO-OPERATION.

It affords the best possible agency for farm-

ers to co-operate in business. It was the pioneer in this movement. When the Grange took hold of this work it was almost impossible to find a manufacturer or wholesale dealer who would sell to a consumer and retailers were making large profits. Today the papers are full of advertisements of mail order houses and manufacturers who sell direct. By combining their purchases the members of the order have saved large sums of money. Selling together, especially the staple products of the farm, is not so easily accomplished, but it is feasable and only needs the farmers to be organized in sufficient numbers for its accomplishment. When it is done, the independent farmer will no longer be a tradition.

BUSINESS ARRANGEMENTS.

As a practical application of the principle of co-operation the Executive Committee of the State Grange has made contracts with business houses where members of the order can purchase almost anything they may need in the house or on the farm at prices that mean a considerable saving to them.

Lists of these houses are furnished to every Subordinate Grange and to every member who desires them. No one is required to deal with these houses but from the amount of sales reported annually many find it profitable to do so.

FIRE INSURANCE.

The benefits of co operation as practised in the Grange are well shown in the line of fire insurance. There are eleven Grange Fire Insurance Companies in the state. These carry risks aggregating not far from $25,000,000 at a cost averaging less than one-third of what cash companies now charge. In this item of insurance alone the members of the order in the state save thousands of dollars annually.

WHAT HAS THE GRANGE ACCOMPLISHED?

Our Declaration of Purposes issued in the early days of the order declared it as our purpose: "To develop a higher and better manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and co-operation. To maintain inviolate our laws and to emulate each other in labor, to hasten the good time coming. To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate. To buy less and produce more in order to make our farms self-sustaining. To diversify our crops, and to crop no more than we can cultivate. To condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel and more on hoof and in fleece, less in lint and more in warp and woof. To systematize our work, and calculate intelligently on probabilities. To discountenance the

credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy. We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement."

These purposes are being fulfilled in thousands of communities. Wherever a live Grange has been working for any time it has broadened and deepened the lives of its members. Thought has been quickened, investigation stimulated, loneliness and dullness and the fruits of these —jealousy, bickering and superstition have disappeared.

The moral, social and educational uplift given to a community by an active Grange cannot be measured. The material benefits may be traced in part, at least. Reference has already been made to what the Grange is doing and proposes to do in a business way.

In matters of legislation the Grange counts many victories. Through its efforts the agricultural colleges of the country now teach agriculture. Before the Grange turned its attention to them they were agricultural only in name.

It was a Grange demand that defeated the bill to re-issue the patents on sewing machines and almost immediately machines that could not be bought for less than $100 sold for less than $25.

The Grange secured the important and far-

reaching decision from the courts that the creature is not greater than the creator, and that as railroads must come to the people for their charters or right to be so they are amenable to the will of the people.

The Grange made possible the Hatch act for the establishment of experiment stations.

The Agricultural Departments at Washington and Harrisburg owe their existence to the Grange.

The Interstate Commerce Commission came into being as a result of the interest taken by the Grange in the transportation question.

It was a persistent Grange demand that started the Rural Free Mail carrier on his daily rounds over country roads.

Not only have these and many other laws been enacted through Grange efforts, but what is no less important, much bad legislation has been prevented.

The Grange has taken no less active interest in matters of State legislation.

The tax question has long been the most prominent with Pennsylvania patrons. Through their efforts much of the money formerly paid to the State by the counties is now retained in the counties and the tax on the capital stock of corporations has been raised from three mills to five and on money at interest from three mills to four. From the increased revenues thus derived the Grange secured an increase in the school appropriation to $5,500,000. When the Grange began this agitation

the school appropriation was half a million.

Any one who knows anything of the workings of the Pennsylvania fertilizer law knows that it has saved to the farmers of the State many millions of money, no less so the oleomargarine and pure food laws. The Grange took a leading part in securing these. It is now working for legislation equally important and, to secure it, only needs the active cooperation of the farmers in general.

WHO MAY JOIN THE GRANGE?

Ours being a farmers' organization only those who fully appreciate the farmer's condition and are in full sympathy with the purposes of the order and have no interests in conflict with them should be admitted to membership.

THE COST OF MEMBERSHIP.

The fees are $3 for men, $1 for women, $1 for boys under 21 and over 14 years of age, and 50 cents for girls of like age. All members pay a monthly due of 10 cents. Most of this money remains in the Subordinate Grange treasury. Of the fees $1 for men, 50 cents for women and boys, and 25 cents for girls are paid to the State Grange. Of the dues 23 cents per member per annum are paid to the State Grange and 5 cents to the National Grange. Fully one half of the fees and dues paid to the

State Grange are paid back again to the Subordinate Grange in the way of mileage to the State Grange meeting. An itemized statement of all receipts and expenditures is published annually by both Secretary and Treasurer and their accounts are carefully audited by a disinterested committee.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

"It costs too much."

The cost compared with the benefits is but a trifle. The revenues could not be reduced without crippling the work. Other farmers' organizations have been started on a cheaper scale and they failed, in part at least, for want of funds.

"Too much ceremony for busy farmers."

Its ceremony is not cumbersome. Ceremony is akin to system and system is essential to success in any calling. The best drilled soldier is the most efficient in battle, and the most skilled artisan draws the highest pay. The Grange ritual teaches beautiful and impressive lessons throughout. None can learn them and not be made better.

"It is a secret society."

It is a secret only in the sense of being ing private. It is not an oath-bound society. It is no more secret than is a well-regulated family or many branches of the Christian church. All of these conduct their private business in private. Were the Grange less

secret and less conservative, it would doubtless long since have gone the way that other farmers' organizations have gone. They came into being after the Grange, proposed to eliminate what their promoters called the objectionable features of the Grange—ceremony secrecy, conservatism and cost. They died but the Grange still lives.

"But the Grange uses signs."

Who does not? All use them because they are often both more expressive and impressive than words, and because they can be seen and heard where words cannot. When any one calls at a private house he raps on the door or rings the bell. No one ever claimed that there was any moral wrong in this. Would it be wrong if by rapping a certain number of times or in a certain way he could tell to those inside who was without? What could armies, or railroads, or mines, or factories, or anybody, or anything do without signs? Was not the Jewish and is not the Christian religion typical throughout?

PERMANENCY OF THE GRANGE.

The Grange came to stay. The National Grange was organized on the 4th day of December, 1867. In many respects it is stronger now than ever and it is gaining in strength and usefulness every day. Having outlived a generation it has passed the experimental stage.

Come and join us and we will assure you of enlarged opportunities, both for getting good and doing good.

HOW TO ORGANIZE.

Procure at least thirteen names and as many more as possible, four of whom must be men and four women. The rest may be either men or women. They must be ready to pay their fees at the time of organization. Write to the Master of the State Grange or the Deputy of your county to come and organize and instruct you, securing a place for the meeting and naming a date. For any further information write to the Master or the Secretary or any other officer of the State Grange whose name appears in this pamphlet.

RITUALISTIC WORK.

There are seven degrees in the Grange ritual.

Four are conferred by the Subordinate Grange, one by the Pomona or County Grange, one by the State Grange and one by the National Grange.

Each degree conveys a beautiful moral lesson.

The subordinate degrees typify the four seasons and the four periods of life.

The first degree is Spring—Childhood. The lesson is faith. Faith that the Author of Nature will cause harvest to follow seed-time, as He has done since the creation, alone prompts the farmer to prepare the ground in early spring. Faith is the characteristic of childhood.

The second degree, Summer—Youth. Here hope is in the ascendant. The farmer's hopes r'se or fall as the conditions favor or retard vegetation. Youth is full of hope as it looks out into the future.

The third degree, Autumn—Manhood and Womanhood. Charity is now taught. The full garner and the full possession of the powers of m'nd and body present a fit time to reach out and lend a helping hand to the less fortunate.

The fourth degree, Winter—Old Age. Fidelity is the lesson. The time has come to sit down and enjoy the fruits of labor and the rewards of a well-spent life. This is especially the time to have a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

Organizers Wanted.

Will You Organize a Grange?

IN the foregoing we have endeavored to give you all the necessary information concerning this strong and growing organization that will enable you to present its claims to your friends.

We trust that as you assent to the fact that farmers ought to organize, you will be so impressed with the claims of this organization that you will become an earnest worker in it and aid in promoting its growth.

Any further information desired, blanks, literature, &c., will be cheerfully furnished on application to State Grange officers.

J. T. AILMAN,

THOMPSONTOWN, PA. Secretary.

THE RED FLAG AT ARARAT

By AGAVNIE YEGHENIAN

$2.00

Press Comments

"She saw and heard much denied the ordinary traveler, and the story of her quest is exceedingly illuminating. Miss Yeghenian feels sure that whether the glittering civilization of the capitalistic world, with its freedom of individual action, or the Soviet security of the U. S. S. R. be better for a people, the latter has turned a veritable death-house where the Armenian people were doomed to perish, into a house of resurrected people with hope written on their faces." THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT

"For those who would enjoy a good descriptive book on Armenia, Miss Yeghenian's book is recommended." THE CLEVELAND PRESS

"As one of the federated republics which makes up the U. S. S. R., ancient Armenia is beginning to get the impact of modern civilization, and Miss Yeghenian found the old and new everywhere in contrast." THE NEW YORK SUN

"She lets us look into the hearts and hopes of living people, and shows us their dreams and their acceptances. She presents her pictures of life with a vast energy and eloquence, but she does not color them with any fantastic imaginings of her own." ST. PAUL DISPATCH

"Miss Yeghenian has looked upon Armenia today and likes it. She is grateful for 'the security' which communism has given it." THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"The Red Flag at Ararat is a book that should be found in the library of every Armenian home." THE ARMENIAN STUDENT

"The author is not a curious tourist, but a devout pilgrim who goes on a visit to the land of her ancestors, and the descriptions which she gives of what she saw on the border give rich and living tableaux." THE GOTCHNAG

"I have just received The Red Flag at Ararat. I think it is perfectly splendid—so cleverly written and so interesting I could hardly put it down when I once started reading it. I would therefore like to order ten copies." ELIZABETH DODGE HUNTINGTON, ISTANBUL, TURKEY

One finishes the book feeling that he has had an intimate look at Armenia and her people, and is conscious of a better understanding of what the country is striving for.

600 Lexington Ave. **THE WOMANS PRESS** **New York, N. Y.**

( ) The Red Flag at Ararat $2.00 Name.....

.....

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Encl. $.....

CIRCLE No. 11—Johnson Memorial Church

HUNTINGTON, W. VA.

This little Apron is sent to you,
And this is what we wish you'd do:
The little pocket you plainly see
For a special purpose is meant to be.
Measure your waist line, inch by inch,
And see that the measure doesn't pinch
For each small inch you measure around
In the pocket put a penny sound.
You "waist" your money—we pocket it
And the money, the pockets so freely pay,
The Ladies of Circle No. 11
Will use in the very wisest way.

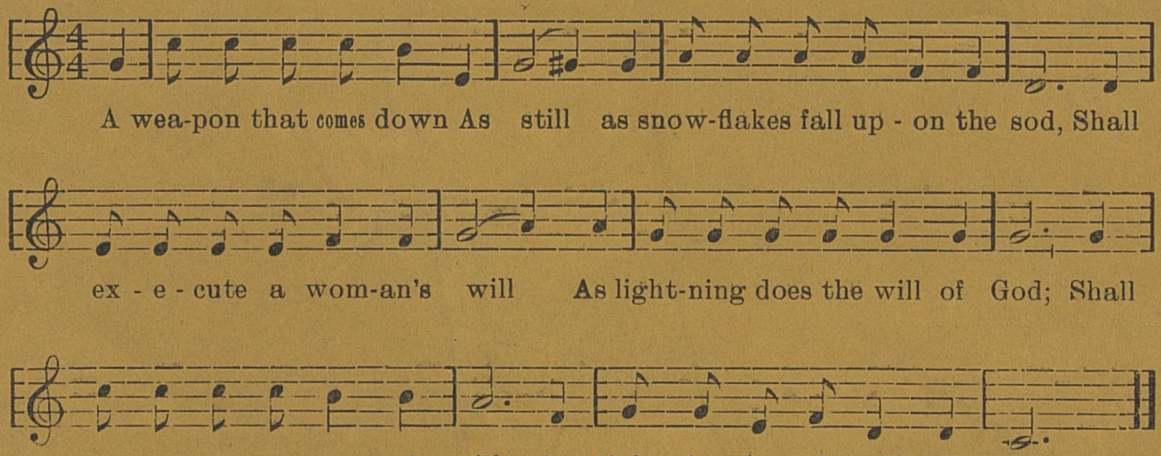
Sender Laura B. Garland

Name of Contributor 409-14 W.
Huntington W. Va.

THE BALLOT.

Words adapted from
John Pierpont, 1785-1866.

Music by Pauline Troyer.



The Stone of Destiny
called Liagh-Fail, in Ireland.
Now called in England Jacob's Stone.

The stone was brought to Ireland about the year 2541 of the world's history that is about 1459 before Christ by the fourth band of invaders, according to the Book of Invasions.

The first invasion was in the year 1956, according to chronicles, of the world's history, about two hundred and seventy eight years after the flood. Parthelon was the leader. He was the son of Seara, the son of Sru, the son of Easru, son of Framont(as meay as can make out), son of Fathochda, son of Magog, son of Japhet, son of Noah. Already in the North of Ireland a colony from Northern Africa, well mannered people, artisans, etc. had settled; possibly from Carthage. After Parthalon's death, his four youngest sons reigned until a plague nearly wiped them out.

The Second Invasion. Parthelon had left an infant son in Greece before going to Ireland named Adhla. A descendant of his determined to follow his lineage to Ireland. Arrived with 34 ships, his wife, Macha, and four sons Starn, Iarbhanel, Feargus(who was a prophet) and Ainnin. Reigned about 100 years, then vanquished by the Northern men from Carthage. They returned to Greece where they suffered severe bondage. They were compelled to dig into the soil and carry it in leather bags around their necks to take to poor soil. They were called Fir-Bolgs of bag-men. I forgot to mention that the name of the man leading the second invasion into Ireland was Neimbheidh. A grandson of his, named Briotan went with followers to North of England, extended southward and gave the name of Britian to the country.

The Third Invasion. The Fir-bolgs finally left Greece under leadership of five men, descendants of Neimbheidh, landed in Ireland in 2503, took the country divided it into five different portions. Reigned between 30 and 80 years, according to two different historians. A daughter of the King of Spain, named Tailte was married to one of these. These were called the Belgae, or sometimes called Belgian race.

The Fourth Invasion, also coming from Greece and led by descendants of Neimbheigh were called the Fuetha de Danana or Damnonii, to denote descent from Danan daughter of Dealoaoith. Were under command of Nuadh, twelfth in succession from Neimbheigh. These brought the stone of destiny called Liagh-Fail on which all Irish succeeding monarchs were crowned and on which the British Princes have been crowned since Edward 1st took the stone from Ireland to westminster Abbey and is now called Jacob's Stone. An old verse says that in whatever country the stone is, a monarch with some blood of the Irish or Scythian race shall reign. The verse says "The SCOTS shall give law and rule to whatever country the stone is placed in if the fates are to be credited." The SCOTS was the ancient name of the Irish, taken from Scotia an Egyptian, wife of an early king. In later years when the Irish invaded Albany(later Scotland) and established a colony of themselves there, called the SCOTS, the name gradually spread to cover all the inhabitants and the country. The Damnonii, of the Fourth Invasion were polished and learned.

The Fifth Invasion led by the sons of/Li/ Milesius were also polished. They had conquered a part of Spain and came to Ireland in 2738 about, of the world's history. Their posterity ruled for 2400 years under 121 princes, all descendants of the royal line of Milesius-oldest royal line in Europe.

(*From The Indianapolis News*)

MORALS AND POLITICS

BY THE VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M. P.

THE AVERAGE citizen has an idea that the less women know about life the better they are and that the moment they go into politics they begin to see life and so lose their bloom and somehow become worse. This is one of the reasons why so many men hate to think of women in politics and why so many women are apathetic about it. It is true enough that you begin to see life when you go into politics. I know that myself.

I have found out more about the corruption and vice of the world since I took up my public work than I had dreamed of before. I know now that vice is often more a moneymaking concern than the spontaneous outbreak of human nature. I know that the greater part of it is organized callously and cold-bloodedly for profit and that many of our young people are led into lives of vice in order that other people may make money.

If this knowledge be disgusting and repulsive for women I say it is nevertheless necessary for them to have it for when they really know and understand these things they will tolerate them no longer

How About Remedy?

But how are you going to remedy this state of affairs? Can it be done by law? You hear men saying again and again that people can not be made moral and decent and healthy-minded by legislation and no doubt there is some truth in it. In the last resort, of course, it is individual character which counts and which keeps people good or lets them go to the bad, but there are many things which are of importance to this matter which the law does affect and these things ought to be very carefully watched by women now that they are getting the chance to have an influence on political affairs.

It is the laws and the bylaws which regulate the amount of order and propriety in the streets. The public can control the police administration, the state of parks and open spaces, the kind of cinemas and public entertainments. The law also controls the conditions of immigration and the regulations at ports—I happen to represent a port in parliament. Further, it is the law which lays down the punishment to the inflicted for all those base and beastly crimes against children; the law which fixes the age of consent and the treatment to be accorded to blackmailers. It is the law which regulates what kind of moral and physical education young people shall have and in the face of these facts it seems to me to be sheer evasion of the issue to pretend that laws have nothing whatever to do with the standards of morality which prevail in any land.

In all these things, laws control morality and yet, of course, laws are in turn controlled by public opinion. If we want an evil civilization we get it, but I believe it is equally true that if we want a pure one we can get it, too. I am an optimist about this, and that is why I believe women can no longer afford to be kept out of politics. **They have no right to sit complacently and comfortably at home wrapped in the ignorance they call innocence.**

Fault of the People

If our politics are unclean it is the fault of those people, for politics reflects the standards of those who run them and **for women to turn away from those moral subjects for fear of being contaminated is as great a danger to the state as anything can be.** There is something to be said for the vigor of the rake—**there is nothing to be said for the apathy of the self-righteous and I believe that women are waking up to this fact today.**

Every one knows, and it is no use to ignore it, that there prevail in the world today two standards of morality with regard to the sex question, one for men and the other for women. By these standards men are able to do without much censure (and without any punishment from society or from the law) deeds which, when done by a woman, involve complete social degradation. A woman who is a prostitute is an outcast. She is subject to special penalties and regulations, and sometimes also to a very objectionable system of police supervision.

In France and in some other countries there are state regulated houses of vice through which the state tries to make vice safe. The state fails in this and it has been proved again and again up to the hilt. But while it does not succeed in making vice safe it does succeed in lowering the moral national tone. It assumes that man is an animal with perfectly uncontrollable passions, to gratify which a number of living human beings must be sacrificed. To me this seems as cannibalism and not unlike it.

For the girl who is imprisoned in one of these houses is done for and goes inevitably from bad to worse.

A man on the other hand can patronize these houses and yet remain apparnetly untouched. He may lead the vilest life and do untold moral and physical damage but nothing is done to him. Man may also be proved guilty of assaults on small children and receive only a ridiculously light sentence. The double standard of morality operates to protect the man, to punish the woman for deeds which are done equally by both. Now, I firmly believe this double standard is wrong and that it is extremely damaging for the state to uphold it. I believe that its existence does infinite harm to our young men, and that the thing to do is to have but one standard and that a high one.

Dictation of the Laws.

So far it is the man's standard which has dictated the laws on this matter. In future it must be the woman's, and this for the sake of the men themselves. I do not mean to say that all men have one way of looking at these things and all women have another. I know very well that this is not so. **But I know also that women are in every race the guardians of purity and moral ideals.** Men have made them (that (while at the same time setting apart some of them for the vilest purposes).

It is men, no doubt, who have given to women this moral pedestal on which they stand. They have idealized a good woman at the expense of a bad woman, and women up to now have acquiesced in the position. It is not only men who are to blame for it, of course. Men and women have both made our morality what it is, but it is for men and women both to put it right. The only final remedy for a wrong moral standard is a change of opinion and a change of heart. I admit that, but it is no use denying that there are in our civilization many definite evil interests which are all working together against any change of mind or heart. **And I believe that women ought to come boldly out and oppose these interests.**

It was my duty when I was the only woman in the house of commons to serve on a parliamentary committee which investigated the criminal law in respect to these matters. It was a very unpleasant duty, indeed, but in the course of it I realized as never before how essential it was to have women in parliament and in every other place where public morals are discussed or controlled. For I saw then what we are up against in the immorally minded people, the revellers, the bad old jocular tradition, the vast network of interests which form the vice ring in every big city.

Could Save Children.

All these things go on existing while good women lead their blameless, sheltered lives, **and it is they, and they alone, who can come out and attack them, and if they have not the moral courage to do it I see no hope for our children.** The attack, I repeat, can not only be made by passing laws through, though that is part of it. It can not only be made by securing women town councillors and women police, though that is part of it. It can not only be done by a vigorous attack upon the vested interests of vice or by a regular battle waged upon the unequal laws and customs and habits which are daily carried on under our eyes. It has got to be done in the end by a change in human nature as well as in human customs.

People say you can not change human nature, but when I hear people say that I wonder what Christ came for. His way is the only way and we must take what human and political steps we can to bring His way about. If we have our laws on justice and are not afraid we can clear up the immorality and let in the fresh aid and the sunlight into these dark places of the world, **but we must have free, open and serious consultations between men and women on these matters.**

When I say that the average woman doesn't know of these dark places I want to take no credit from those splendid, selfless social workers, both men and women, who for generations have given their lives to trying to make conditions better. If the women will only be guided by this sort of people, if they will just strengthen the hands of these selfless souls they will soon find conditions clearer. And, too, they will find that as vice vanishes joy comes. There is nothing in the world so gloomy as evil. **I am convinced that women have got to help to do this thing.** Their moral standard must be brought into effective use through the whole community and this is one of the most important of the great tasks which their new citizenship imposes on them.

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The Claypool Has

Assembly Hall seating 1,200
Palm Room seating 300
Salon De Henri IV Banquet and Ball Room
Florentine Room
Moorish Room
Promenade Corridor
Chateau Cafe
Atrium
Pompeiian Room
Largest Lobby in United States
Six Hundred Rooms
Circulating Ice Water
Five Hundred Private Baths
Cafes Cooled with Refrigerated Air
Temperature of 68 when it is 96 Outside
Modern Sanitary Kitchen
Headquarters of the A. A. A.
Headquarters for Rotary Club
Headquarters of Hoosier Motor Club
One Hundred Sample Rooms
and
Is the Center of the City's Social Activities

Rates

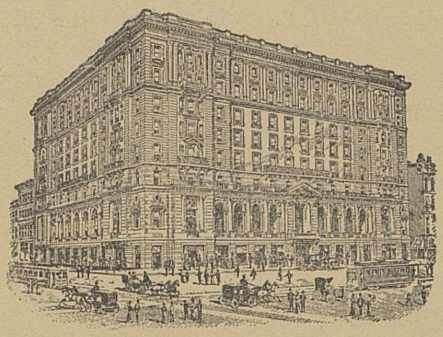
¶ $1.50 per day upward with detached bath.

¶ $2.00 per day upward with private bath.

¶ Price of rooms vary according to size and location.

Indianapolis' Best Hotel

THE CLAYPOOL



¶ Everything worth while in the Hoosier Capital is nearest to us.

600 Rooms—500 Baths

Henry W. Lawrence

PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER

This Great Modern Hotel

OCCUPYING ONE-HALF A BLOCK in the very heart of the Hoosier metropolis, has done more to advertise the city than any other agency. Thousands of traveling men who visit every city and town throughout the United States have for years been singing the praises of this house until it has become as well known as the city itself. The Claypool is a real hotel. It is luxurious, to be sure, a discriminating public requires it to be so, but it is still a home. Prices of rooms range from $1.50 per day and upward. The man who pays $1.50 is just as welcome as the one who pays more. Everybody has heard of Hoosier Hospitality. It is the Claypool's chief asset.

For the Commercial Traveler

THE CLAYPOOL has large, light and airy sample rooms. The equal of what we have to offer in this respect can not be duplicated in Indianapolis. All of the city's greatest shops are near the Claypool, and for this reason the buyers prefer to examine lines exhibited at our house. The Traction Terminal Station is only one block away and the Union Railway Station less than three blocks. Our large, comfortable lobby, with its air of restfulness and refinement, appeals to the man away from home. Here he finds plenty of comfortable chairs, and it is the ideal place to talk over a business proposition.

For the Woman Guest

THE CLAYPOOL has inducements to offer that places it in a class by itself. Situated as it is in the very heart of the city, it is only a short walk to the principal theaters and department stores. Connected with the hotel are women who are required to pay particular attention to our lady guests. It is their duty to see that they want for nothing, to advise them where to buy to the best advantage, and, in fact, to obtain for them any information they may require. The Claypool's reputation is untarnished. It is the hotel for your wife, your mother, or your sister.

The Claypool is Near the

Traction Terminal Station
Union Railway Station
State Capitol Building
Soldiers' Monument
City Hall
Y. M. C. A.
Y. W. C. A.
Principal Banks
Largest Department Stores
Federal and Association Ball Parks
Largest Office Buildings
Ten Leading Theaters
Thirty Moving Picture Theaters
County Court House
Chamber of Commerce
Board of Trade
United States Court House
Indianapolis Motor Speedway
and
On the Corner of Universal Street Car Transfers

WANTED!

Ten Thousand Dollars For An Intensive Educational Campaign In Kentucky

That never again a Kentucky Senator may by his single vote deprive one-half the women of the United States of their political rights.

That never again a Kentucky Legislature may adjourn without voting to the limit of its power for the enfranchisement of Kentucky women.

WANTED!

One one-thousand-dollar donor . . .	**$1,000**
Two five-hundred-dollar donors . . .	**1,000**
Ten hundred-dollar donors	**1,000**
Twenty fifty-dollar donors	**1,000**
Forty twenty-five dollar donors . . .	**1,000**
Fifty twenty-dollar donors	**1,000**
One hundred ten-dollar donors . . .	**1,000**
Two hundred five-dollar donors . . .	**1,000**
Five hundred two-dollar donors . . .	**1,000**
One thousand one-dollar donors . . .	**1,000**
Total	**$10,000**

Mail your check to Mrs. Jacob B. Judah, Treasurer

Kentucky Equal Rights Association

2115 Murray Avenue, LOUISVILLE, KY.

Woman's Peace Party

National Headquarters—116 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Membership in the Woman's Peace Party

Any club or organization "in substantial sympathy with its fundamental purpose" may become a member of the Woman's Peace Party by the payment of five dollars into the national treasury.

Any six or more individuals may form a Local Group that shall become a member of the Woman's Peace Party on the payment of five dollars into the national treasury.

Such a group may decide upon its own name, individual dues, constitution and plan of work.

The individual dues may be used either for local or for state work, the National Headquarters receiving the five-dollar group memberships.

Suggestion

Some groups have found it advisable to adopt such a graded membership as the following:

Sustaining member: membership in the National Association through local group $1.00
Active member: may vote and receive notice of meeting..... .25
Associate members (joining through a club or association such as settlement club or camp fire girls): club may receive notice of meetings ..... .10

A state or city Branch whose individual members do not pay dues into the national treasury is classed as a Group.

Any individual may become a member of the Woman's Peace Party by the payment of one dollar, but it is advised that wherever local groups are formed membership shall be in these rather than directly in the national association.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

I hereby apply for membership in the Woman's Peace Party for { this organization / myself } as a { local group / sustaining member }

and enclose $.....for dues.

Local group membership.....$5.00
Sustaining membership 1.00

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Name of Organization.....

Checks should be made payable to Miss S. P. Breckinridge, Treasurer.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES LABOR COUNCIL CHICAGO 84

ATTENTION, VOTERS!

Non-Partisan Effort
To Bring the Constitution Up to Date

WOMEN Secure the State's guarantee of your Right to vote, by voting "YES" on the Constitutional Amendment to be submitted November 6th at the polls. This Amendment will strike out the word "Male" from the election clause of the Constitution.

MEN Take advantage of the opportunity of helping to secure to Kentucky women the State's protection of their right to vote.

ALTOGETHER, MEN AND WOMEN:

Have Kentucky guarantee to ALL her CITIZENS the right to vote.

Vote "YES" on the Constitutional Amendment!

(Please post these placards in conspicuous places throughout your City, County and Precinct)

KENTUCKY LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

How many
would you like?
J L H

W. C. T. U. Settlement School

45 MILES FROM RAILROAD.

HINDMAN, KNOTT COUNTY, KY.

Committee in Charge:

MISS MAY STONE.
MISS KATHERINE PETTIT.

MRS. NORAH B. TAYLOR, TREASURER,
LEXINGTON, KY.

Capacity for Students in Industrial Home, 49 girls, 27 boys.

Capacity for additional Day Students, 400.

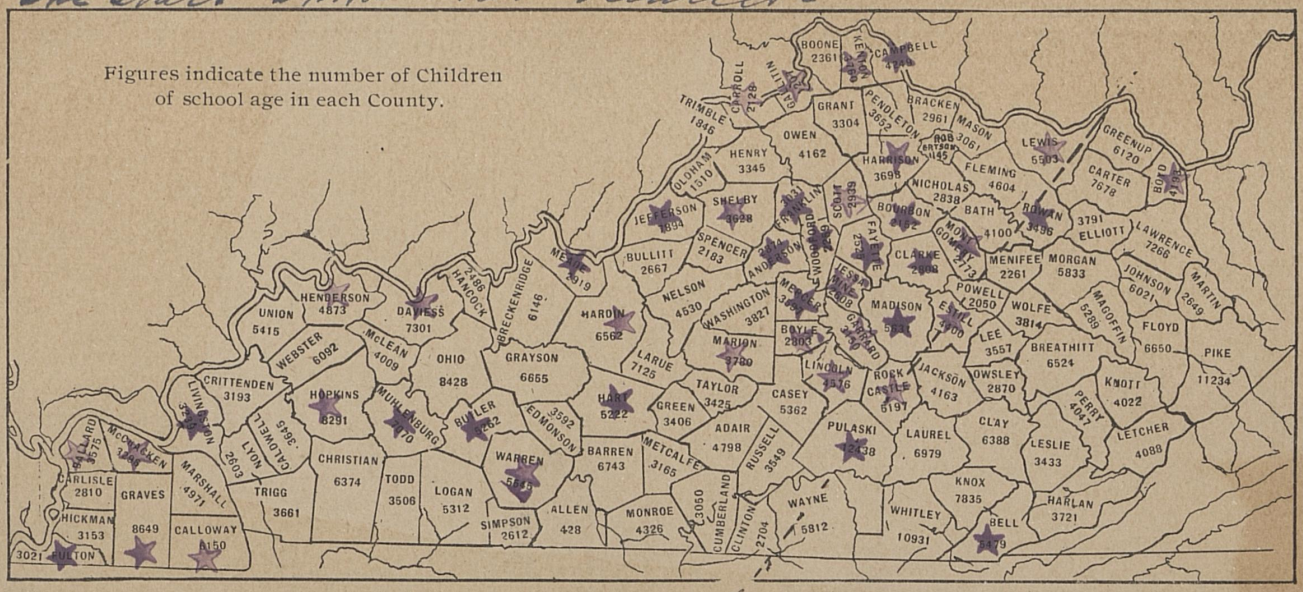
Waiting list, 700.

NEEDS.

1. $5,000 to meet Salaries of Teachers.
2. 100 Scholarships of $100 each, $70 Academic; $30 Industrial.
3. $1,000 immediately for better sanitary conditions.
4. Laundry Equipment.
5. Salary of Scientific Farmer.
6. $2,000 for Model Home.
7. Wagon, Team of Mules, Harness.
8. Money for Development of District Nurses' Work, especially along the line of education for the prevention of Tuberculosis and other Infectious and Contagious Diseases.
9. An Endowment Fund.

OVER

The Stars show Our Counties.



Number of boys and girls from surrounding mountain counties, who have had influence of training in Industrial Home: Perry, 38; Knott. 95; Letcher, 31; Floyd, 14; Breathitt. 13; Harlan, 4; Leslie, 1; Pike, 1; Magoffin, 3; Clay, 1.

OVER

By Jessie Riddell Funk

A SUFFRAGE HINT.

.....

In gallant Old Kentucky,
Where the men folks are so plucky,
So chivalrous and tender, with the women of the land,
But they do not heed our pleading,
And grant us what we're needing,
Conduct so misleading, we fail to understand.

Chorus.
Kentucky men awake!
Your valiant places take,
And with your might
Help win the fight,
For simple justice's sake.
For simple justice's sake.

They surely know we love them,
And do'nt hold ourselves above them,
We prove it in more ways, than we have fingers on a hand.
Then why this stern withholding
Of a privilege for unfolding,
They sometimes need a scolding, for they will not understand.

Chorus.

Then young sisters you must awaken,
And cease your "nature fakin,"
When your anti-suffrage suitor, offers you his heart and hand
Just say, "you'll take his doting,"
If with you he'll share his voting,"
Your meaning thus denoting, he'll take the hint and understand.

Chorus.

1. How Governments Are Formed.

2. Our National Government—Executive, Legislative, Judicial.

3. Doctrine of States Rights.

4. Study of Kentucky Laws Affecting Women.

5. Double Standard of Morals.

6. Girl Mothers and Illegitimate Children.

7. Prison Conditions in Kentucky.

8. History of the Woman Movement.

9. Why the Federal Amendments Should be Supported.

McCracken County Equal Rights Association

PADUCAH, KY.

SONG LEAFLET.

For Woman Suffrage, W. C. T. U., and other Reform Meetings.

1. Battle Hymn of the Republic.

BY JULIA WARD HOWE.

Tune—"John Brown."

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
He has loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword;
His truth is marching on.

CHORUS:—Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
His truth is marching on.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment-seat;
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer him! be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.—Chorus.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.—Chorus.

2. The Breaking Day.

BY SOPHIA M. HALE.

Tune—"Webb."

The light of day is breaking,
The nation shall be free,
For women are awaking
To ask for liberty—
To plead for truth and justice,
Nor shall we plead in vain;
We seek the nation's glory
And not our selfish gain.

And deeming it our duty
To save our homes from blight,
And seeking to protect them
From error's gloomy night,
Uniting with our brothers
In one harmonious band,
We'll strive to save the nation
And bless our native land.

3. New America.

BY ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT.

Tune—"America."

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

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

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

4. Columbia's Daughters.

BY HARRIET H. ROBINSON.

Tune—"Hold the Fort."

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

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

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

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

Great Republic! to thy watchword
Wouldst thou faithful be,
All beneath thy starry banner
Must alike be free.—Chorus.

5. Woman's Crusade.

Tune—"John Brown."

The light of truth is breaking,
On the mountain tops it gleams;
Let it flash along our valleys,
Let it glitter on our streams,
Till all our land awakens
In its flush of golden beams;
Our God is marching on.

CHORUS:—Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Our God is marching on.

With a purpose strong and steady,
In the great Jehovah's name,
We rise to snatch our kindred
From the depths of woe and shame,
And the jubilee of freedom
To the slaves of sin proclaim;
Our God is marching on.—Chorus.

From morning's early watches
Till the setting of the sun,
We will never flag nor falter,
In the work we have begun,
'Till the forts have all surrendered
And the victory is won;
Our God is marching on.—Chorus.

6. New Columbia.

Arranged from words by Anna Gardner.

Tune—"The Red, White and Blue."

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

CHORUS:

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

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

CHORUS:

Three cheers for the red, white and blue, etc.

7. The Equal-Rights Banner.

BY REV. C. C. HARRAH.

Tune—"The Star-Spangled Banner."

Oh say, have you heard of the new, dawning light,
Bringing hope to our land, and its foes all surprising?
Our banner still floats, as the emblem of right,
And the day breaks upon us, for women are rising.

And with ballots in hand, at the right's dear command,
They'll be true to the flag and will rescue our land;
And ever the EQUAL-RIGHTS BANNER shall wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

How justice and right have been crushed to the dust,
While the foe of the home in protection reposes,
In haunts of the low, and in places of trust,
The monster called License its vileness discloses.

The evil we see, and the women when free
By their votes will destroy it, then saved we shall be;
And the EQUAL-RIGHTS BANNER forever shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

The women for truth and for virtue will stand,
And the country be freed from unjust legislation,
And heaven then will smile on a purified land,
And the Power shall be praised that hath kept us a nation.

Woman's ballot is just, so then conquer we must,
And this be our watchword—"IN GOD IS OUR TRUST!"
And our EQUAL-RIGHTS BANNER in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

8. Give the Ballot to the Mothers.

Arranged from words by Rebecca N. Hazard.

Tune—"Marching through Georgia."

Bring the good old bugle, boys! we'll sing another song—
Sing it with a spirit that shall start the cause along—
Sing it as we ought to sing it, cheerily and strong,
Giving the ballot to the mothers.

CHORUS:

Hurrah! hurrah! we bring the jubilee!
Hurrah! hurrah! the homes they shall be free!
So we'll sing the chorus from the mountains to the sea—
Giving the ballot to the mothers.

Bring the dear old banner, boys, and fling it to the wind;
Mother, wife and daughter, let it shelter and defend.
"Equal Rights" our motto is, we're loyal to the end—
Giving the ballot to the mothers.—Chorus.

9. The Taxation Tyranny.

Arranged from Words by Gen. E. Estabrook.

Tune—"The Red, White and Blue."

To tax one who's not represented
Is tyranny—tell if you can
Why woman should not have the ballot?
She's taxed, just the same as a man.

King George, you remember, denied us
The ballot, but sent us the tea,
And we, without asking a question,
Just tumbled it into the sea.

CHORUS:—Then to justice let's ever be true,
To each citizen render his due,
Equal Rights and Protection forever
To all 'neath the Red, White and Blue!

That one man shall not rule another,
Unless by that other's consent,
Is the principle deep underlying
The framework of this government.

So, as woman is punished for breaking
The laws which she cannot gainsay,
Let us give her a voice in the making,
Or ask her no more to obey.—Chorus.

10. The Good Time Coming.

BY EMMA M. CHAPIN.

Tune—John Hutchinson's "Good Time Coming, Boys."

There's a good time coming, girls,
A good time coming,
There's a good time coming, girls,
Wait a little longer.
We hope to live to see the day,
For we can hear it on the way,
This good time coming.
Cannon balls are not for us,
But voes are weapons stronger;
We'll win our battle by their aid;
Wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, girls,
A good time coming,
There's a good time coming, girls,
Wait a little longer.
When we beside our brothers stand,
Then right, not might, shall rule the land,
In the good time coming.
The law shall innocence defend,
And make the helpless stronger;
We'll vote for every noble cause,
Wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, girls,
There's a good time coming,
There's a good time coming, girls,
Wait a little longer.
Then let us aid it all we can,—
Yes, every woman, every man,—
This good time coming.
For every prayer and every tear
Will make the impulse stronger;
'Tis surely coming, never fear,
Wait a little longer.

11. Voting as we Pray.

Tune—"Hold the Fort."

Ere the Master hence departed,
This command He gave:
"Bind ye up the broken-hearted,
And the lost ones save."
Not unto our brothers only
Did He speak that day;
We would save the lost and lonely,
Voting as we pray.

We would follow still that mission
With a faith sincere,
Undeterred by old tradition
Of a woman's "sphere."
Daughters, sisters, wives and mothers,
Right shall win the day,
When we join our sons and brothers,
Voting as we pray.

All the powers of hell are banded
Darkly for the fight,
Every voice and vote demanded
On the side of right.
Not for earth's applauses hollow
Would we seek the fray—
But, when Christ has bid us follow,
Who shall bid us stay?

12. God Shall Lead Us On.

BY JULIA MILLS DUNN.

Tune—"John Brown."

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

CHORUS:—Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!
Our God shall lead us on.

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

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

13. Song for the Times.

FLORA N. CANDEE.

Tune—"Bruce's Address."

Ye who love the freeman's name,
Ye who seek a patriot's fame,
Ye whose fathers felt the shame
Of a tyrant's ban,
Come and help their daughters brave,
Who would now our country save
From sin's desolating wave;
Aid them, for you can!

Why must woman feebly stand,
While injustice fills the land,
Yet can raise no helping hand
In the nation's need;
While a weapon true and tried,—
Man's defender and his pride,—
To her use is still denied?
Shall she cease to plead?

Cast aside your idle fears!
Woman's prayers and woman's tears
Through so many weary years
Have been all forgot;
She must take her rightful place
In life's battle and life's race;
To refuse would be disgrace;
Bid her falter not!

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL,

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CONTRIBUTORS: Mary A. Livermore, Frances E. Willard, Julia Ward Howe, Louisa M. Alcott, Mrs. H M. Tracy Cutler, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, Mary F. Eastman, Dr. Emily Blackwell, Miss Mary E. Beedy, Harriet Prescott Spofford.

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THE

Parliamentary Vote

FOR

Women.

BY

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

"POLITICAL POWER MUST PRECEDE SOCIAL REGENERATION."

MANCHESTER:
ABEL HEYWOOD & SON, 56 & 58, OLDHAM STREET.

THE PARLIAMENTARY VOTE FOR WOMEN.

THE greater part of human suffering is due to unjust social relations. Instead of all being equal and working together for the common good, some rule over and seek to profit at the expense of the rest. Power over others always is and always will be abused, partly because the selfish side of those who rule is unchecked, partly because they cannot, even if they would, know and attend to the wishes of other people. Inequality is most demoralising to all concerned, producing on the one hand arrogance and selfishness, on the other ignorance and slavishness. Liberty, equality, fraternity, these are truly the essential conditions of happy corporate life. The great social injustices are: *The subjection of labour and the subjection of woman.* They are coequal manifestations of the spirit of tyranny. The reformer is concerned both with the "Woman Question" and the "Labour Question."

The victims of inequality are robbed not of material benefits only, but of spiritual and intellectual advantage also. It is characteristic of sex rule just as much as of class rule that those in power dictate the activities as well as withhold the rights of the rest. They attempt to monopolise the pursuit of art and of knowledge and the management of public affairs. They declare themselves most fitted to perform the higher human activities, leaving to the rest only that work which, however useful, is least interesting and exciting. Thus men mark out for women a sphere of action, to pass out of which is

declared to be "unwomanly," wrong, and "unnatural." It is held that the function of women is to minister, according to instructions, to the needs of the other half of humanity. They are regarded as the servants rather than as the partners of men in the business of life. The complaint of women, then, is that their rights are withheld and their activities restricted. It seems to be thought that "Rights" are the prerogative of men, and that human achievement is to be carried on only in the male line.

Certainly the position of Englishwomen has in some respects improved greatly in recent years, but it should be compared not with their past position, but with that which they ought, in justice, to occupy. The fact of being women is still made an excuse for imposing upon them all sorts of artificial disabilities. Although men declare women to be weaker than themselves, they continue to place obstacles in their path. They will not allow them equality with themselves of rights, liberties, and opportunities, and will grant them anything rather than justice.

There are persons who, while desiring social harmony, do not wish class distinctions between man and man to be abolished. They believe in the possibility of a satisfactory compromise between equality and privilege. Now that all classes of men have been politically enfranchised, such theories are not taken very seriously, but the idea that something other than, or less than, equality can form a satisfactory basis of relationship between the sexes flourishes still. This idea is absolutely false. A beneficent tyranny is as impossible and as undesirable in the case of women as in that of men. It is not more wrong for some men to rule over other men than it is for all men to rule over all women. Women demand equality—to demand less would be illogical and absurd. A person wrongfully imprisoned does not ask for the embellishment of the cell, but demands instant release.

Women will not be satisfied with a mitigation of their wrongs, but require to have them abolished. They ought not to submit to injustice tempered with mercy.

Sex inequality affects women in the closest possible way—they feel its bad effects in every department of life. Class subjection is not now nearly so complete and so crushing as sex subjection, nor so far from being removed. As a class, working men, possessing political rights, have influence and standing in the nation; they are, potentially, at least, its rulers. The individual working man is the equal of his associates: in his private life he is no one's inferior. Women, on the other hand, are, as a class, without the power and prestige which the vote gives. As individuals they live with their social superiors, not with their equals. In marriage, law and custom give the husband a distinct advantage. Marriage is not yet regarded as a partnership between two equals, except by the few. The average man, though willing to delegate authority to his wife in minor matters, considers himself supreme where affairs of importance are concerned. That the children of a marriage belong in law to the husband gives him a very strong hold over their mother. The economic dependence, too, of married women does much to keep them in domestic subjection. However hard a woman may work in return, the fact that her means of livelihood comes through the hands of another individual gives that other individual undue power over her. In such cases the husband is an employer, and one against whom the means of defence usually adopted by labour cannot easily be used. Even where the children are concerned, things are not arranged with justice. Sons receive more consideration, more liberty, better educational advantages, a greater share of any family property there may be than do daughters. In the home the rising generation learns the relative positions of the sexes in society. The family is at present a school of inequality.

In the world outside the home women find a similar state of affairs, unsoftened even by affection. Although they have to bear all the burdens and perform all the duties, they do not enjoy the rights of citizenship. Although human faculties are common to both sexes, it is attempted to hinder their free development in the case of women. They are prevented from finding their own level in society. Only such work as men are unwilling or unable to perform may women undertake without opposition; every new departure which they make from the path marked out for them arouses bitter hostility. This being disregarded, the difficulty of obtaining teaching has to be overcome, and even when their right to education has been recognised, there still remain to conquer opportunities of applying the resulting skill and knowledge. That the "sphere" of women has been greatly enlarged in recent years is due to the struggles of a few pioneer women who, refusing to be guided by false and arbitrary rules of conduct, have won for themselves and for all other women increased opportunities of education and of service. Such women recognise that to serve is a duty, but claim as a right the utmost possible freedom to choose their mode of service. That they have hitherto been middle-class women is natural. Working-class women are as much wronged as others, but their struggle for mere existence is so hard that they are apt not to realise it. Most well-nurtured and educated persons feel a desire for self-expression of a definite kind. To repress this or force it into uncongenial channels is an injury to the individual and a loss to society. The modern woman desires to be and do something in the world. While rejoicing in the achievements of others, she is not content only to look on and admire, leaving her own powers unused.

Women's general status, political and social, being what it is, their economic status is very bad also. That women are poorer than men is the direct consequence of their subjection.

To suppose that there could be economic equality of the sexes when in every other direction there is inequality would be absurd.

Women can command a much smaller return for their work than men can. All self-supporting women, from whatever class they spring, suffer from this undervaluation of their services. Those brought up in the middle and upper class fall, as far as their earnings are concerned, to the level, and frequently below the level, of the male artisan. As teachers, nurses, clerks, etc., they are very poorly paid. Thus, apart from those for whom wage-earning happens to be an absolute necessity, the daughters of well-off men have to choose between a state of dependence with comfort and one of independence with poverty.

It is, however, the women manual workers whose condition is the worst. They are the poorest poor—the most oppressed section of the people. Male labour is never so much exploited as theirs. The highest wages paid to working women are about equal to the lowest paid to men. Besides being poor, they work in many cases long hours under unhealthy conditions. Poverty, however, is immeasurably the most serious of their industrial grievances. With their means they cannot afford to have suitable and sufficient food, warm clothing, and comfortable lodgings. They are consequently never in full health, even when their place of work is sanitary, and when this is not the case they can offer no resistance to the bad effects of unhealthy surroundings. When women have no one dependent upon them, things are bad enough, but in very many cases it happens that they have to support others, either wholly or in part. Widows with families, women supporting aged parents or invalid relatives, wives whose husbands cannot or will not work, these form a very large class. The poorest families are those dependent on female wage-earners. The low wages of women causes most of the very

acute poverty. Working-women have such hard lives that it is no wonder that some of them, finding what a small return they get for their work, turn to that occupation which, dreadful as it is, is better paid than others.

For every reason the efforts of those whose desire to help women is genuine and rational, are directed towards raising their wages. The troubles of women workers do not concern only themselves. It is impossible completely to isolate a class and its grievances, and it is most important to men that some improvement in the condition of women should take place. Surely it must be a source of anxiety to men to know that at their death their families will be plunged into poverty —their wives obliged to make ends meet on wages of, perhaps, 10s. a week, their children deprived suddenly of the comforts and advantages they have been able to provide. Only men without imagination or without affections can be satisfied with high wages for men only. The present industrial weakness of women is a great danger to men workers. The existence of a large body of cheap labour must affect the higher-paid workers. The poverty of women causes men to be poor, and this is happening to an increasing extent. At present, as a result of the assumption that women are necessarily much less capable workers than men are, men's labour is protected labour. This state of affairs will not last. Women are proving their powers as scholars, artists, writers, physicians, etc., and they will do so in industry. When employers recognise fully what women are capable of, they will not hesitate to secure intelligent and skilful workers at a lower wage. Different prices cannot be obtained in the same market for similar articles. Either men's wages must go down, or women's wages must go up.

It seems to be thought by some that however lamentable, the especial poverty of women workers is yet inevitable. The reasons for it are said to be that women are unskilled, that

they cannot combine, that the prospect of marriage deters them from seeking advancement, that they are not entirely self-supporting, and that their standard of living is a low one. All these circumstances, in so far as they really exist, are removable. Every social evil is, at first, thought inevitable. In course of time a remedy is found, and ultimately applied. All the above so-called reasons for the poverty of women are, together with their poverty, consequences of their unsatisfactory social position. If most women are unskilled, it is because of lack of opportunity. No provision is made for their technical education; it is contrary to custom and to the wishes of trade organisations to apprentice them to skilled trades. Parents do not give their daughters such advantages as are available. The "lack of skill" theory, however, does not explain why, when men and women do the same work, they are not, except in a few rare instances, paid at the same rate, nor why the skilled woman worker is paid no more than the totally unskilled man. Women, like all poorly-paid, low-skilled labour, are not extensively organised. The majority of working men are not members of trade unions, so that their unorganised condition does not account for the underpayment of women as compared with men. The unsettling effect of the prospect of marriage is greatly exaggerated. It does not make women indifferent to their industrial condition. Actual needs are more present to the mind than future possibilities. Marriage, however, will become a less disturbing factor in industry as women realise more fully the importance of being economically independent. Independence will become more and more possible for all women as the division of labour in domestic work increases. From every point of view this is both desirable and inevitable. As a result, fewer women would be absorbed in domestic industry, and all, however employed, could have definite working hours and an income of their own. The working-class will not always be satisfied

with such homes as can be attended to by a single worker. It is only by means of division of labour that real comfort can be brought within reach of the mass of the people. At present only people who are comparatively well off have large, comfortable houses, a varied diet skilfully prepared, and special apartments and special attendance for their young children. Working-women are self-supporting to a much larger extent than is allowed. Even unmarried girls living at home are expected to pay for board and lodging, and in later life they have, certainly when unmarried, frequently when married, to support themselves. A high standard of living is not in itself sufficient to determine the remuneration of an individual or of a class—it requires to be ratified by society. If the rest of the world refuses to accede to certain demands, those who make them must abate them or die. Therefore it is not enough to say that women do not ask enough in return for their work. Such a statement expresses only a small part of the truth. We must add that society places too low a value on women and on their services. It is true that women themselves expect little of life. This is because they are taught from childhood to take the second place, to undervalue their own judgment, their own powers, their own importance. The presumption that they form an inferior portion of the race is so strong in society that the ideas of women themselves, especially of the more ignorant ones, are coloured by it. If women consider that their own welfare is less important than that of men, they are naturally satisfied with lower wages. Until women regard themselves, and are regarded, as the equals of men, they will continue to be at a disadvantage in the industrial world, and their presence there will continue to have a bad effect on the position of men. To prevent them from taking part in industry is no remedy. Women must live. Moreover, it is necessary to their happiness and development to be economically independent. Those

who work against this are working against progress. There is only one cure for the industrial weakness of women. It is for men to renounce all claims to authority over them, whether in social, political, or domestic life, to recognise them as equals, to allow them equal rights, liberties, and opportunities. Many of the present writers and speakers on social questions do not share this view of the relation between the Woman Question and the Labour Question, but it is nevertheless the view which will be held by the sociologists of the immediate future.

What can be done to raise women in their own estimation and in the estimation of others? What practical step can be taken towards establishing equality between men and women? We can strike at that most tangible, most serious, most fundamental injustice of all, the exclusion of women from the political franchise. The Chartists said truly, that political power must precede social regeneration. They saw that to put an end to the supremacy of any class, its monopoly of political power must be destroyed. Political inequality involves social inequality. Before the enfranchisement of working men, their aim was to secure political rights. What was needed for the uplifting of men is needed for the uplifting of women. Enfranchisement is a step in the upward movement of a class which cannot be omitted, and women, like every other section of the community, must be empowered to work out their own salvation. Their truest friends are those who would help them to help themselves.

The legal assertion of the political equality of the sexes will bring about a great improvement in the status of women. Their inclusion in the electorate will cause a great change of attitude with regard to them and their affairs. They will be no longer objects to be neglected or patronised, as the case may be. They will not form, as now, a negligeable quantity in matters political. From being outsiders they will become

persons of importance and authority in the community. John Stuart Mill declared it to be a great discouragement to be left out of the constitution. It is also a degradation, and must become more so, with the growing recognition that politics are the concern, not of the few only, but of all. The more men prize their votes, the greater the part taken in the government of the country by the men of the people, the greater the misfortune of belonging to a class of non-voters. This will come to be the only remaining class distinction.

As a protection, the vote is important to women. The interests of an unrepresented class are either neglected or injured. There are existing legal injustices to be remedied by women voters, and future dangers to be guarded against. For instance, at the present time there are persons who advocate legal prohibition of wage-earning for married women. Have these persons considered fully the effect of such an enactment on the status of married women? After years of effort the Married Women's Property Act was passed—to prevent married women from acquiring property is equivalent to its repeal. The difficulty of the scheme will, it is to be hoped, delay its realisation until women have the power to decide for or against it. All laws affect women, some laws affect only them, yet they have no voice in legislation. Everyone possessing a sense of justice must regard such a state of affairs as intolerable.

As a means of service, women require the vote. While they are outsiders in the political world they cannot give that help to the movements they approve which otherwise they could. Women interested in public questions should remember this. Not only will they be able to exert the direct power which the vote gives, but their words, coming from members of an enfranchised class, will have more weight with others than they have now.

The earlier workers for women's suffrage doubtless supposed that when the arguments then brought against this reform were refuted, victory would be at hand. This has not been the case. Avowed opponents are not very numerous now; it is apathy which has to be fought. Not the least dangerous enemies to the cause are those who, while professing friendship, do nothing to advance it. The indifference of many working-class politicians to the question of women's suffrage is especially remarkable. If asked to justify this, they say in excuse that women's suffrage is a question of mere abstract justice; that women, being reactionary, will hinder reform; that there are enough votes already to do what is necessary. It is contended also that working-women will not benefit by the proposed reform, and further, that no political reform short of adult suffrage ought to be worked for. Do those who make the above excuses really suppose that the dictates of justice can ever be disregarded without results which are very serious and very far-reaching? Only those who are ignorant of what women, in spite of their small opportunities, have done in the cause of progress can seriously maintain that women are more reactionary than men. If they were so, the way to effect a change would be to give them more political education and responsibility. In New Zealand women voters are certainly not reactionary, judging by the way in which they vote. Women suffer most from the evils of our present social system (which is, after all, the work of men), why should it be supposed that they are likely to cling to it when they have power to change it? The enfranchisement of women will improve their own position, and this alone forms a quite sufficient reason for it. Those who ignore this aspect of the question, and declare that there are "votes enough," should be asked if the principles of democracy are now outworn; if taxation without representation has ceased to be tyranny, and if the art of good government has been brought

to such perfection as to make it safe for a large class of the community to be unrepresented. Certainly working-women will benefit by the abolition of the political disability of sex. Under the HOUSEHOLDER AND LODGER Franchises numbers of them will have votes.

Promoters of women's suffrage are often asked why they do not work only for Adult Suffrage. Mainly for reasons of policy. They are pursuing what they believe to be the shortest way to success. Men show no great desire for an immediate extension of the franchise. There are many questions which to them are more important. They do not look on Adult Suffrage as a question of practical and urgent importance. Registration reform would cause their interest in the question to become still less. Women's suffrage, on the other hand, is the most important of the questions affecting women. Any man can, by fulfilling certain conditions, obtain a vote. *No woman can*! The aim of the women's suffrage agitation is to destroy sex rule and privilege. It would be most unwise to obscure this issue in any way. If it were obscured the claims of women might again be ignored when any further widening of the franchise took place.

The demand for political rights came first from middle-class women. This was natural. The more immersed in poverty people are, the slower they are to see the cause of their misfortune. Working-class women are becoming more and more roused on the question. The Labour Representation movement furnishes them with an admirable object-lesson on the value of the Parliamentary vote. They seek direct representation, too. Every argument for the direct representation of labour is an argument for women's suffrage. The textile operatives of the North of England are working for political rights. They have recently presented to Parliament petitions, bearing over 70,000 signatures, asking for enfranchisement on the same terms as men. The women cotton

operatives have a very strong position in the trade unions. The organised workers in the cotton trade number 96,000 women and 69,000 men. The women can, as the majority, determine the attitude of the trade unions with regard to labour representation. If they decide in favour of it, they pay the greater part of the cost of labour candidatures. If they wish, they can force the Labour M.P.'s financially dependent upon them to work for women's suffrage in the House of Commons. In this way the enfranchisement of women will become one of the labour questions of the time.

That the trade unions in question will, sooner or later, take official action with regard to the question of women's suffrage (which involves the enfranchisement of the majority of their members) cannot be doubted. The women feel keenly the injustice of their position. Though giving their help to the movement for the direct representation of labour, they cannot themselves have representation. Their majority in the trade unions gives them a hold over Labour Members which otherwise they would not have, but to Members of Parliament votes are more important than money. Their electors' wishes come first with them.

Again, the men and women alike know that owing to the unenfranchised condition of more than half the workers, the textile trade cannot have its due influence on the legislature. It is to be hoped, too, that the men textile operatives, knowing the important part taken by women in the unions and in their trade generally, will help their fellow trade unionists to gain justice.

It is not uncommon to hear expressions of disappointment at the failure of working men to use their votes for their own benefit. The progress of the Labour Representation movement shows that this state of affairs is coming to an end. There is, however, very real cause for disappointment in the fact that working men show so little desire to give to women

the rights which they possess. That enthusiasm for the principles of democracy which inspired them until they gained the franchise appears to have died down.

Women's need for enfranchisement is as great, perhaps greater, than it ever was. The increase of State activity makes it imperative that women should be citizens. In the society of the future, if it is to bring happiness to all, there must be no subject class. Unless those who work it love justice and freedom, the most perfectly devised system will be a failure.

The work of social reconstruction is not so simple that the help of women may be safely rejected. There is no guarantee that the new state of affairs will be satisfactory to women if they have no share in creating it. The social fabric must be built upon a foundation of democracy.

Women cannot be happy in a society in which they are not regarded as complete members of the race.

The teaching of feminist and collectivist principles is said by opponents to set sex against sex, and class against class. The reply to this is that while the dominations of class and of sex exist, there must be conflict. It is only when all men and all women stand on an equal footing that their interests become the same. It is to the interest of the race that no member of it shall be oppressed and cramped. When we consider how much wiser and happier than it is Humanity would have been if all the women and all the men of the past had been free, we see how important it is to break down the oldest and strongest of tyrannies—the tyranny of sex.

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A Common-Sense View of Woman Suffrage

By

JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS

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A Common-Sense View of Woman Suffrage

By JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS

"Women's sphere is the Home."

That worthy sentiment has been echoed so often that by this time it is apt to provoke a smile—not the sentiment so much as the reiteration of it, especially when given forth with that complacent air of originality which usually accompanies platitudes. But like most "bromidioms" it contains a certain amount of truth or else it would not have lasted long enough to become a bromidiom.

To be sure, of three hundred trades and professions followed by men, women are found in all but three or four of them. Whether we approve of it or not, one woman out of every seven gains a livelihood by some other means than marriage. Nevertheless, no matter how much woman "invades" man's "sphere," man is not likely to invade her peculiar

sphere. Bearing children may not be the the only thing she can do, but from the point of view of the race, it is the most important thing any one can do. Whether we rhapsodize over the beauty and sacredness of motherhood or appraise that function coolly from the point of view of science, in either case the rearing of children will center about the sex which bears them, so long as we have the institution of the family. And so long as we have the institution of the home it will remain the specialty of woman rather than man.

All the arguments for woman suffrage which are worth considering must cluster about this axiomatic truth.

Also all arguments against woman suffrage.

I

"I am just an old-fashioned wife."—
—A bride in a new fashioned apartment house.

The old-fashioned wife did not clamor for the vote. Why not?

Well, for one thing, she had a great many other matters on her mind. In addition to bearing about a dozen children, and rearing as many of them as did not die, she had to spin and weave and make soap. Either with her own hands, or as forewoman of an establishment as complex, if not as vast, as a

modern department store, she was an active factor—and a creative factor—in nearly everything required for the home, from the curing of hams and children to the cooking of hams and the educating of the children.

Her husband produced the raw materials; she turned them into finished products. She was his helpmeet in a very literal and practical way. Perhaps they were not invariably so happy and contented with each other as sentimentalists would have us believe, but at any rate, owing to old-fashioned conditions it was possible for them to take more than an objective interest in each other's occupations. They worked together, they complemented each other's efforts; they understood each other's jobs; and the home was a self-sufficient, self-sustaining unit in a way and to an extent that is impossible in modern times.

In modern times the home may and should be just as important spiritually, but economically it is not a unit at all. It cannot be. In the industrial sense, the home is going out of the house. Spinning-wheels are now quaint articles of bric-a-brac, which cost a good deal and gather dust. Even spinsters can no longer pursue the calling which won them that epithet. It does not pay to make soap or brew simples of herbs. Be-

sides, the neighbors would complain of the odor. The children can be better educated by experts trained for that purpose at schools outside of the home. Wives do not, cannot, except in rare cases, keep up an active, practical partnership in their husband's occupations.

In other words, nearly all the old-fashioned, orthodox opportunities for efficient motherhood, for complete wifehood, except the most elementary, have gone out of the house. And they have gone out to stay. More of them keep on going out as the years roll on. We may not like the idea, but we can no more bring them back into the house than the home-made tallow dips which once illuminated it, rather dimly.

"Do you want the ballot?"
"Oh, no! I have a baby."

What is to be done about it? Well, we might as well make the best of it. It is still woman's duty and pleasure to look after the home, if it is man's duty and pleasure to pay for it. And if the modern woman cannot attend to her old-fashioned job in the old-fashioned way then she will simply have to do it in a new-fashioned way, or else skimp her job.

Since milk now comes in bottles from

some place miles away, a good housekeeper must at least see that it is good milk, free from typhoid germs. If not, some one else will have to attend to this duty for her.

Since the children are now taught at schools instead of at her knee, a devoted mother must at least see to those schools, their methods, their sanitation, their playgrounds. If not, some one else must perform this old-fashioned duty for her.

Since the modern husband no longer follows his trade in the home, a good wife must at least keep in intelligent touch with man's world—if, that is, she proposes to be an inspiring helpmeet after she ceases to be an alluring bride. If not, somebody else may become his inspiration.

All this, of course, goes without saying. It is axiomatic. It is like declaring vociferously that woman's sphere is the home.

Now, as a matter of fact, the average modern woman is willing and anxious to be a good wife, a devoted mother. She is feverishly anxious. It seems to be a fad nowadays, especially among my sex and my profession, to decry the modern woman as a frivolous loafer. There never was a time when mothers took such intelligent care of their babies.

There never was a time when wives pondered more seriously the problems of wifehood. Their critics are making the stupid mistake of blaming individuals for conditions which they cannot control. On the contrary, the conditions control the individual. And conditions have changed so fast that modern woman is bewildered. She has not found herself.

How is she to follow and fill her sphere, now that it has broken out of the house? How is she to regain these orthodox functions, many of which have slipped from her grasp without her knowledge and consent? Directly or indirectly all these traditional responsibilities are now shaped and determined not by each separate family group, but by all the families together—in other words, by the government. The government is controlled by politicians. Politicians are controlled by the ballot.

"It would destroy the home."

To say that woman should not vote is simply to say that she should not be entrusted with what have always been her natural responsibilities. It is simply to say that we should not let her have the authority necessary to put through the work which we nevertheless turn over to her, and for which we nevertheless hold

her accountable. In fine, that her sphere is no longer the home, but merely the house.

This is not a matter of taste or of opinion; it is a matter of fact and logic. We may not fancy the notion of women voting—that *is* a matter of taste; and whether she is fitted for the vote is a matter of opinion. The present point is that if she is to do her old-fashioned share of the work of the world, merely as a homemaker and a housekeeper, the ballot is becoming as necessary now as the broom was once. Even to have a clean house it is necessary to have clean streets. To have clean streets it is necessary to elect a clean mayor. The same may be applied to schools and school-boards, health and health-boards; in fact, all government is merely housekeeping on a large scale.

For some departments of this housekeeping men may always remain better qualified than women. For other departments of it women may always remain better qualified than men. But it takes both man and woman to make a home. As Miss Jane Addams says: "Most of the departments in a modern city can be traced to woman's traditional activities, but in spite of this, so soon as these affairs were turned over to the care of the city they slipped from woman's hands,

apparently because they then became matters for collective action and implied the use of the franchise."

Now it may be that modern man is capable of attending properly to "woman's traditional activities," and his own besides—though thus far he has not proved it. It may be that modern woman is incapable of retaining her ancient share of life's responsibilities—though that has not been proved either. Meanwhile what are you going to do about it, you who believe in the "old-fashioned wife" and in home as "woman's sphere"?

II

"Women cannot go to war."

Now it was perfectly natural that these natural functions slipped out of her hands. The vote originally was given only to those who bore arms. Like education, it was not thought needful nor proper for those who bore children. Certain clergymen (who bear neither—but are educated) still urge this eloquently as an unanswerable objection to enfranchising the sex which must pay taxes it cannot regulate and obey laws it cannot make.

Such objections are valuable, for the reason that all jokes are valuable, but as arguments they are hardly worth an-

swering. Besides, minds which still hold fast to such ideas are closed like horse-chestnuts—hard to open and hardly worth while.

"It's unwomanly."

Yet at the very thought of the ballot in the tender hand of a woman, lovely woman, objections always bristle up like hairs on the back of a dog at the approach of a stranger. All new ideas are natural enemies until they prove themselves friends. It is well that such is the case. It keeps off suspicious characters. It makes good ones wait until they have shown themselves to be good. Every new idea, every improvement in civilization has had to win its way against the indifference or opposition of the majority. This is particularly true of every change in the status of woman from the time she ceased to be a beast of burden, and we decided to give her a soul and a seat at our dinner table.

It is perfectly natural that there should be objections to an idea which superficially seems so radical as even the municipal suffrage for women. To be sure, that kind of voting has already been entrusted to them throughout England, Ireland, Scotland and several other enlightened parts of the world, though only in spots in quaint America. Commercial-

ly, we are the most progressive nation in the world. In certain other ways which are also necessary for successful success we have fallen behind times.

"But women do not want the vote."

Theoretically, whether women want the vote or not has nothing to do with the matter, any more than whether they want children or homes to look after. Practically, however, that objection has everything to do with it; for until women want it badly enough to demand the vote they will not get it. It is silly, however, to look upon it as a mere privilege or added "right"; it should be regarded as a duty, an obligation, a means to an end—and that end is a "womanly" one if wifehood, motherhood and housekeeping are womanly.

Incidentally they are demanding it in greater numbers every year. When John Stuart Mill presented his petition to Parliament it was signed by only 1,499 women. That was in 1866. Thirty years later a similar appeal was made to Parliament by no less than 257,000 women. The next year there were over 1,200 different petitions in favor of a woman suffrage bill, 800 more than those presented in favor of any other bill. Since that time there has always been an over-

whelming majority of the House of Commons pledged to support woman suffrage.

In America, the movement, somewhat delayed, is spreading more quietly. The affair has not become acute. Let us hope that it can remain quiet, can avoid being "acute."

"Woman is not fitted to vote."

This is undoubtedly true of many of them—just as it is of many men. But that is not to say that the majority of each sex cannot fit themselves for voting. Women can do a great many things when they have to, as may be seen in the case of hundreds of women every year when thrown on their own resources. When we consider her handicaps, not merely her natural handicaps imposed upon her by civilization and sentiment, when we consider that for ages she has been discouraged from trying to do anything outside the "home," it is no wonder that she cannot do many things as well as man. The wonder is that she does many things as well as she does. Besides, as Miss Jane Addams says: "Those matters in which woman's judgment is most needed are far too primitive and basic to be largely influenced by what we call education."

"Woman suffrage would double the ignorant vote."

Nowadays we are educating more girls than boys at the high schools. Nevertheless, there would be, of course, an increase in the "ignorant vote," but in those very classes it is the women who uphold what there is of a moral standard. It is worth adding that in our penitentiaries only five and a half out of every hundred inmates are women. The rest are of the voting sex.

"It doesn't work."

To be sure, there are some women who do not utilize this prerogative where they have it, just as there are many men who are similarly derelict. But as a matter of fact and history is *has* worked, it is now working and will keep on working in all those parts of the world where it has been tried, as may be easily ascertained by any one who is willing to take the trouble to look into the records of Australia, New Zealand, Finland, Norway or any of the six States of our union where women have the full ballot.

As a single instance, the whole world has heard of Judge Lindsey's children's court. The whole world is now adopting his idea. According to Judge Lindsey himself the whole world owes this to the women voters of Denver, without whose

aid the machine would have prevented the Judge's dream from coming true. If we calculate the far-reaching effect of this one thing—which most of us can't calculate—it alone would be enough to justify woman suffrage, and even suffragettes.

"Then women would have to hold office, too."

All men can vote, but not all men hold office. Some are fitted for it and some are not. Women would either be fitted for it or not. If fitted for it, elect them. If not, don't.

"Women can do so much by indirect influence."

This is undoubtedly true. It is also true that they can do more by both direct and indirect methods more than by indirect methods alone. Ask women who have tried "indirect" methods of putting through child-labor laws, sanitary regulations, or any other reform which their husbands "hadn't time to bother with." Sweet feminine charms and pretty clothes are effective enough in the case of bills the bosses don't object to, but when it is something which clashes with the profits of the boss's bosses, practical politicians merely smirk and smile gallantly and say: "Well, I'll see what can be done for you."

"Women haven't time to vote."

That of course is a good argument for giving women the ballot. For in those States where she is still allowed to work ten and fourteen hours a day she needs the eight-hour law in order to get the ten minutes necessary to cast a ballot once a year or so.

There are two kinds of women, those who have time to play Bridge and those who have not. The former ought to vote because they have time to; the latter because they have not.

III

"Do you believe in Woman Suffrage?"
"No; I love my husband."
(And all the bachelors beamed.)

Most "arguments" against woman suffrage are about as absurd as these. None that I have seen, and I have searched, has logic, justice or common sense. Why, then, is there still considerable objection to it?

Because of an influence which is stronger than logic, justice or commonsense. The most potent objection to every change is always outside the realm of reason. It is sentiment. Sentiment comes from the heart, logic merely from the head—when it comes at all. In this case it is the most powerful and per-

meating sentiment in the world, the sex sentiment. The idea of women voting is distasteful to our sex-idealization. All the arguments and logic in the world cannot overcome this unless aided by a higher and healthier sex-ideal.

Our present ideal of woman, beautiful as it is in theory, has worked out in practice, owing to our change in conditions, in such a way that men and women are being put asunder by marriage instead of being joined together. In lieu of a productive helpmeet, woman is becoming a non-productive consumer. Not because she wants to be, but because she cannot help it. He and she are occupied with different interests and talk different languages. And yet we wonder why one marriage in twelve in America ends in divorce, and unite our efforts to making it harder to get apart instead of easier to keep together.

IV

"Oh, I suppose it's bound to come, but it's inexpedient now."

Woman bears children, is therefore weaker, is therefore no warrior. In that one sentence we can account for every change which has gradually, strugglingly, taken place in the status of women, from the time we generously decided to give

them souls up to this time when we are condescendingly thinking of giving them votes. The political enfranchisement of women is merely part of a greater, if less noisy movement, which has been going on since the beginning of civilization and which will not stop until mere might is no longer right. This is not a sentimental ideal, as muddle-headed people think, but a shrewd, practical principle, which inheres in the gregarious instinct, and which is applied by the wisdom of the race, step by step, when expediency prompts it.

Those who see the inevitableness of woman suffrage, those who see its ultimate expediency, are merely a little in advance of those who do not—that is all.

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FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

SCHOOL SUFFRAGE AND OTHER LIMITED SUFFRAGISTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

By ELLEN H. E. PRICE, Swarthmore, Pa.

School suffrage is the logical conclusion of one of the most marked tendencies of the public-school system. Coeducation of the sexes is increasingly a tendency of the system, and coeducation naturally leads to a joint participation of men and women in the teaching force and management of the schools. Coeducation of the youth also results in a juster appreciation of each other's abilities and weaknesses; in fact, it is claimed that the greater freedom in selection of occupation enjoyed by American women over those of any other country is mainly due to the influence of coeducation in the mental development of American boys and girls.

Conservatism as regards what are called woman's natural functions, which is so strong a force in keeping the ballot from women, is met on its own ground by school suffrage. Who should care for the education of the children; who should have the judgment to know what conditions are necessary for the perfect development of the young, and the power and skill to provide such conditions, if not the mothers of the race?

Women's participation in suffrage depends upon the votes of men. Fully three-fourths of the people of the United States are educated in the public schools, and are more or less influenced by the conditions of their social life. Adding this influence to the commonly accepted thought that women—if they have any right to consideration in the political world at all—have it by reason of the duties of motherhood, it is plain to be seen why in so many States some modification of school suffrage exists. Yet it is all the more difficult to understand why such strenuous exertions in most cases have had to be made to secure this privilege to women, and why almost constant vigilance is required in some States to keep it.

The first recognition of woman as a factor in public education has been generally the extension of the privilege to serve the immediate community in the capacity of director or trustee without any power to help elect to such offices.[1] As the community in which a woman lives is but a slight extension of the home in which she rears her children, this recognition of the fact that the qualities which make her the guide and guard of the children of the home are needed in the maintenance of the school—the protection of the community—is natural and conservative enough.

[1] Although in the State of Washington women may vote for State superintendent of public instruction, but are not eligible to the office; and in Mississippi women, heads of families, may vote for trustees, but may not serve in that capacity.

That this privilege has in so many States been gradually extended to what are commonly called the higher offices, and that the right to vote for such officers has afterwards, in so many cases, been granted, is proof positive that the duties of the more limited field have been discharged and the responsibilities met in a manner satisfactory to the lawmakers in the several States where the experiment has been tried.

Sixty years ago Kentucky legislators, seeing the necessity of family representation in school matters, gave school suffrage to widows, thus earning for their State the proud distinction of being the first to make official recognition of woman's interest in the line of work which all grant to be preeminently hers. Leaving out of consideration the States where women have full suffrage, we find some form of school suffrage existing in 21 States and 2 Territories. It is interesting to note in all but three of these the right has been given by legislative enactment, although in Wisconsin the act of the legislature was afterwards submitted to a popular vote. Consequently the number of States in which the grant has been made by the few, the representatives of the people, is 20; where it has been secured by the direct vote of the people, is 4.

Other forms of limited suffrage have been granted to women by the legislatures of 5 States. In Mississippi women who are heads of families may vote for "fence or no fence;" in Illinois, if property owners, they may vote for district drainage commissioners, and in Louisiana, if owners of real estate in a drainage district, they may vote on plans of drainage and the amount of tax to be levied. The women of Iowa may vote on the same terms with men on the issuing of bonds for municipal or school purposes, or for borrowing money or increasing the tax levy. In Michigan, since 1867, women taxpayers have had the right to vote on all questions affecting the levying of tax for school purposes. Montana, by constitution, permits women who pay tax to vote on all questions submitted to taxpayers.

In the analysis of the limited suffrage thus far granted to women, we find that when any qualification[1] at all is specified it is on one of these two lines, payment of tax or children of school age under care of the voter—that is, the franchise has been extended when certain generally admitted interests would otherwise be unrepresented. The interest of the property holder is very marked in the instances given above, and the property qualification is required in all but one of the States mentioned. Women taxpayers may vote on that qualification alone for school trustee in Montana, and on all questions pertaining to school management in Michigan, Nebraska, Indiana, Vermont, and in districts of more than 1,000 inhabitants in Oregon. Especially in school matters there obtains largely the idea of the family unit with the man as the natural representative. The justice of transferring the representing power to widows or to women who are heads of families of young children has appealed effectively to men in six States. The right to vote for trustees and all subordinate offices has been assured to widows in Kentucky; to widows and mothers of children of school age in districts of less than 1,000 inhabitants in Oregon; to women who are listed as parents, guardians, or heads of families in Indiana; to any head of a family, or widow with children of school age, or female guardian of a child of school age in Florida; to all heads of families who are freeholders in Mississippi, and to any parent or guardian of children whose names appear in the school census in Michigan.

The interest manifested by women in the suffrage, and the use they

[1] With Massachusetts as a notable exception in having an educational qualification.

make of it, is always and everywhere proportional to the importance in the popular mind of the issue at stake. As might be expected from the more general interest of the people in the public schools in the North and Northwest, it is in those sections that women's interest in school suffrage is greatest and their participation in it most general. Wherever the right has been exercised, the testimony is borne to the improvement in the condition of the schools and in the financial standing of the district, and to the development of character in the voters themselves. Omitting the States of Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho, where women have full suffrage, and Kansas, where municipal suffrage obtains, we find that some form of school or other limited suffrage is exercised by women in States containing a total population[1] of 31,377,654 (more than half of the whole population), and covering an area of 1,167,305 square miles—nearly one-half of the whole area of the United States. When we remember that it has been only sixty years since the first State gave any suffrage to women, we can not be discouraged by this showing, especially when we consider the slow progress of every reform the world has ever seen.

For convenience in reference is added a tabular statement, chronologically arranged, of the grant of limited suffrage to women in the United States:

Tabular statement, chronologically arranged, of the grant of limited suffrage to women in the United States.

Date.	State.	How granted.	Class.	Qualification.	Extent of privilege.
1838..	Kentucky	Act of legislature.	Widows	Taxable property.	School trustees.
1845..	do	do	Spinsters	do	Do.
1861..	Kansas	do	Women		All school questions.
1865..	Indiana	do	Widows with children of school age; woman guardian.	Guardianship	Directors; questions of school management.
1867..	Michigan	do	Women taxpayers.	Taxable property.	All questions involving the raising of money.
1869..	Florida	do	Head of family; widow with children; female guardian.	Guardianship	Trustees and all subordinate school officers.
1872..	Oregon	do	Widows and mothers in districts of less than 1,000.	do	District officers.
			Women taxpayers in districts of more than 1,000.	Payment of tax	
1876..	Colorado	Constitution	Women	Same as men	All school matters.
1876..	Minnesota	Constitutional amendment.	do	do	All school officers.
1878..	New Hampshire	Act of legislature.	do	do	Do.
1879..	Massachusetts	do	do	Must be able to read and write.	School committee.
1880..	New York	do	do	Same as men	School taxes; school officers, except school commissioner and in chartered cities.
1880..	Vermont	do	do	Payment of tax	All questions.
1881..	Michigan	do	Women property owners.	do	Do.
			Women parents or guardians.	Guardianship	All questions which do not involve the raising of money by tax.

[1] Census of 1890.

Tabular statement, chronologically arranged, of the grant of limited suffrage to women in the United States—Continued.

Date.	State.	How granted.	Class.	Qualification.	Extent of privilege.
1883..	Nebraska	Act of legislature.	Women	Same as men	At all district meetings.
1885*a*	Illinois	do	Women property owners.	Taxable property.	District drainage commissioners.
1885..	Wisconsin	Act of legislature; vote of the people.	Women	Same as men	School officers in country districts; raising money for school purposes.
1885..	Idaho	Act of legislature.	do	do	All school questions.
1887..	Arizona	do	do	do	
1887..	New Jersey	do	do	do	School trustees*b*; appropriations.
1889..	North Dakota	Constitution	do	do	All school questions.
1889..	South Dakota	Act of legislature.	Widows		Directors and school treasurer.
1889..	Montana	Constitution*c*	All women	Same as men	Any district officer and county superintendent of schools.
			Taxpaying women.	do	All questions submitted to taxpayers.
1889..	Delaware	Act of legislature.	Women taxpayers in the city of Wilmington.	Payment of tax	School officers in the city of Wilmington.
1890..	Washington	do	Women	Same as men	All school elections.
1891..	Illinois	do	do	do	All school officers except county superintendent.
1892..	South Dakota	do	do	do	Directors and school treasurer.
1893..	Connecticut	do	do	do	All matters of school management.
1893..	Iowa	do	do	do	Issuing of bonds.
1894..	Ohio	do	do	do	Members of board of education.
1894..	Kentucky	do	Women in cities of the second class.	do	Members of board of education and district tax.
1894..	Louisiana	do	Women property owners.	Payment of tax	Plans of drainage; amount of tax to be levied.
1894..	Mississippi		Heads of families who are property owners.	Property and guardianship.	Fence or no fence; trustees.
1894..	Oklahoma.				

a Probably earlier.
b Lost in 1894 by decision of supreme court as far as voting for trustees is concerned. Said decision does not affect the voting for appropriations.
c Although women had the right of school suffrage while Montana was a Territory.

MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE IN KANSAS.

By J. W. Gleed.

From the very beginning Kansas law has recognized the equality of the sexes—the equality of man and wife—in all matters except the right of suffrage. With this exception no discrimination has been made against women. The wife has the same interest in the husband's property that the husband has in the wife's. She controls her property to the same extent that he controls his. She has the same separate existence before the law that he has. In some respects, indeed, the law discriminates in her favor, women enjoying some privileges and

immunities not enjoyed by men. The one badge of equality denied her was the guaranty of the continuance of this equal treatment—the right to vote. But the right to vote has been coming to her piecemeal. In 1876 she was given the right to vote for school officers, and in 1887 the legislature passed what is known as the municipal suffrage act.

The municipal suffrage act provides that in any election held in any city of first, second, or third class, for the election of city or school officers, or for the issuance of any bonds for school purposes, the right of any citizen to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex; that women may vote at such elections the same as men; that any woman possessing the qualifications of a voter shall also be eligible to any such city or school office. In Kansas the words "cities of the first, second, and third classes" embrace what in many communities would be described by the words "cities, towns, and villages," so that under the act women have a voice in the government of practically all of the cities, towns, and villages, except the few hamlets so small as not to be incorporated as cities of the third class. In all such communities they have a vote on all school-bond propositions, but not on other bond propositions. They have no part in the selection of county or State officers, nor in the selection of any judicial officer, as justices of the peace and judges of the higher courts, except that in cities of the second and third classes they have a vote on police judge. In cities of the first class they have nothing to do with the police system in any way, because of the metropolitan police act which puts the police systems of cities of the first class in the control of the governor. But in all cities women may vote for mayor and councilmen and school officers.

The municipal suffrage act was passed by a legislature, which was overwhelmingly Republican, and was passed by a large majority in each house. It was supported and approved by three-fourths of the Republican papers of the State.

In discussing the results of the act there is not very much in the way of concrete, demonstrable facts, figures, and statistics to present. A good deal that is said must necessarily be individual observation and opinion. The statistics upon city elections for the years 1887 and 1888 show that, taking the State as a whole, about one-third of the women of the State availed themselves of the voting privilege. In 1893, in the city of Topeka, about two-thirds of the women registered and voted; that is to say, the registration of women and men was in the ratio of about four to six. There is one thing certain and admitted, and that is that not one of the evil results so often and generally predicted from the participation of women in elections has been observed. There is not a recorded instance of a woman being insulted at the polls. I think it is fair to state that it is generally admitted that elections have been much more orderly since the passage of this act.

The following observations may be more or less a matter of dispute, but I make them as my opinions based on careful observation. In ordinary city elections, where the candidates on both sides are reasonably respectable and competent men and the issue is simply the ordinary party issue, women take little interest and their vote is light. They do not appreciate a city campaign based, as so many of them are, on national issues. They do not appreciate the connection between the question of good municipal government and the question of the tariff or the national currency. It may be proper to observe that there is a large and increasing body of male voters who do not appreciate it either. Where a man of bad political character or bad personal character is a candidate for city office, women take a great deal more interest, and in

such case are more independent of party ties than men are. The same is true when any moral issue is involved. A great many women who vote, vote as a matter of duty and feel it something of a burden. But this is also true of a great many men. The women who vote are the more thoughtful and conscientious class of women. There has been no rush for office on the part of women. They seem almost universally to prefer that men should hold the offices. In two or three instances women have been elected to the position of mayor and to the position of councilman. The results have been good.

The influence of municipal suffrage for women has been to secure a better class of nominees on the average. The police systems of cities of the first class being independent of city government, women have not taken as much interest in elections in cities of the first class as they otherwise probably would. From an early day women in Kansas, who were dependent upon their own exertions for their livelihood, have had considerable employment in the public service, but that employment has increased since the passage of this act and women's opportunities have been greater. Women have held positions upon boards controlling the higher institutions of learning and State charitable institutions. They have been employed as professors in the State university and the State normal and agricultural colleges. They have been superintendents of city schools, principals of high schools, and county superintendents. They have been county and city treasurers and have held a large number of responsible subordinate positions in the public service. A woman has held the position of assistant attorney-general.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WYOMING.

By JOSEPH M. CAREY.

Woman suffrage, as exercised in the State of Wyoming, has been so well discussed for twenty-five years that any extended remarks at this time would be but a repetition of those made many times heretofore.

Wyoming was organized as a Territory in 1869. The legislature, composed of a council and house of representatives, each of which was unanimously Democratic, after some discussion, passed a bill conferring upon women full political rights through both houses, which was approved by John A. Campbell, governor of the Territory.

The law was very brief and is in the following words:

> That every woman of the age of 21 years residing in this Territory may, at every election to be holden under the laws thereof, cast her vote. And her rights to the elective franchise and to hold office shall be the same under the election laws of the Territory as those of electors.

Two years thereafter a new legislature was elected, and a bill was introduced in the house of representatives for the repeal of the suffrage act referred to. It passed both houses, and was vetoed by the governor, John A. Campbell, who two years previously had signed the law which the legislature attempted to repeal.

This caused a protracted discussion in each house of the legislature. The house of representatives passed the bill by a two-thirds vote over the governor's veto, but it was lost in the council by one vote. This was in 1871.

From that time until the present, a period of twenty-seven years, there has never been any effort made to repeal the law which gave to woman full political rights in Wyoming.

In 1889 a constitutional convention, elected by the people of Wyoming, prepared a constitution, and the people thereafter ratified the same. This constitution was submitted to Congress, and with it Wyoming was admitted as a State in 1890. The suffrage article in the constitution is as follows:

> The rights of citizens of the State of Wyoming to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this State shall equally enjoy all civil, political, and religious rights and privileges.

It will be noted that it carried out the idea enacted into a law in 1869 with this advance, limiting suffrage as follows:

> No person shall have the right to vote who shall not be able to read the constitution of this State. The provision of this section shall not apply to any person prevented by physical disability from complying with its requirements.

By various acts of the legislature, women, in every respect, before the laws of the State, are equal to men. They have the right to vote, sit on juries, hold office by election or appointment. Women can transact business on their own account free from the interference of their husbands. They can sell their individual real estate, personal or mixed property, without their husbands joining in the deed or bill of sale.

Equality of political rights for the two sexes is as firmly fixed in the fundamental law and in the minds of all the people of Wyoming as any institution can be fixed in an American State.

After a close observation for all these years, I have no hesitation in saying that I have failed to see any disadvantage whatever arising from women exercising the right of suffrage and full political rights. They show as marked ability, as discriminating a sense of duty, in the exercise of their political rights as do their fathers, husbands, or brothers. They have sought office to a very limited extent, yet they exercise their right of suffrage as generally and as intelligently as do the men of the State. They have filled many places of responsibility, some elective, others appointive. The possession of political rights has opened many places of employment to women which otherwise would be closed.

Wyoming has a magnificent school system, and the public schools may be said to be in the control of the women of the State. The most of the teachers are women, the majority of those who go to school meetings are women. The superintendent of public instruction of the State is a woman, the county superintendents are generally women, the clerks and employees in the State capitol and in the court-houses, as a rule, are women.

The advantages have been many. A disorderly primary meeting in Wyoming is unknown, the elections are quiet, the most modest woman feels perfectly free at the polling booth or to serve as an election officer.

Suffrage broadens her views and makes her take an interest in that which is of the highest importance to the home. I have never known a family trouble or a family feud to originate in this State the basis of which was politics or that remotely grew out of the fact that women had the same political rights as men. I might add that I have repeatedly known husband and wife to vote directly opposite to each other and to express political opinions in opposition to each other.

All good reforms move slowly. It takes discussion, agitation, and education to remove a long-standing prejudice and conviction, but woman suffrage has come to stay where it has been adopted, and it will make headway and will eventually, I believe, encompass all of the States. No other extension of suffrage ever made has brought so much advantage and so little disadvantage.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

By Martha A. Bushnell Conine.

The question is repeatedly asked of the citizens of Colorado, "What are the results of woman suffrage?" From the hearts of all lovers of justice and equality in Colorado to-day goes up one earnest, emphatic protest against the query. With one voice we reply: "It is too soon to expect well-defined results." I have not presumed to offer any individual opinion in a matter of such vital moment, but have gathered from many of my fellow-citizens, men and women in responsible position in society, church, club, and public office, an answer to the question, from which I have arranged, not a symposium—I have neither time nor space for that—but a composite. Its features are portrayed in a letter kindly furnished me by the governor of our State, Hon. Alva Adams. It is a copy of one written in reply to that same query from Iowa. Governor Adams says:

> Woman suffrage needs not the defense of results; it is not a question of expediency, but of justice.
>
> When the question was submitted in Colorado, I supported and voted for the proposition as a question of abstract right; as every fair man must admit, when the question comes to him, that a woman has the same right of suffrage as a man. In advocating suffrage you need no platform but right and justice; those who will not accept it upon that ground will not be persuaded though one rose from the dead.
>
> I will, however, add that even the most virulent enemy of woman suffrage can not prove that any harm has come from the experiment. The test in Colorado is still too new to expect a unanimous verdict, yet all fair-minded observers are justified in predicting a higher standard of morals and of political life as a result of woman suffrage.

This letter expresses the unanimous opinion of all those to whom I applied. We challenge the world to prove that one of the evils prophesied has come to pass. That women as a rule appreciate their freedom and are willing to assume their responsibilities is beyond question. That there are a few who shrink from such responsibility and profess themselves disappointed at the results thus far we do not deny, yet we believe it would be a very dangerous experiment to attempt to take the ballot even from this class, since either consciously or unconsciously they have moved forward and are occupying a higher plane than when enfranchised.

Surely the most intelligent men and women of Colorado have in no uncertain terms signified their approval of the new order.

To offset these reports the most prominent persons in the State, prominent because of their representative character, have volunteered the following statement:

> We, citizens of the State of Colorado, desire, as lovers of truth and justice, to give our testimony to the value of equal suffrage.
>
> We believe that the greatest good of the home, the State, and the nation is advanced through the operation of equal suffrage. The evils predicted have not come to pass. The benefits claimed for it have been secured, or are in progress of development. A very large proportion of Colorado women have conscientiously accepted their responsibility as citizens. In 1894 more than half the total vote for governor was cast by women. Between 85 and 90 per cent of the women of the State voted at that time. The exact vote of the last election has not yet been estimated, but there is reason to believe that the proportional vote of women was as large as in previous years.
>
> The vote of good women, like that of good men, is involved in the evils resulting from the abuse of our present political system; but the vote of women is noticeably more conscientious than that of men, and will be an important factor in bringing about a better order.

This was signed by the governor, three ex-governors, our Senators, both Members of Congress, and ex-Senator, the chief justice and two

associate justices of the supreme court, three judges of the court of appeals, four judges of the district court, the secretary of state, the State treasurer, State auditor, attorney-general, and the mayor of Denver, the president of the State University, the president of Colorado College, the representative of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the vice-regent of the Mount Vernon Association, and the presidents of thirteen women's clubs, most of them prominent society women.

During the session of the legislature last winter there were three women in the house. We met upon terms of absolute equality; no thought of incongruity or unfitness seems to have arisen, and at the same time those little courtesies which gentlemen instinctively pay to ladies were never omitted. Each of the ladies was given a chairmanship, one of them the printing committee; and I may state incidentally that the bill for that session was lower by thousands of dollars than for any previous session. The women were as frequently called to the chair in committee of the whole as were the men. One of them was placed upon the judiciary committee at the request of the chairman. Every honorary committee appointed during the whole session included one or more of the ladies, the very last being a committee of three to wait upon the senate to inform them that we were ready to adjourn sine die. The speaker appointed the three ladies, and as we delivered our message we were greeted by applause led by the president of the senate.

I should like to speak at length upon the work of the Civic Federation, which is a nonpartisan organization of women working in the interest of good city and county government, and carrying on at the same time an educational and philanthropic work. I should like also to speak at length upon the woman's club movement, which, beginning in 1895, marks an epoch in the history of our State. Our State federation now numbers about one hundred clubs, representing a united membership of 4,000 individuals. These clubs are largely occupied in studying social and economic questions, earnestly seeking for the best methods of educating their children, reforming criminals, alleviating poverty, and securing purification of the ballot; in short, striving to make their city and their State a cleaner, better home for their children. Their work receives added encouragement from the knowledge that, by their ballots, they may determine who shall make and administer the laws under which these children must be reared. The home has always been conceded to be the woman's kingdom. In the free States she has but expanded the walls of that home that she might afford to the inmates, and also to those who unfortunately have no other home, the same protection and loving care which was formerly limited to the few short hours of the day and the few short years of childhood passed beneath the parental roof.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN UTAH.

By Martha Hughes Cannon.

The story of the struggle for woman's suffrage in Utah is the story of all efforts for the advancement and betterment of humanity, and which has been told over and over ever since the advent of civilization.

The final struggle came between the contending factions at the time when the National Government announced its willingness to receive

Utah as one of the proud sisterhood of States. An organized and well-directed effort was made to have the constitution of the new State recognize the equality of the sexes. This movement was directed by the noble and unselfish women of our State, who never faltered when discouragements were plentiful, and whose names are immortalized by the unqualified success of their efforts. Among them were veterans who had been trained in the early seventies to exercise the freeman's prerogative. They determined that in our organic law there should be an unequivocal declaration, which should place man and woman upon an exact equality with regard to their political rights.

Their persistent efforts were combated step by step. Day by day in the constitutional convention the question of woman suffrage was debated with unquestioned ability. Inch by inch our opponents contested the ground, until, after a most serious and thoughtful deliberation, and after a thorough hearing had been permitted, the measure was made part of the proposed constitution of Utah. But those in opposition still refused to yield. The proposed State constitution had to be submitted to the people; it had to run the gauntlet of a popular vote. Those who believed it to be ill advised to grant women the franchise therefore appealed to the people to vote the measure down. It was the only portion of the constitution over which there was any very considerable disagreement, and the issue was made clean cut and clear. The result was decisive and exceedingly gratifying, for an overwhelming majority of the men of Utah voted to adopt the constitution, and thereupon the forty-fifth State entered the Union making no discrimination on account of race, sex, or religion.

The history of the struggle in our State for equal rights is full of interest, and it could be recounted with advantage. But, after all, the results which have been attained speak with such unerring logic and vindicate so completely the argument that woman should take part in the affairs of government, which so vitally affect her, that I point to the actual conditions now existing in Utah as a complete vindication of the efforts of equal suffragists, and as the most cogent of all reasons which can be advanced why woman should have the right to aid in nominating and electing our public officers.

I can, in all sincerity, say that there is a strong and cumulative evidence that even those who opposed equal suffrage with the greatest ability and vehemence would not now vote for the repeal of the measure. The practical working of the law demonstrates its wisdom and verifies the claims which were advanced by its ardent advocates. It has proved to the world that woman is not only a helpmeet by the fireside, but she can, when allowed to do so, become a most powerful and a most potent factor in the affairs of the government.

None of the unpleasant results which were predicted have occurred. The contentions in families, the tarnishment of woman's charm, the destruction of ideals, have all been found to be but the ghosts of unfounded prejudices. "The divinity which doth hedge woman about like subtle perfume" has not been displaced. Women have quietly assumed the added power which always was theirs by right, and with the grace and ready adaptation to circumstances peculiar to the women of America, they have so conducted themselves that they have gained admiration and respect while losing none of their old-time prestige

Before women were granted suffrage they had ideas upon public questions. Suffrage gave them opportunity to give practical expression to their views. They gave more attention to political affairs. They studied political economy more earnestly. They familiarized

themselves with public questions, and their mistakes, if they have made any, have not thus far been brought to light.

Women have acted as delegates to county and State conventions, and represented Utah in the national convention of one of the great political parties held in Chicago in 1896. They have acted upon political committees and have taken part in political management, and instead of being dragged down, the criticism which was feared, their enfranchisement has tended to elevate them. They availed themselves with most gratifying results of the privilege of voting, and, under our system of the reformed Australian ballot, they found that the contaminating influence of the ballot of which she had been told was but a bugbear, born of fright, produced by shadows. They learned that to deposit their vote did not subject them to anything like the annoyance which they often experienced from crowds on bargain days, while their presence drove from the polls the ward workers and the strikers, who had been so obnoxious in the past.

Through the courtesy of the governor and the approval of the State senate they have been given places upon various State boards, and in the last legislature, in both the senate and the house, they represented the two most populous and wealthy counties of Utah. The bills which were introduced by women in our State legislature received due consideration, and a majority were enacted into laws. Whatever they have been required to do they have done to the full satisfaction of their constituents, and they have proved most careful and painstaking public officers.

No one in Utah will dispute the statements I have made. To the people of that young Commonwealth, destined by its manifold resources and the intelligence of its men and women to become the Empire State of the Rocky Mountains, I refer you. I give you this reference in the fullest confidence that, with scarcely a dissenting voice, they will say to you that woman suffrage is no longer an experiment, but is a practical reality, tending to the well-being of the State.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN IDAHO.

By WILLIAM BALDERSTON.

Idaho is one of the quartette of intermountain States that have inscribed the principle of equal suffrage upon their escutcheons. It is the only one of the four in which the reform was effected by amendment of the constitution. Colorado had a provision under which the question could be submitted by a majority of the legislature to a vote of the people and Wyoming and Utah were fortunate enough to incorporate this great fundamental principle in their constitutions when they were admitted as States; but in Idaho we had to secure a two-thirds majority in each branch of the legislature for submission of an amendment, secure a majority vote for the amendment at the polls, and in the end make a contest before the supreme court to have that popular majority declared sufficient to engraft the amendment upon the constitution.

However, the contest throughout was comparatively simple, and the victory was clean-cut and decisive. The story of "Suffrage in Idaho; how and when granted," can therefore be quickly told.

The secret of the success achieved lay in the fact that the indorsement

of the political parties was secured. The really hard fighting was done in the campaign planned to capture the party conventions, and when this was accomplished there was little left for the originators of the movement to do.

The subject came up in the legislative session of 1893, a resolution being introduced to submit an amendment to the constitution to extend the right of suffrage to women. There was no organization at that time, nor had the matter been generally discussed in the State. While a good vote was secured for the amendment, it lacked the necessary two-thirds majority. It was, however, the beginning of the campaign, for the friends of the reform then determined that the matter should be brought up again at the next session with sufficient support to carry through a joint resolution submitting the question to popular vote. It was felt that it would not be worth while to waste time and energy in effecting an organization in advance of the submission of an amendment. Those interesting themselves in the matter believed the political conventions could be induced to favor submission of an amendment, and that this could be accomplished without any preliminary organization.

This proved true. The Republican and Populist conventions of 1894 favored submission. The Democrats did not commit themselves on the subject. The legislature elected that year was composed almost entirely of Republicans and Populists, there being only two Democratic members. When a joint resolution submitting an equal suffrage amendment to a vote of the people was brought forward it met with practically no opposition, and was passed with only a few scattering votes in the negative.

Following this achievement the friends of the cause proceeded to organize for the campaign that was before them. The National American Woman Suffrage Association entered the field promptly. Organizers were sent into the State, and before the year closed there was a creditable organization. It was the belief that the most effective work that could be done was that of securing the indorsement of the political parties. This feeling was shared by the local suffragists and by the representatives of the national organization, who were on the ground when the time for the opening of the campaign of 1896 approached. There were four parties in the field and each committed itself to the amendment, though one of the resolutions was not very emphatic. The planks on the question were as follows:

Republican: We favor the amendments to the constitution of this State proposed by the late Republican legislature, including equal suffrage for men and women, and recommend their adoption.

Silver Republican: We favor the adoption of the proposed amendment to the constitution of the State providing for the extension of the right of suffrage to women.

People's Party: Believing in equal rights to all and special privileges to none, we favor the adoption of the pending woman's suffrage amendment to the constitution.

Democratic: We recommend to the favorable consideration of the voters of the State the proposed constitutional amendment granting equal suffrage, believing that the great question should receive the earnest attention of every person as an important factor in the future welfare of the State.

An active campaign was at once inaugurated, the State association being assisted in every way possible by the national organization, while Colorado women sent a worker into the field to aid in the work. The great strength of the movement lay in the fact that all the parties were committed to the reform and no effective opposition could be organized.

When the votes had been counted it was found that 12,125 had been cast for the amendment and 6,282 against it. But there were over 29,000 votes cast for State officers, and the question at once arose whether the amendment had secured a constitutional majority. As is

Female Suffrage

FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF A MALE DEMOCRAT

BY ROBERT MONTGOMERY

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Editor of the
Puyallup Valley Tribune
Puyallup, Wash.



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CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE FITNESS OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN FOR THE BALLOT AND THE BENEFITS TO BE EXPECTED FROM HER USE OF IT

An important amendment to the State Constitution* will be submitted to the voters of Washington in the month of November, 1910. Before that time the proposals of this amendment should be thoroughly considered by our people; they concern "the right to vote at all elections," and consist principally of two provisions: First, that the elective franchise be granted only to those who "shall be able to read and speak the English language;" and secondly, that "there shall be no denial of the elective franchise at any election on account of sex." This latter provision is the important one, at least the one which will chiefly excite discussion; therefore, the measure, while under debate, will be popularly known as "the Woman's Suffrage Amendment."

A DEBATABLE QUESTION.

We are of the opinion that the best interests of the people of Washington would be furthered if the Constitution of the State were altered as proposed, and think it well now to set forth the reasons which have led us into this opinion. Or, rather, we would candidly review the different arguments which have been used by the advocates and by the opponents of Woman's Suffrage so as to show how the preponderance of them favors this reform. For it must be allowed that the controversy admits of argument on both sides. In almost every practical question some considerations favor the affirmative and some the negative; few cases can be settled on the grounds of absolute right; the wise man chooses that course which is attended with the least

*House Bill No. 59, ordered printed January 20, 1909.

evil and the most advantage. He also avoids putting forth false reasonings himself and endeavors not to be influenced by them, either one way or another, when they are employed by others. Prejudice is excited against a movement when bad argument is used in its support.

NEGRO ENFRANCHISEMENT NOT AN ANALAGOUS CASE.

In illustration of these remarks we have to confess that our judgment was once unfairly prejudiced against the cause of female suffrage because one of the most honored of American women based her claim to full political privileges on grounds which at the same time would justify the enfranchisement of the negro after the Civil war. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," tells how she was once opposed to the doctrine of equal rights for women. "But," she says, "while I still so spake and so thought, behold, a race of men became enfranchised by the appeal to arms. The conquest of their rights demanded the power to defend those rights, and this power the logic of history had placed in the ballot. * * * It had been determined that the slave should become a free man, and further than this, that, in order to maintain his freedom, he must perform the offices of a free citizen. Two new thoughts now came to me in the shape of questions: Why was the vote so vital a condition of the freedom of an American citizen? And, if it was held to be so vital, why should every man possess it and no woman?"

As we look upon it, the abolition of slavery was the grandest result of the Civil war; it did more to improve the national character of the American people than even the preservation of the Union did. But we believe, also, that the bestowal of the ballot on the negro was the greatest blunder ever committed by the Republican party. This act was an attempt to give the governmental control of the Southern States to an ignorant and irresponsible mass of people, and was destined to ignominious failure. The eman-

cipated slaves were utterly unfit to choose proper persons for legislative and executive work and to require of these the faithful care of public interests. For a time carpet-bag demagogues obtained political power; incompetence, extravagance and theft held a carnival at the State Capitols. But no sooner was the protection of the United States troops withdrawn than the Southern whites organized themselves and put a stop to negro domination. Their measures may not have been legal, but they had the justification of that necessity which knows no law, or which rather subordinates all other laws to that of self-preservation. Moreover, of late years the legislation of the South, more than that of the North, has recognized the principle that the ballot should not be entrusted to those who are not likely to make a proper use of it. Mrs. Howe's argument would have been stronger if she had fully accepted this principle, and had then contended that American women are, as a class, well qualified for the elective franchise, and that their condition as civilized beings forms the most striking contrast that can be found to that of the Southern negroes at the close of the Civil war.

THE QUESTION NOT ONE OF RESPECT OR DISRESPECT FOR WOMEN.

Another spurious argument is that of those who say that because women are not allowed to vote they are classed as an inferior kind of beings, with criminals, paupers and idiots. If this style of talk is intended to change the mind of the average American husband or son or brother respecting the political status of his wife, or mother, or sister, it is scarcely wise. It contains a false accusation which is more likely to produce resentment than conviction. Which of our citizens ever thought of classing the women of our land with criminals, paupers or idiots? Who ever intended to disgrace them in saying that their true sphere of usefulness, of happiness and of honor, is to be found in domestic and social, and not in political life? It is perefctly evident

that mere exclusion from the right to vote does not necessarily involve any reflection upon the intellectual or moral character of those excluded. In every country—especially in every commercial center—there is a considerable body of well-to-do inhabitants called "domiciled foreigners." They are not allowed to participate in the political rights of their neighbors; in most countries they are not permitted to hold real estate; not, however, because of any personal unworthiness, but because it is not deemed expedient that one should partake in the government of a people till he has severed all political ties connecting him with any other people.

There is nothing irrational in the idea that women should not take an active part in public life. Many think that their doing so would introduce discord into the home, develop female politicians with hysterical methods, diminish the respect and deference now shown to the gentler sex, and tend to displace the exercise of a sweet, persuasive influence by the spirit of insistent and unreasonable demands. We believe such effects would follow in the case of certain women who are now inclined to be unwomanly and whose unpleasant forwardness would be increased by the consciousness of their standing as voters. We have met such persons, we have heard their extravagant talk, and we confess that we have no fancy for them. We have as little use for short-haired women as we have for long-haired men. But such creatures are not the true representatives of their sex, and need not be feared as political agitators. The mass of womankind will not sympathize with the view that their sex possesses equally with the masculine human being the mental and physical strength necessary to bear the burdens and responsibilities of great public positions; and they will never seek for themselves an equal share with men in the functions of political life. Only in exceptional cases can a woman be expected to serve in office better than a man, or even so well. The controversy, however, as to the franchise, does not immediately concern office-holders, but voters, and it turns on the question: Are the majority of women as well

qualified as the majority of men to make a proper use of the ballot?

NOT A QUESTION OF ABSTRACT RIGHT.

For it cannot be denied that political measures, like all practical problems, cannot be settled by an appeal to abstract principles. Such principles, for the most part, even though they may have been given a universal form, are expected to be applied only in given circumstances or under given conditions, and are not strictly universal. For instance, some quote the Declaration of Independence, which says that "all governments receive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and argue from this that women should have a voice in the choice of their rulers; because otherwise they would be governed without their consent. It is plain that the principle in question calls for much qualification. It does not apply to a minority of voters or to a part or section of a nation; if the minority were not bound to obey the rulers chosen by the majority, there could be no government at all. Moreover, not even the majority of a people should be allowed to determine their form of government and to select their rulers, if they be so affected by ignorance, passion and want of principle as to be incapable of intelligent and judicious action. It is generally conceded that the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands are not yet ready for free institutions; with some it is a question whether the people of Cuba are. When the common people of a country are unfit to rule, the government necessarily falls into the hands of the most influential and able citizens; then an aristocratic republic, or, more frequently, some sort of monarchy arises. In that case "the consent of the governed" can exist only in a very limited sense. It is really the consent of those lords and leaders who in a patriotic way represent the people and act for them, as the nobles of England did when they exacted the Magna Charta from King John; or it may be nothing more than the general submission of a people to an absolute monarch.

Such being the case, we say that the elective franchise is not the right of every human being but is the right of those only who can be expected to make a judicious use of it.

This right belongs to every male citizen of the United States who is of the age of twenty-one, who has not in any way become disqualified; and it is asked whether this right should not be granted also to every female citizen of the United States who is twenty-one years of age or older.

THE BALLOT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ALL WHO ARE LIKELY TO USE IT WELL

Now, were the inquiry made respecting the women of Turkey or Persia or Hindustan, whether they should be given the elective franchise or not, we should have no hesitation in giving an answer. Notwithstanding the abstract principle that all government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, our reply would be an emphatic negative. The women of those countries are brought up in the most dense ignorance; their intelligence consists of prejudices, their religion of superstitions. The Turkish harem is a nursery of bigotry and fanaticism; the Hindoo zenana is a hotbed of idolatry. These eastern women, if untouched by Christian influences, are not only in darkness themselves but desire their children to be in like darkness—note, for instance, the Hindoo lady who threatened to commit suicide because her husband proposed to give her daughter an education. Such women are not so fit for the ballot as the wild Indian and the illiterate negro.

But the case of the daughters of America is far different; indeed it may be questioned whether a majority of them at the age of twenty-one, are not better qualified for the elective franchise than the sons. As a rule the girls of the United States are better educated than the boys; at least more of them *are* educated. There are more young men of voting age unable to read their ballots than young women. Moreover, the report of the Commissioner of Education shows that far more girls than boys in the United States

fully acquire that kind of education which produces the enlightened and influential citizen. In the year 1907 the female graduates of our high schools had a majority of twenty-one thousand (20,981). Doubtless the annual majority at the present time is not less than 25,000. Now these graduates are continually becoming of voting age. Let us suppose that, after the four years of Taft's administration, one hundred thousand educated young women—better educated than the same number of young men—were to be invited to take part in the next presidential election. Can any one deny that this increase in the proportion of intelligent voters would have a happy effect on our national politics? Yet just this would be the effect if female suffrage were adopted throughout the United States.

THE INTELLIGENCE AND MORALITY OF AMERICAN WOMEN.

It is to be remembered also that the women of America are distinguished not only for their intelligence but also for their high moral character. According to the prison statistics of the last United States census (1904) less than five and one-half per cent of the convicts are women; this proportion would be reduced to less than three per cent should we throw out of consideration some eastern States in whose large cities foreign emigrants have made their homes. In our commonwealth of Washington, 791 male and only 4 female prisoners are recorded; which makes the proportion of women to men about one-half of one per cent. The foregoing statistics may be taken to represent not only the relative number of criminals belonging to each sex, but also the degree in which the tendency to commit serious offenses exists among men and among women. Female morality in America, moreover, is not simply the virtue which avoids crime; it is the most positive and influential of all our social forces. How noble is the purity of the American woman—a soft white robe which protects her from harm and insult better than if she were mailed in

steel! When we think of it we are reminded of that protection which, it is said, simplicity and innocence throw around the maidens of Ireland:

> " *that wild sweet-briery fence,*
> *Which guards the fame of Erin's belles,*
> *Which lures while it resists the sense*
> *And charms us most when it most repels.*"

Then what an unspeakable debt of gratitude is due to the American mother, who not only cares for her children in their early years, but who trains them in the fear of God and in the practice of every virtue, whose solicitude follows them throughout all the trials of life, and whose example is a perpetual inspiration to them to seek what is right and good! How many a man has been reclaimed from evil ways by the memory of a sainted mother! There is no need that we should tell how women, far more than men, are active participants in every religious, charitable and humanitarian movement. Let one attend any church service, any preaching; let him enter any Sunday school, any prayer meeting, any gathering in the interest of a social reform or a benevolent undertaking; he will find that three-fourths of the adult persons present are women. It is women who nurse the sick, who visit the poor, who relieve the distressed, who reclaim the outcast, who seek to banish sin and wretchedness from unfortunate homes. Nine-tenths of the Salvation Army, nine-tenths of the temperance workers, are women. Do you now say that women have more time for altruistic employment than men, that this is their pastime and an outlet for their natural feelings? What! Could they find no other way of amusing themselves than by being and doing good? Do not some men, and even some women, find time for unprofitable diversions—for the race track and the gambling table, for voracious novel reading and the low dance-hall? But let us grant that benevolent and redemptive work gives special pleasure to the female heart. We say: Blessed pastime! It is the way in which

angels would pass their time if they were living here on earth.

THE FEMALE DEMAGOGUE IS NOT TO BE FEARED.

But some one will say: "No one impugns the general intelligence of the American woman and the high standard of her average morality, nor is it to be denied that intelligence and morality are indispensable conditions of the right to suffrage; nevertheless certain countervailing considerations render it inappropriate and undesirable that women should take an active part in political life." If this objector has in mind those women who advocate quixotic legislation, who render life a burden to public men, who are ready themselves to act the part of the demagogue, the office seeker, the factional partisan and the dictatorial boss, we might agree with him that the increased activity of such persons in the body politic is not to be desired. The question before us, however, does not pertain merely to a small number of female agitators, but to the whole body of American women. The immense majority of these do not demand for themselves public prominence; they only ask that their opinions respecting the rights and interests of themselves and others should be treated with that respect which the ballot-box confers. In order to bestow this privilege upon them we may well run the risk of some incidental disadvantage. How many unfit men universal male suffrage has brought into the foreground of public life! But would a similar result among women occur if universal female suffrage were adopted? We honestly think not, but that, on the contrary, the majority vote of the women would help to free our political life from the domination of the incompetent and the unworthy. We are told that such has been the case in those states in which female suffrage has been given a fair trial.

THE EMOTIONAL CHARACTER NO DISQUALIFICATION.

It has, however, been contended, in regard to women in general, that they are emotional creatures and for this reason unfit to exercise a deliberate judgment in regard to the distracting complicated questions which must be determined by public authority. Beyond question the female heart is, as a rule, more easily moved than that of the opposite sex, and is more inclined to mingle considerations of feeling or sentiment with those of interest. Yet this difference of temperament has often been grossly exaggerated. It is by no means a difference of nature or constitution. Often we meet men as sentimental as any women, and yet oftener women as sensible as any men. Moreover, it is not true that delicacy of feeling is inconsistent with rational judgment. In matters of taste, of good breeding and of morality, the perceptions of the tender heart are more accurate than those of the heart that is cold and calculating. The chief hindrances to the exercise of right reason are not the emotions natural to a simple and candid soul; they are the prejudices which the ignorant cherish, the dominant spirit of party, the selfish ambitions and contentions and jealousies of leaders, the subserviency of the ordinary politician to his superior, and the incapacity of most citizens to think independently for themselves and to act accordingly.

Universal suffrage by no means takes for granted that all men will choose wisely and well. It only expects that the vote of the *majority*—it may be after much discussion and much contention; possibly after several failures—will be found *ultimately and permanently* on the side of the *right.* Such being the case, we confidently claim that it would be a decided improvement on our present electorate, if there were added to it an equally large body of voters, who would perhaps be more affected by sentiment than they, but who would also be less controlled by party spirit, by sel-

fish ends and by traditional policies, and who would be more easily and immediately influenced by right principle.

WOMEN FAVOR MORAL MEN FOR OFFICE.

It is nonsense to say that the mass of American women would be any less likely to vote wisely than the mass of the American men. The probability is the other way. And it is to be remembered that the right exercise of the elective franchise does not call for any extraordinary intelligence. The *average* woman can understand the discussions of a political campaign as well as the *average* man, while as to the most important matter of all: the choice of *fit* candidates for office, the woman is more to be relied upon than the man. Under present conditions any gifted reprobate who has obtained the endorsement of a party, stands a *good* chance of being elected; with female suffrage he would stand a *better* chance of being defeated. In those states where women now vote, nominating conventions scrutinize more closely than they formerly did the *moral record* of candidates for office.

THE ORIGIN OF MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

When the opponent of female suffrage becomes discouraged in arguing from the merits of his cause, he has recourse at last to the history of old times and to the mythical theories respecting government. His hope now is that researches into a dead past may yield that support for his views which cannot be obtained from the facts of the living present. He tells us that government was originally founded on the sword, and that it still possesses and uses that power; which it certainly does. Then he goes on to say that *political contests* call for the same cast of character which military service demands, that the elective franchise was introduced as a right naturally belonging to those who are capable of bearing arms, and that all others should be excluded from this privilege. Such argumentation seems to

us little more than weak pretension. If it were founded on fact it might show how manhood suffrage was first adopted as a political measure; the question whether female suffrage is not called for under the conditions of the present day would not be answered. But the assumptions made in the reasoning now considered are not historical verities. It is not true that civil governors were originally elected by the votes of common soldiers and that the ballot first arose as an adjunct of military service. The most ancient rulers were patriarchs, the hereditary heads of tribes. Then came chieftains and kings, men of wisdom and prowess, who seized the reins of authority themselves or who were chosen by the elders or leaders of the people. After them arose monarchies and aristocratic republics in which political privilege and power descended from father to son, with irregularities caused by wars and usurpations. Later, in feudal times, the land was owned by nobles, who, at the call of the king, came with their armed serfs to do military duty. As civilization progressed, the yeomen paid the nobles rent instead of feudal service, and the nobles paid money to the king that he might procure soldiers for himself. Then towns became populous; tradesmen, merchants and landlords grew wealthy and organized guilds and municipalities. These contributed to the royal treasury that they might have the protection of courts and laws; and, as a natural consequence of this, diets and parliaments were convened to advise the king and to provide for public expenses.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE RESPECTING CIVIL SOCIETY.

Thus a government was instituted representing rank and wealth, productive industry and social influence, in whose benefits the working people shared, but in whose administration they had no voice. But civilization advanced. The spirit of Christianity elucidated the doctrine that civil society is intended to promote the welfare of all men alike—that is, of all *human beings* alike—without respect to their station

or condition of life; and, finally, in order to a fuller realization of this ideal, an ever increasing extension of the right of suffrage was demanded by public opinion. So it came to pass, at least in all English speaking countries, that every adult male citizen, not disqualified by crime or otherwise, has the right to vote at all elections. The ballot is now put into the hands of every man in the hope and expectation that he will make a proper use of it. The principle of this wide-spread suffrage, so far as popular government is founded on any principle, may be taken as the true teaching of history. It is that the state should be controlled by the morality and intelligence of the people and that all persons of *sufficient* intelligence and morality should share in the choice of their rulers. If this be so, why, in Heaven's name, should suffrage be denied to the American women? It is clear that there are as strong reasons for granting them the ballot as there ever were for universal male suffrage; indeed that special advantage might be expected if the votes of the women were mingled with those of men. In short, we believe that the beneficial results of female suffrage would far outweigh any possible evils to which the measure might give rise.

THE FEMALE VOTE WOULD FAVOR NATIONAL RIGHTEOUSNESS.

We have now discussed woman's suffrage, not as if it were involved in the essential rights of human beings or in the rights of women at all times and in all places, but as it really appeals to reason, and as it concerns the rights of American women at the present day and in the existing circumstances of our State and Nation. And we have found this reform especially desirable in view of the results of the universal suffrage now accorded to men. The vote of women would certainly increase that moral force of which the Bible speaks as the "righteousness which exalteth a nation," and which is the excellence most to be preferred

in public life. On this force all satisfactory progress, all *true* reform, depends. Even if it were proposed, after the adoption of woman suffrage, still further to improve our electoral system, so that our government might be more fully controlled than now by the intelligence and morality of our people, such a result would be more attainable with than without the ballots of the women. We are confident that women would be in favor of more stringent naturalization laws than we have now, and of higher educational qualifications than are now required of the voter.

This last thought suggests that additional light might be thrown on the question before us, were we to consider the probable effect of woman suffrage on specific forms and acts of legislation, and were we to ask how various particular interests are likely to be affected if women had the right of voting, equally with men. In this chapter the fitness of the American woman for the ballot and the benefits to be expected from her use of it, have been set forth only in the general. Those who would accurately estimate the merits of the proposed reform may properly ask for a detailed presentation of the results to be expected from female suffrage. And as the statement of such particulars cannot be compressed into a few words, we shall make them the subject of another chapter.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE RESULTS TO BE EXPECTED FROM FEMALE SUFFRAGE

The question of Woman Suffrage is not so much a question of rights and wrongs as it is a question of advantages and disadvantages. If, on the whole, it would be for the benefit of all concerned—for the good of the commonwealth, of the municipality, of society in general, above all of woman herself, that she should have the elective franchise—it should be conferred upon her. But if some fundamental human interest would suffer vital injury from admitting women to an electoral equality with men, then it would be unwise to advocate such a measure.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE IS NOT A PRIVATE PREROGATIVE.

Speaking in this way, however, we would not be understood to say that the women of Washington may not claim the suffrage as a matter of right. On the contrary, we establish their right by mentioning the circumstances and conditions under which it has arisen. The universal suffrage of men has a rational basis only in the average intelligence and morality of our citizens. It has become a right because it is believed that better government will be provided in this way for all the inhabitants of our land than could be by any restricted aristocratic electorate, and because the evils which confessedly attend the manhood suffrage are outweighed by the good resulting from it. In precisely the same way—on the ground of an average intelligence and morality—we say that the elective franchise may be claimed for all women. The only difference is that the average of mental and moral qualification seems to be higher among our female than among our male citizens, and

also that a smaller proportion of undesirable to desirable consequences may be expected if the suffrage amendment should be carried, than accompanies our present one-sided voting system.

THE VIEWS OF MISS JANE ADDAMS.

But while woman may claim the right of suffrage, we question the wisdom of her doing so if it were a personal prerogative unjustly denied her, that is, as if it belonged to her only or chiefly for her own benefit. The right of suffrage is a privilege bestowed by the State and is to be used unselfishly and for the general good. For this reason we find much to admire in the spirit of Miss Jane Addams, the distinguished Chicago philanthropist, in her advocacy of the propriety of women voting in municipal elections. Her idea is that a large part of city government is only housekeeping on a large scale, and that it has to do with the care and education of children and youth, with the care of the poor and sick and needy, with the oversight of the health of employes and wage earners, with securing sanitary homes for a crowded population, with the protection of the people against diseases and unwholesome food, with the cleaning of streets and the beautifying of parks and public places, with giving sympathy to the prisoner, aid to the unemployed and encouragement to the fallen and the downhearted. Women, more than men, have an intelligent interest in all these aims, and therefore should have a voice respecting the means and mode of their realization.

Miss Addams blames some women who do not vote in certain cities where a limited right of suffrage has been granted to them. She says: "Why is it that women do not vote upon these matters which concern them so intimately? Why do they not follow these vital affairs and feel responsible for their proper administration, even although they have become municipalized? What would the result have been could women have regarded the suffrage, not as a right or a privilege, but as a mere piece of governmental

machinery without which they could not perform their traditional functions under the changed conditions of city life?" Further on, she says that the true woman, "viewing the whole situation as a matter of obligation and normal development * * * would bear her share of civic responsibility not because she clamors for her rights, but because she is essential to the normal development of the city of the future."

THE BALLOT AND THE AMERICAN HOME.

It seems clear that the American woman because of her qualifications is entitled to the ballot, unless some good and sufficient reason to the contrary can be shown. We know of no such reason. Indeed, there is only one allegation of the opponents of female suffrage which calls for much consideration. It is that the electoral equality of women with men would militate against the peace and prosperity of the home.

We confess to some regard for the teachings of an old book which tells us that marriage is a sacred institution, whereby one man and one woman are intimately and permanently associated so as to form, as it were, one double personality. In order that this union may be a prosperous one, it should be founded on and cemented by, mutual esteem and affection. But the chief duty required of the husband is that he should love his wife and seek her happiness, while the duty chiefly enjoined upon the wife is that she should respect her husband and comply with his reasonable wishes. For although a woman personally may be in no way inferior to a man or even superior to him, the natural and normal marriage involves a subordination of function on the part of the wife. As the husband's career and work are necessarily controlled by his relations to the world, so the wife's life, so far at least as domestic and social activities go, should be tributary to that of her husband. Her true office is that of an help-meet. She should counsel with her husband in forming plans for the family and should assist

him in all his undertakings to the best of her ability. Except in extraordinary circumstances which justify an exception to the rule, she accepts the leadership of her husband in matters which admit of divided opinion but not of divided action. And here let us whisper incidentally to any young woman contemplating matrimony, that, if she be unwilling to accept the position of an help-meet to her husband, and is seeking marriage only as a means to her own worldly advancement, she is making a mistake. The consequences may be one of those wretched lives the secrets of which are revealed in our divorce courts. It would be better to live and die in single blessedness than to marry intending to disregard the duties of a good wife.

POLITICAL QUESTIONS ARE SEPARATE FROM THOSE OF DOMESTIC LIFE.

But while, ordinarily and normally, a married woman should subordinate her conduct to the best interests and reasonable wishes of her husband, this subjection is to be expected only within a defined sphere. It should not be demanded in matters which have no immediate bearing on the welfare of the husband and the family, nor in *any case* in which a given course would be contrary to right and duty. No husband has authority to require his wife to act contrary to her religious convictions or to neglect her religious duty; nor can he ask of her any dishonest or immoral act. In like manner should the wife have convictions regarding the public good differing from those of her husband she would have a perfect right to give them practical effect at the polls if the elective franchise were conferred upon her. Such a difference of opinion and of action would be no ground of blame and ought not to be the cause of discord.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE IN NEW ZEALAND AND IN COLORADO.

That the voting of women where it has been introduced has not occasioned contention in homes or between

the sexes is a fact attested to by many witnesses. Our present scope will permit us to cite only two testimonies, but these relate to countries in which universal female suffrage has long been in operation. Women began to vote in New Zealand in 1893, and ever since—i. e., during the past seventeen years—they have been taking part in elections as freely and as fully as the men. The senior member of the House of Representatives in New Zealand (he has attended twenty-seven successive sessions of the legislature), being asked for his opinion concerning Woman Suffrage, wrote as follows:

"I have no hesitation whatever in declaring that the results have been entirely satisfactory. The women of New Zealand take an intelligent interest in political matters, and exercise the franchise in as large a proportion as do the male voters. They use their own judgment and are fully as independent of outside influence as are the men. I have never known an instance of any domestic discord resulting, even when, as is often the case, husband and wife support opposing candidates. In such cases they agree to differ, and do not resent each other's independent action. Nor do I know of a case in which a woman has neglected her domestic duties in order to give attention to political meetings. In my opinion the woman's vote makes for the public weal." (Sir Wm. Jenkes Stewart, in a latter dated, Wellington, July 21, 1907.)

In our own State of Colorado the women have voted for fourteen years past, and Judge Lindsey, noted for his successful work in the Juvenile Police Court of Denver, gives his testimony as follows:

"Woman Suffrage in Colorado has more than demonstrated its justice. No one would dare to propose its repeal. If left to the men of the State, any proposition to revoke the right bestowed upon women would be overwhelmingly defeated. * * * Speaking generally, in Colorado I am sure that it has never made women any the less womanly, or any the less motherly, or interfered with their duties in

the home, that they have been given the right to participate in the affairs of state."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE TENDS TO FAMILY UNION.

So far from female suffrage having a tendency to produce domestic discord, it has been found to draw the members of the family circle closer together than they would be without it. As her final argument in favor of female enfranchisement, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe says: "Last but not least, it binds the family more closely together." The animated interchange of views respecting public questions creates a sympathy between father and mother and children such as they never knew before. The Hon. Hugh H. Lusk, formerly representative in the New Zealand Parliament, says: "We find that equal suffrage is the greatest family bond and tie, the greatest strengthener of family life. It seemed strange at first to find half the benches at a political meeting occupied by ladies, but, when men have got accustomed to it, they do not like the other thing. When they found that they could take their wives and daughters to these meetings and afterwards go home with them and talk it over, it was often the beginning of a new life for the family—a life of ideas and interests in common, and of a unison of thought." Here also it is to be noted that, as might be expected, husband and wife have commonly been found to vote the same ticket and support the same candidates. For the most part perhaps the wife adopts the husband's views and votes with him, yet not infrequently the husband adopts the wife's views and votes with her. The general result is that neither party takes just the same political stand that he or she would if they were not married. The double personality asserts itself; the man adds stability to the decisions of the woman, the woman a more elevated tone to those of the man. In this way, too, the home and the family obtain a greater influence in the State, an influence which belongs to them of right.

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT RELATES TO FEDERAL AS WELL AS TO STATE ELECTIONS.

Let us now consider the way in which female suffrage would be likely to affect the several spheres and the various subjects of American legislation. The political system of our country is more complicated than that of most other countries, because, in addition to the Federal Union, which has charge of foreign relations and of the general interests of the nation, much power is reserved to each of the several states; in each state, also, the regulation of local interests is largely committed to boards of direction elected by the inhabitants of each county or town or city. During the same year the voter may be called upon to support not only candidates for state offices but also those for the Congress and for the presidency of the United States, and yet others seeking the management of educational or municipal or county affairs. Often, too, measures relating to these different departments of government are referred to the people for their acceptance or negation. Moreover, all these bearings of the electoral franchise connect themselves with the function of participating in the government of a state; for this, according to our scheme of government, carries with it the right to take part in every sphere of political activity. Therefore, the amendment to the Constitution, now submitted to the people of Washington, if adopted, will, as expressed in its own language, entitle "all persons of the age of 21 * * * to vote at all elections."

QUESTIONS CONCERNING EDUCATION.

The individual American commonwealth is perhaps a more attractive sphere for the political activity of women than the Federal Union, because the legislation of the former is more varied and more directed to humanitarian ends; it is also more immediately related to the interests of the home.

The most important trust committed to State authority is our public school system, which prepares the boys and girls of our country for useful and prosperous lives. In some States fully one-half the public revenues are expended for the education of the young. It is felt that the continuance of free institutions would be impossible without this education. The foreigner visiting our country is more impressed by the number and magnitude of our school buildings and by the opportunities freely offered every young man and every young woman to obtain a thorough mental endowment than by any other one characteristic of our nation. The right of women to take part in the direction of educational interests is already partially recognized among us; in this State they vote in local elections in which school trustees are chosen and various educational questions are submitted to the people. But is there any reason why they should not vote for those legislators who enact the general school statutes of the State and who determine the character of all its educational institutions?

THE REGULATION OF TAXATION.

Why, too, should not women participate in the choice of those by whom taxes are laid on their property as well as on that of men? All females, but especially the mothers of families, are interested in those assessments which sometimes demand from one-fourth to one-third of that income on which the family depends for its support. Why should not wives vote with their husbands respecting these levies? And what shall we say of those widows and spinsters who own property—real estate which must be kept in condition by paid workmen, or stock in companies which use the labor of many hands,—and who yet are not permitted to vote with their employes concerning the proportion of their income which is to be taken for this or that public purpose? Here, indeed, is "taxation without representation." We believe there is no civilized country in the world, with the exception of our own, where property-owning women are

not given *some* share in the choice of those by whose authority they are taxed. We are convinced, too, that the American system of taxation, in general, is inferior to the systems of England and of the leading countries of Europe. We do not say that the taxation is actually more burdensome, but that the method of taxation is worse. In most of our States the law proposes to treat real estate and personal property alike, but the practical result of the law is to throw nine-tenths of the burden on real estate and farming lands, and one-tenth—in a very irregular way—on personalty. We speak now not of separate states or districts but of the whole country, including our large cities. Our present mode of taxing personalty is acknowledged by economists to be an egregious failure. Its demands lead even respectable citizens to practice evasion and falsification; its operation oppresses the more scrupulous and helpless part of the community, while the rich holders of personalty contribute to the public treasury only a very small part of what they should contribute. Individual citizens are not much to blame for this; it is the fault of the system. We look to the women's vote for help in tax reform.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

Is it necessary to say that women should have a voice in Temperance legislation? The liquor evil has destroyed innumerable homes, brought thousands of wives to desolation and left them struggling with the care of drunkards' children. It has ruined countless young men, who were the hope of their parents and who otherwise would have been dutiful sons and good citizens. Shall those who suffer so much from the alcoholic trade be required to submit helplessly while its harmful working is licensed and protected by public authority? No fair-minded man will deny woman a vote on the Temperance question.

Moreover, all law making which aims at moral ends—as preventing vice and promoting virtue—should have the privilege of appealing to our female citizens for the support

of their votes. It has received that support where women have had the franchise. While Washington was yet a territory woman suffrage was in operation here for several years, and during that time, the territory became too hot for gamblers and other immoral characters; and they emigrated in such numbers into British Columbia that a bill was introduced into the parliament there proposing female suffrage as a measure of self-defense. The Hon. John D. Robson said in parliament, "The women of Washington are voting all the gamblers out of Washington and they are coming over here." During this period Roger S. Greene, a cousin of United States Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, was chief justice of the territory. In a charge to a grand jury he said:

"The opponents of woman suffrage are allied with a solid phalanx of gamblers, prostitutes, pimps and drunkard-makers; a phalanx composed of all in each of those classes who know the interest of the class and vote according to it."

The judicial decision of 1887, which disfranchised the women of Washington, was based on a flimsy constitutional technicality, and was brought about by means of a case ingeniously trumped up by the keeper of a gambling house.

LAWS PROTECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

We have not space to tell of those laws specially designed for the benefit of women and girls, and of children and youth, which have been adopted in female suffrage states. The women's clubs, which have become so numerous throughout our Western States, have exerted a great influence where female suffrage has been granted. At their instance laws have been passed guarding the rights of married women to their own earnings, and other property—preventing discrimination against female teachers who hold the same grade of certificate and who do the same kind and amount of work as male teachers—introducing the study of domestic science into the higher educational institutions—establishing school libraries and public playgrounds—pro-

tecting young girls against seduction—regulating the employment of women and children, so that they may not be worked overtime, or in unhealthful surroundings—prohibiting baby-farming—safeguarding the adoption of infants and providing hospitals and kindergartens for little ones. These and other like laws have been mothered by female suffrage.

WOMEN AND MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

Finally, the ballots of women are needed, perhaps most of all, in our municipal affairs. It has often been said, and it is now generally conceded, that the government of towns and cities should be modeled after that of a business corporation. It should be wholly freed from the control of political parties, and should aim only at the wise and honest care of local interests. The mayor, aldermen and other urban officials should be considered the president, directors and officers of a joint stock company, of which every citizen is a member and which conducts a diversified business in the name of all the people. The department of streets, parks and public buildings provides for the convenient intercourse and the comfort and pleasure of the population at large. The police department represses crime and enforces the ordinances passed by the city council. The department of health oversees hospitals and guards against infectious diseases and unsanitary conditions. The department of public utilities, if we may use that name, sees to the lighting of the city, to its water supply and its drainage. The fire department protects life and property from the devouring flames. The finance department takes charge of the city purse and superintends the collection and disbursements of money. And there may be yet other departments, all intended to protect and promote the welfare of the inhabitants. As women no less than men are affected by the workings of municipal government and are especially fitted to judge regarding some of them, why should they not share in the election of city officers? This holds true of all women, but especially of those who are the owners of homes and of

other properties within the corporation limits. Surely such stockholders in the comprehensive civic company should have some say in the choice of directors and managers.

In the kingdom of England and in the different Dominions of the British Empire the right of female property owners to take part in municipal elections is fully recognized, and as a consequence, the cities of our British cousins—for example, those of Canada—have a management much superior to that of our cities. Indeed, the government of great American municipalities under the operation of manhood suffrage has become a reproach and a by-word throughout the earth.

THE ACTUAL WORKING OF FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

For it cannot be too earnestly borne in mind that what is needed for good government in State or Nation, but, above all, in cities, is *good men in public office.* No matter how perfect the constitution of a political organization may be, no matter how wise and beneficent its laws and regulations, if unprincipled men gain control of its government, that government will become largely a den of thieves and a refuge of evil-doers. Therefore, we say that the great advantage to be expected from woman suffrage is not the adoption of excellent measures, though that is to be hoped for, but the election of worthy men—all really depends on that and, according to the testimony of many competent witnesses, this is the chief result which has followed female suffrage wherever it has become an established institution. The statesmen of Australia, of New Zealand, of Colorado, of Idaho, of Utah and of Wyoming unanimously attest this fact. Governor Shafroth, of Colorado, says:

"Woman's influence has always been for good, and in no sphere has this been better demonstrated than in politics. * * * This influence has been felt most perhaps in the character of nominations made by each political party. Many men, after denouncing a candidate as dishonest and

immoral before his nomination, support him at the election because they believe that they must have a consistent party record in order to get subsequent recognition from their party. Women have no political records to keep consistent. Only in the rarest instances are they candidates for office, and they vote more frequently than men against reprehensible candidates. Women's presence in politics has introduced an independent element which compels better nominations."

Former U. S. Senator Teller, of Colorado, says:

"The granting of the franchise to the women of Colorado has certainly improved politics in a certain direction very materially. It has served to secure a better class of candidates for election offices than would otherwise have been chosen. Women are much more discriminating as to the class, standing and character of candidates than men."

Governor Brady, of Idaho, says:

"Politically, the effect of woman suffrage has been immeasurably uplifting and beneficial. Men who, before woman suffrage was adopted, attempted to control the political situation through organizations perfected in saloons and at the headquarters of political bosses, have been deposed from leadership, and the standard of citizenship has been raised. Better men have been induced to become candidates for office, and the administration of governmental affairs has been constantly placed in more honest hands."

Senator Borah, of Idaho, says:

"While woman suffrage in Idaho has not produced all the reforms its advocates predicted, it has resulted in none of the evils its opponents threatened. There has not been the faintest symptoms of any such evils. It does not break up homes. It does not unsex the women. It does not drag woman out of her sphere. It does not make a sex party. Even the campaign orators never appeal to women voters as such. And it has forced the parties to be more particular about the *moral character* of their candidates."

George H. Sutherland, U. S. Senator, of Utah, says:

"Women suffrage in Utah works admirably. When it

was first put in operation I very much doubted the wisdom of the idea, but my mind has changed on that point. * * * The fact that women have a vote with us compels the nomination of *better* and *cleaner* men for office, and the upward trend of selecting the best men for public office has brought about the nomination of tickets by all parties much better than under the old order of things."

Francis E. Warren, United States Senator from Wyoming, writes:

"The woman suffrage law has been in operation in Wyoming over thirty-nine years. Under its operation, in all that time, as large a percentage of women have voted as of men, and they have at all times exercised the voting privilege properly and without restraint. * * * The exercise of the right of suffrage has in no degree lowered or injured the standing of women in our State. They are intelligently active in public affairs, but withal, womanly and devoted to home and family as their sisters in states where the privilege is not enjoyed. There is nothing in our experience in Wyoming to warrant the opinion that woman suffrage has been unwise; on the contrary, it has elevated public morals, and has been a material factor in maintaining the good local government we enjoy."

Much more testimony, such as the foregoing, respecting the practical operation of woman suffrage, might be adduced; and many statistics might be given. But we shall not overtax the patience of our readers. We believe that no further argument is at present needful to justify the contention that the women of our State should be granted the privilege of participating equally with the men in all elections.

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Woman's Sphere or Position,

Honestly Considered.

I am led by the Spirit to write some of my researches in the Bible concerning Woman's Position and the Justice of God.

We will begin with Genesis i. 26: "And God said let US (plural) make man in OUR IMAGE, and in our (plural) likeness, and let them (plural) have dominion." Verse 27: "In the image of God created he him, male and female created he them." And God blessed them equal in every particular.

Not only the human race, but all living creatures were created, male and female, with equal rights and privileges. The vegetable and also the mineral kingdom, carry the male and female throughout. There must have been a female in the beginning, or whence the likeness of the female that runs through the entire creation?

From whence the relation Father in heaven, without the necessary complement mother? Or how the family complete without the complete head? We read of "the only BEGOTTEN of the Father," "the only begotten son of God." From whom begotten, or how a SON without a mother? We can take the trinity: God the Father, the Holy Spirit the mother and Christ the Son. In the history of the first two centuries of Christianity, it is stated that Christ spoke of the "Holy Spirit, my mother." And also in the same book it is stated that the inspired writers made the name of the Holy Spirit feminine. But the translators, who were not inspired, changed the name and wrote the trinity all masculine.

I will say here, that if God made one half the human race inferior, or subjects for the other half, he is not a just God, but an unjust tyrant.

Men say that Eve was the cause of all the sin, and that man would not have had to labor if Eve had not taken the fruit. We will see what the Bible says. Gen. ii. 5: "There was not a MAN to TILL THE GROUND." That is plain that the thought in making man was that he should labor. Verse 7: "And the Lord God formed man," * * * and man became a living soul. * * * Verse 8: "And the Lord God planted a garden." * * * Verse 15: "And took the man and put him into the garden of Eden to DRESS it and to KEEP it. Dressing and keeping it was surely labor. "And the Lord God commanded the MAN, saying, of the tree of knowledge thou shalt not eat of it." Now note this: The woman had not yet been created, therefore it was the man alone that was commanded, not the woman. Afterward, "made he a woman and brought her to Adam."

"Now the serpent." I have seen the serpent pictured like a snake coiled around a tree. How absurd to represent the serpent as a snake, or to stand on its tail, talking to the woman with its forked tongue. It is more reasonable to say it was the "old serpent the devil and Satan." We read that the devil transforms himself into an angel of light to deceive. And my opinion is that the old serpent transformed himself into a being of higher order to tempt the woman, and said: "For God doth know your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall know as gods." And when the woman saw a tree to make one wise, "she took of the fruit and did eat, and gave to her HUSBAND WITH HER, and he did eat."

See. She was not alone, but her husband was with her. We cannot know how long from the creation until the fall, as the scripture does not give dates. But we suppose it must have been many years, as you will notice in Heb. xi., the Hebrews "by faith passed through the Red sea," and the next verse says, "By faith the walls of Jerico fell." We might suppose from the reading that the two events happened in one day, but there was an interval of forty years. We may suppose that there was an interval of at least one hundred years, as "Adam lived one hundred and thirty years and begat a son." And the tempter had many years to try his arts before he succeeded.

Adam and his wife hid themselves, and the Lord God called: "ADAM, where art THOU?" (second person singular)

"I was afraid because I was naked." "Who told THEE that thou wast naked? Hast THOU eaten of the tree that I commanded THEE that thou should not eat?" Then Adam put the blame on the woman. And God said to the woman: "What is this that thou hast done?" The woman said: "The serpent beguiled me." She was deceived, but it seems Adam was not. Paul says Adam was not deceived, but the woman was. Which think you was the greater sinner, the one that was deceived or the one that sinned knowingly and deliberately? And God said to the serpent. "Thou art cursed, the seed of the woman shall bruise thy head." And unto the woman he said: "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow; and thy desire shall be to thy husband." This was the woman's curse. Unto Adam he said: "Because THOU hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded THEE, saying thou shalt not eat of it, cursed is the ground for THY sake."

Notice the 17th, 18th and 19th verses of Gen. iii. Also notice that the serpent, Adam and Eve each received a separate curse or penalty; and God did not intend the woman to bear the man's penalty any more than the man to bear the woman's or the serpent's. And it is only that man is able and willing to shift his curse of labor on to women that the women have the double. So the Lord God drove out the man from the Garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he was taken. The woman was not taken from the ground, and was not driven out. But as her desire was toward her husband, she followed him out into the world, where she had not been before, as she was created inside of Eden and Adam outside.

I think I have shown plainly that the woman was not alone in the transgression, and that our God is just.

I have been asked why there was no woman priests in the Jewish church. The reason was, that the priests were all butchers, and it was not a position for women. But there was woman judges and prophets, and a woman led the army of Barak to victory. Miriam was one with Moses and Aaron in bringing the Israelites out of Egypt. Mic. vi. 4. Women did not have to offer sacrifices as men had to, and women did not have to be circumcised. They were the Lord's chosen without ceremony. The first woman's property rights convention is recorded in Numbers xxvii. And the Lord said the women had spoken right, and to give them a possession of an inheritance as they requested.

We will now come to the advent of the Redeemer. In the advent of Christ women were honored above kings and priests. Christ's mother was a woman, his father was not a man, but the Most High God. What an honor to be the mother of the Son of God, the Redeemer of the world.

Women rejoiced over Christ's advent before the angels sang glory to God and peace on earth. When Christ was taken to the temple to present him before the Lord "Simeon took him in his arms," etc. But Anna spoke of him to all who looked for redemption in Jerusalem. Anna preached Christ first to the Jews long before John the Baptist.

Christ first declared himself the Messiah to the woman at Jacob's well, and sent her to preach to the MEN at Samaria, and "many believed for the saying of the woman." She was the first preacher to the Gentiles, for the Jews and Samaritans have no dealings. Women never denied Christ. Peter denied him with oaths and curses, and then called the women "the weaker vessel." Men spit on Christ and crucified him; his disciples all forsook him and fled; the women followed him to the cross and tomb, and beheld where he was laid, and were at the sepulchre very early in the morning and met the angel, who told them to preach a risen Savior to the MEN.

Christ honored women with his first appearance after he rose from the dead, and sent them to preach the glad tidings to his disciples and tell them where to meet him. The women ran with fear and great joy and told the good news, which seemed to the disciples as "idle tales." Peter and John ran to the sepulchre, but they did not see Christ or the angel, but had to wait, as the women told them.

After Christ's ascension the disciples returned to Jerusalem to wait the promise of the baptism of the Spirit, "and continued in prayer with the women and Mary," and they were ALL filled with the holy ghost, and began to speak with other tongues. Certainly the ALL included the women as well as the men. Phillip had four daughters who prophecied: Also Phebe, Lydia, Priscilla, Dorcas, and of honorable women not a few. Paul exhorts "wives to be subject," etc. Paul was only a man of like passions and prejudices, and could make mistakes as well as other good men. But Christ was the Son of God, and could not make mistakes; and if it had been the will of God that women should be subject Christ would not have made the mistake not to tell us. And there is not one sentence in all his teachings where he

either commanded or exhorted any woman to be subject to any man, or ever spoke of woman as inferior. There has been no age of the world in which woman's equal or superior ability has not been shown. In the foreign mission work, in the "Woman's Crusade," in the W. C. T. U., in every enterprise they have advanced. Even the originator of Sunday-schools, Hanna Ball started the first Sunday-school at Highwycomb, Eng., in 1769. Some fourteen years before Robert Rakes, at the suggestion of Sophia Cook, started that Sunday-school at Gloucester.

With all these facts before us we also know that this day women have to fight every step of their way to success through strong opposition. In the light of these facts God's justice is plain. and only unjust in the light of human oppression and injustice.

JUDITH MCCOY, Empire, Ohio.

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WOMAN'S WORK AND WAGES.*

By ELEANOR WHITING.

Reprinted from Lippincott's Magazine for May.

The aim of this paper is to present as clearly and directly as possible some practical aspects of woman's work and wages, by a woman who writes from experience and not from theory, and who believes, —

1st, That it is not to the advantage of the average woman, new or old, to become a direct wage-earner; and,

2d, That it is not to the advantage of society that she should become a direct wage-earner.

My first reason for believing that the average woman is better off not to enter the labor market as a direct wage-earner is that, as things stand now, and have stood for thousands of years, she has an income as an indirect wage-earner assured to her by marriage: in other words, matrimony is a profession for which, by nature, tradition, and education, she is better fitted than for any other. The centuries have moulded her to that end, just as, by the cultivation of such intellectual habits as accuracy and application, they have moulded the average man to the purposes of direct wage-earning.

But money, you say, is a sordid criterion by which to rate the advantages of marriage. So it is, and I do it only to prove that my estimate of marriage as the natural and proper means of woman's support is based neither upon sentiment nor upon convention, but upon actuality, and in no way interferes with my belief that woman finds her noblest and highest development in the married state. But, aside from all the riches of affection and sentiment that are indissolubly connected with the marriage bond (over which I must pass as foreign to my subject), there is the respect attaching to the married state for woman which attaches to no other calling she can follow. So distinctly is this recognized that there never has been a civilized nation — Greece excepted — in which, theoretically, at least, a noble position has not been accorded to the married woman in the family and in society. This is the case in America to-day, in spite of what looks like a widespread disinclination on the part of both men and women to marry.

The usage of centuries has confirmed woman in the rights, duties, and prerogatives of this position; and the laws of the land maintain her in it.

* Reprinted from Lippincott's Magazine.

Indeed, in some parts of the United States she has more than justice done her, — in New York, for instance, where the married woman's control of her own and her husband's property exceeds his control over her property or his own.

With woman's entrance into the labor market and her industrial independence has come a social independence, which has begotten not only a distaste for the domestic duties and relations natural to her, but also a restless desire to substitute for them new activities and powers. Marriage no longer satisfies ; women are no longer content to stay at home, but clamor to go out in the world and earn money and be independent. They want to " do something," they say.

Doubtless our increasing luxury and worldliness have something of this to answer for. The family income, which was large enough to satisfy the wife in her young days, and has sufficed to bring up the family, cannot give the grown-up daughter all she wants in the way of dress and amusement, so she begins to " do something." Old-fashioned men are slow to see that women nowadays require something more for their happiness than food and clothing. Many a girl becomes a self-supporter as much because she finds this sort of dependence galling as from a desire for more money. Indeed, after the grades of labor are passed into which women are pressed by sheer necessity, there remains a broad belt of varied activities followed by women whose impulse in working is sentimental revolt against the old order rather than any real financial need.

When the New Woman wants to " do something," what she really means is that she wishes to exchange her old, indefinite, heterogeneous duties for the definite duties in which she sees the majority of the men about her engaged. How this dislike for her own proper sphere came about I cannot stop to trace ; but I believe that she makes a great mistake in supposing that her work will become more valuable by being shifted off the old trolley wires on to the new. Woman in the old days was not a drone in the hive, when she kept the house, bore children, read a little, did a little embroidery and painting and music, had a regard for her servants, maintained kindly relations with the poor, did her part in the church. I know that a life so spent never summed itself up in a book published, or a seat in a School Board, or an honorable mention at a foreign university. It was passed in no definite labor, but it nevertheless bore definite and very precious fruit.

Married women may be considered as having settled the question of self-support. It is upon those who do not marry that the problem presses. We often hear it said that the world is hard on women, and many people talk as if some exceptions might and should be made from the laws of modern industrialism in favor of women wage-earners. The world is hard, but no harder, no more unjust, to women than to men ; and no legislation was ever

yet enacted to protect or favor by artificial means one class of labor against another that harm did not result. If woman enters the business field, she must accept the conditions existing; and those conditions are the laws of supply and demand, and the competition resulting from their operation. No man or woman can enter the labor market and not compete, unless he or she possesses quite exceptional qualifications; and to compete is to strive with others for the same thing. Competition is a warfare, where your success is my defeat, where whoever takes up arms must fight, and where the one who exercises the greatest skill and the greatest endurance wins. Competition involves and compels the survival of the fittest as rigorously as do the laws of life and death.

That the woman who enters the field of business competes at a great disadvantage, owing to her physical disabilities, her lack of business habits and technical training, is true; but if women are to work on the same terms with men (and ask yourself what other terms are possible), they must accept the same conditions that men accept.

If a one-legged man should insist on being a letter-carrier, we might admire his courage and perseverance, but we should urge him to choose an occupation for which he was better suited. He might say with truth that the world is hard on one-legged men: doubtless it is. But what is hardness to the one-legged man is simply justice to the two-legged man. To make special regulations in behalf of cripples would be to create false conditions that could in the end result only in harm. To make special regulations in behalf of women could only have the same result.

The manner in which the laws of supply and demand operate over the destinies of women is very well illustrated by the controversy with regard to the salaries paid to women school-teachers.

What determines the rate of any kind of wages? The proportion of the supply of labor to the demand for it. The teacher market has for years been overstocked, and every June sees the congestion increase. If a vacancy occurs in a primary or grammar school it can be filled immediately from a long waiting-list of well-qualified candidates.

The inevitable result of a congestion of the labor market is to lower wages. Each candidate practically underbids the other, and the wage that will satisfy the lowest bidder is the wage that all must accept. You will teach for eight dollars a week, Miss S. will do it for seven dollars and fifty cents, Miss T. for seven dollars. I need money so much that I would rather do it for six dollars and seventy-five cents than not do it at all. I practically determine the wages for all the others, who must abide by it or exclude themselves from the chance of engagement. The school board set the price of this kind of teaching at six dollars and seventy-five cents, and then proceed to pick out the best workers they can get for the money. So

long as they can engage satisfactory help at that price — and they always can, because the number of girls who must and will teach is constantly increasing and never decreasing — they will never raise it. Why should they? They are in the position of a city contractor, one of whose duties it is to buy female labor to fill the public schools, and another to make the city's appropriations go as far as possible. There is no more reason why a school-teacher should expect more than the market price than why a mason should.

As to the assertion — also apparently true — that women teachers are paid less for doing a given kind and amount of work than men teachers who perform the same work, the champions of our sex choose to ignore the prejudice which exists in the public mind in favor of intrusting the highest school positions to men, — a prejudice which is strengthened by the fact that the supply of men fitted to fill them is much smaller than the supply of women fitted to fill the positions which the public likes to see filled by women. Now, a popular prejudice has its market value, like everything else; and you cannot annihilate it by ignoring it. A popular prejudice which can, year after year, reserve the most important and the most lucrative positions for men, and which is strong enough to set a premium of hundreds of dollars upon their services, acts just as practically to exclude women and to keep them poor as does some real mental or physical disability. But we have Abraham Lincoln's word for it that you cannot deceive all the people all the time, so that if men continue to be better paid and better treated by school boards all over the country, it can be only because they deserve it.

I grant, of course, that all this is hard for the woman wage-earner; but I believe that it is strict justice, and I do not see, if the conditions were yet more bitter, how she would have a right to complain, as she often does, that she is not receiving her due. For at present the woman is not the equal of the man in the labor market. An average woman cannot do as much work, or as good work, or as varied work, as an average man could in her position; she is not his equal as a producer. For one thing, her labor is apt not to be continuous; she is far more likely than a man to be kept away by the weather, by sickness, by some special exigency in her family, etc. Again, her labor is apt not to be permanent; that is, it may cease at any moment. In 1895 the average age of women wage-earners was found to be twenty-two years. It is not stating it too broadly to say that any woman, at any time, may get married. Her employer knows in engaging her that when this opportunity occurs she will leave him; and the fact that she grows more valuable to him the longer she stays will not prevent her from leaving. However capable, however loyal, however ambitious she may be, she will throw up her employer's advantage, she will fling to the winds all

her past acquirements, all her future prospects, for the sake of getting married.

Marriage, actual or potential, vitiates woman's worth as a wage-earner, because it weakens her hold on her work, and (in the former case) eventually withdraws her from it altogether. On the other hand, marriage adds to the permanency and continuity of man's labor. For love of wife and child he will work harder and better and longer; society recognizes him as a more valuable factor; he is more complete married than single. A woman becomes more complete by marriage also, but her completeness not only fails to confirm her in her trade relations, but tends always to withdraw her from them into domestic relations.

The woman wage-earner has also to acknowledge that there are some things that she can seldom do as well, and other things that she can never by any possibility do as well, as man. Where positions call for large physical endowments, she is defeated by the natural gifts of men. She cannot with the greatest determination or talent in the world make herself large like a man; she cannot manufacture a big, resonant voice like a man; she cannot exercise the unconscious policemanship of a man.

I cannot illustrate this point of woman's trade inferiority to man better than by telling how these facts operate against a woman in the business I know most about, — the newspaper business. A good man reporter is expected to know enough to write intelligently about anything, from a godet skirt to the single tax. He must work as long as there is anything to do, he must do whatever he is told to do, he must go wherever he is sent. If a fire breaks out or a murder is committed, he must follow it up at any sacrifice of personal safety or comfort. Now, what woman reporter could equal such a competitor? What woman would consent to place herself in a position to be called upon to compete with him? She could not report a race or a political debate so intelligently, because she has not the prerequisite sporting and political knowledge; she could not manage a sparring match or the sessions of the police courts, because she would find the work too distasteful; she could not respond to the sudden call of her chief to investigate a freshet or to walk a long distance to the scene of some important occurrence at half-past two o'clock in the morning, because it would not be proper for her to go. These are all things that by no possibility can she ever do as easily or as well as the men reporters. And in yet another respect her work is inferior to theirs, because the things that she is strongest in are precisely those which are of the least news value. An afternoon tea is not equal as a piece of news to a runaway; the most eloquent article on the care of the complexion or the care of infants will not sell a paper like a second-class murder or railroad accident. She is the inferior of the men, you see, not only in kind, but in degree. A stupid

man may be — often is — the trade superior of a very bright woman.

What then? Is the world unjust? Is her employer hard to the woman reporter? Not at all. The man reporter long ago set the pace; if the woman wants to run the race at all, she must either adapt her step to his or devise a new one of her own. If she succeeds, it will not be by luck or partiality; if she fails, it will not be through any injustice.

But competition is not confined to men and women: it exists between woman and woman, and the conflict between skilled labor and crude labor among women is as cruel as between the man and the woman. Much of the suffering of working women arises from competition with their own sex; for it is evident that, when women of exceptional abilities and advantages enter into competition with those who are inferior in either, the same hardship must result to the latter as if they were the rivals of men.

When women from well-to-do families force themselves into the labor market, they buy their "individuality" and "independence" at the cost of untold misery to their poorer sisters. Jacob Riis says that the wage of needlewomen in New York city has been brought almost to starvation point by the product of girls in the rural parts of Maine, who, residing in their fathers' homes, in localities where living is cheap, earn several dollars a week each by the fine underwear they make and send to New York for sale. They are not supporting themselves: they are simply earning pin-money.

It is just such competition, not the hardness of the business world, or the injustice of men, that grinds women down; and I never hear of girls with all the means of comfortable and even elegant living at their command becoming kindergartners, stenographers, nurses, and clerks without a feeling of indignation at their inhumanity. If they work for pay, they are often taking what morally belongs to another; if they work for nothing, they are directly depreciating the value of the services of those women who must sell theirs.

I said at the beginning of this paper that I thought women bettered themselves financially, legally, and socially by becoming indirect wage-earners through marriage rather than direct wage-earners in the world of business. I should like to add — and, if you have followed me with anything like sympathy, you will agree with me — that a woman also betters herself in point of happiness. Each career has its trials, its pains; but I believe that the conditions of most married women's lives bring to them more of the things that satisfy a woman's deepest, truest nature than a business life brings to a self-supporting woman.

The displacement of labor caused by the overstocking of the labor market with women help, while it has not resulted in the financial prosperity of the female wage-earner, has acted unfavorably upon the earning capacity

of men. Sometimes their wages are cut because of the competition of women; sometimes they are displaced altogether by women. The young man who should marry and become the head of a family finds himself displaced at the counter or in the office by a young woman who may be obliged to struggle single-handed with poverty for years because the man who is her social mate cannot afford to marry her. You can see what a loss this arrangement is to the life of the nation, the core of which is the family. You can also see, when large numbers of women succeed in ousting men from a line of occupation, how much suffering might be entailed on the displaced men and their families. If the time should ever come when woman would compete on terms of perfect equality with man, so that wages were equally divided, the labor troubles that must result would assume the proportions of a public calamity. A man would not then continue to earn say fifteen dollars a week, while his wife earned a like amount; he would earn seven dollars and fifty cents, and she seven dollars and fifty cents. Not only would the family be no richer in consequence of the successful competition of the wife with the husband, but it would be unspeakably poorer, because that competition would withdraw from the home its greatest source of well-being, — I mean the mother. How detrimentally would such an arrangement react upon the character and development of the children! How it would sap the ideality of life, not only within the four walls of each home, but throughout the community and the nation!

I hold the smallness of wages and the hardships of competition that women are forced to endure a blessed safeguard to civilization, and to woman herself. The world could spare its money more easily than it could spare its love and romance, its tender relations, its beauty, and the grace and loveliness brought to it by the spiritual influence of good women.

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(Successor to Civic Forum Lecture Bureau)

PRESENTS

MRS. G. C. ASHTON JONSON

(OF ENGLAND)



LECTURER ON PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS

MRS. G. C. ASHTON JONSON (*Wife of Mr. G. C. Ashton Jonson, Lecturer on Music*) is president of three Women's Political Associations in the South of England. She is on the official list of speakers for the Women's Liberal Federation and for the last four years has devoted most of her time to public speaking. She is one of the original founders of the Sesame Club, London, which has for its aims the study and promotion of educational ideals and she has also helped to start the Sesame House for Home-Life Training, in connection with the Club. While at Chautauqua, N. Y. last summer, Mrs. Jonson addressed audiences in the Hall of Philosophy, and after her address on English politics, Mr. John Graham Brooks, who was present, wrote the following word of appreciation:

"Mrs. Ashton Jonson's lecture at Chautauqua on English politics was so admirable that I wish heartily American women generally could hear her. She speaks with such mastery of her subject, so clearly and convincingly that she ought to be of real service among ourselves."

LECTURE SUBJECTS

LECTURE I.

Democracy at Work in England. The Parliament Bill and its Consequences. Home Rule for Ireland.

LECTURE II.

The Awakening of India. King George's Visit. The Dawn of Race Consciousness. World Federation.

LECTURE III.

The Woman in National Life. In Family Life. The Woman's Movement in England.

COMMENTS ON MRS. G. C. ASHTON JONSON

FROM MR. MELVIL DEWEY, President Lake Placid Club, Lake Placid, N. Y.

"By request, Mrs. G. C. Ashton Jonson of England, spoke several times to the members of the Lake Placid Club on English Politics and Problems. All were charmed with the clearness, simplicity and masterful knowledge of her topics with which she spoke. We felt we were not listening to a formal lecture, but that one who had been a part of the life and knew it intimately was sharing this personal knowledge. No woman has spoken at the Club during its 16 years who has at once so charmed and instructed her audience."

FROM A SEWICKLEY, PA. PAPER.

"Mrs. G. C. Ashton Jonson of England, lectured before the members of the Edgeworth Club and the Woman's Club of Sewickley Valley. The subject of Mrs. Jonson's lecture was 'The Political Crisis in England,' which under the brilliant treatment of Mrs. Jonson became as interesting as the most exciting novel."

FROM MRS. B. T. VINCENT, President Chautauqua Woman's Club.

"It gives me great pleasure to testify to the effectiveness of Mrs. G. C. Ashton Jonson as a speaker. Her wide and accurate information concerning the political and philanthropic work being done in her country is invaluable. Above all Mrs. Jonson is a womanly woman, having at heart a desire to help in the world's work."

FROM THE CHAUTAUQUAN DAILY.

"The audience was keenly responsive to Mrs. Jonson's charm of manner and simplicity and earnestness of speech."

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THE FIRST CONVENTION

EVER CALLED TO DISCUSS THE

Civil and Political Rights of Women,

SENECA FALLS, N. Y., JULY 19, 20, 1848.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

A Convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., on Wednesday and Thursday, the 19th and 20th of July current; commencing at 10 o'clock A. M. During the first day the meeting will be exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend. The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and other ladies and gentlemen, will address the Convention.*

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* This call was published in the *Seneca County Courier*, July 14, 1848, without any signatures. The movers of this Convention, who drafted the call, the declaration and resolutions were Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Mary Ann McClintock, and Jane C. Hunt.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce; in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given; as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate

position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation,—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the state and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions, embracing every part of the country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this declaration.

Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eunice Newton Foote, Mary Ann McClintock, Martha C. Wright, Jane C. Hunt, Amy Post, Catharine A. F. Stebbins, Mary H. Hallowell, Charlotte Woodward, Sarah Hallowell.

Richard P Hunt, Samuel D. Tilman, Elisha Foote, Frederick Douglass, Elias J. Doty, James Mott, Thomas McClintock.

This Declaration was unanimously adopted and signed by 32 men and 68 women.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas the great precept of nature is conceded to be, "that man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone, in his Commentaries, remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and of no validity; for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator—and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation, by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak, and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior, that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause, by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth, growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with the interests of mankind.

The only resolution which met opposition was the 9th, demanding the right of suffrage which, however, after a prolonged discussion was adopted. All of the meetings throughout the two days were largely attended, but this, like every step in progress, was ridiculed from Maine to Louisiana.

The First and Closing Paragraphs of Mrs. Stanton's Address, Delivered at Seneca Falls, N. Y., July 19, 20, 1848:

I should feel exceedingly diffident to appear before you at this time, having never before spoken in public, were I not nerved by a sense of right and duty, did I not feel the time had fully come for the question of woman's wrongs to be laid before the public, did I not believe that woman herself must do this work; for woman alone can understand the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of her own degradation. Man cannot speak for her, because he has been educated to believe that she differs from him so materially, that he cannot judge of her thoughts, feelings, and opinions by his own. Moral beings can

only judge of others by themselves. The moment they assume a different nature for any of their own kind, they utterly fail. The drunkard was hopelessly lost until it was discovered that he was governed by the same laws of mind as the sober man. Then with what magic power, by kindness and love, was he raised from the slough of despond and placed rejoicing on high land.

Let a man once settle the question that a woman does not think and feel like himself, and he may as well undertake to judge of the amount of intellect and sensation of any of the animal creation as of woman's nature. He can know but little with certainty, and that but by observation.

Among the many important questions which have been brought before the public, there is none that more vitally affects the whole human family than that which is technically called Woman's Rights. Every allusion to the degraded and inferior position occupied by women all over the world has been met by scorn and abuse. From the man of highest mental cultivation to the most degraded wretch who staggers in the streets do we meet ridicule, and coarse jests, freely bestowed upon those who dare assert that woman stands by the side of man, his equal, placed here by her God, to enjoy with him the beautiful earth, which is her home as it is his, having the same sense of right and wrong, and looking to the same Being for guidance and support. So long has man exercised tyranny over her, injurious to himself and benumbing to her faculties, that few can nerve themselves to meet the storm ; and so long has the chain been about her that she knows not there is a remedy.

The whole social, civil and religious condition of woman is a subject too vast to be brought within the limits of one short lecture. Suffice it to say, for the present, wherever we turn, the history of woman is sad and dark, without any alleviating circumstances, nothing from which we can draw consolation.

* * * * * * * *

The world has never yet seen a truly great and virtuous nation, because in the degradation of woman the very fountains of life are poisoned at their source. It is vain to look for silver and gold from mines of copper and lead. It is the wise mother

that has the wise son. So long as your women are slaves you may throw your colleges and churches to the winds. You can't have scholars and saints so long as your mothers are ground to powder between the upper and nether millstone of tyranny and lust. How seldom, now, is a father's pride gratified, his fond hopes realized, in the budding genius of his son. The wife is degraded, made the mere creature of caprice, and the foolish son is heaviness to his heart. Truly are the sins of the fathers visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation. God, in his wisdom, has so linked the whole human family together, that any violence done at one end of the chain is felt throughout its length, and here, too, is the law of restoration, as in woman all have fallen, so in her elevation shall the race be recreated. "Voices" were the visitors and advisers of Joan of Arc. Do not "voices" come to us daily from the haunts of poverty, sorrow, degradation and despair, already too long unheeded. Now is the time for the women of this country, if they would save our free institutions, to defend the right, to buckle on the armor that can best resist the keenest weapons of the enemy—contempt and ridicule. The same religious enthusiasm that nerved Joan of Arc to her work nerves us to ours. In every generation God calls some men and women for the utterance of truth, a heroic action, and our work to-day is the fulfilling of what has long since been foretold by the Prophet—Joel, II, xxviii; "And it shall come to pass afterward that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophecy." We do not expect our path will be strewn with the flowers of popular applause, but over the thorns of bigotry and prejudice will be our way, and on our banners will beat the dark storm-clouds of opposition from those who have entrenched themselves behind the stormy bulwarks of custom and authority, and who have fortified their position by every means, holy and unholy. But we will steadfastly abide the result. Unmoved we will bear it aloft. Undauntedly we will unfurl it to the gale, for we know that the storm cannot rend from it a shred, that the electric flash will but more clearly show to us the glorious words inscribed upon it, "Equality of Rights."

Do You Know?

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DO YOU KNOW?

DO YOU KNOW that an amendment to the Constitution of New Hampshire will be voted upon March 10th, the effect of which, if carried, will be to permit New Hampshire women, possessing the qualifications of male electors, to vote at all elections?

DO YOU KNOW that this question of the right of women to self-government is one which is commanding the attention of the whole civilized world, and that many men of world-wide reputation have espoused it? This is true, and therefore the present situation demands that every voter shall give intelligent and conscientious examination into the merits of this question.

DO YOU KNOW that the women of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales may vote upon the same terms as men, in all elections except that of members of Parliament?

DO YOU KNOW that the English House of Commons has three times recorded itself in favor of full suffrage for women, the last time by a majority of 71, and that it would now be established but for the hereditary and unprogressive House of Lords?

DO YOU KNOW that many of the most prominent men in England, including the late Archbishop of Canterbury, have recorded themselves in its favor?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Sweden and Norway, with a slight property qualification, may vote in all elections except for members of Parliament?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Australia, numbering 800,000, the women of the Isle of Man, and of New Zealand, enjoy full suffrage upon the same terms as men? These governments, with the exception of the presidency, are quite as much Republics as our own.

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Wyoming have voted upon the same terms as men since 1869; the women of Colorado since 1893; the women of Utah and Idaho since 1896? Are not the women of New Hampshire as worthy of trust as any of these?

DO YOU THINK that woman suffrage would add to the ignorant vote? Instead, it would increase the educated vote. If women were enfranchised, more women than men in the United States could read their ballots. In New Hampshire 1.8 per cent. of the male population are illiterate and only 1.2 per cent of the female population. There are in New Hampshire 2,284 illiterate native-born males and only 1,556 illiterate native-born females; or 728 more illiterate native-born males than illiterate native-born females. Woman suffrage means more intelligence and a higher degree of education in New Hampshire politics.

DO YOU KNOW that the National Commissioner of Education reported that in 1899 the public schools graduated 36,124 girls and only 20,344 boys; that the whole number of girls in attendance at public high schools was 260,413 and of boys 189,187? In New Hampshire, in 1900, there were 210 boys graduated from the high schools and 266 girls.

DO YOU KNOW that the women graduated at our colleges and universities increased 148.7 per cent. between 1890 and 1900, while the men graduates increased 60.6 per cent.? There are a great many women who do not know enough to vote, and there are a great many men who do not know enough to vote. But it is plain that there are a great many women who know a great deal more than a great many men. Why disfranchise these intelligent women? In the building of civilization, is not intelligence the most powerful factor?

DO YOU THINK that woman suffrage will increase the vicious and criminal vote? In New Hampshire women constitute but 7 per cent. of the criminals. Is it not plain, then, that women will increase the moral vote? In Wyoming, after women had voted for more than twenty years upon the same terms as men, there were no women criminals in the State prison. In Idaho, Colorado and Utah, the per cent. of women criminals is far below the average of other States. Woman suffrage, therefore, does not increase the criminal vote among women, as some opponents have claimed it would. Is it not well known that women constitute a minority of drunkards, gamblers, thieves, counterfeiters, etc.? Is it not true that for every prostitute there are at least two men responsible for her immorality? Is it not true that in every immoral institution, and in every factor which tends to handicap the moral progress of society, women are in the minority? Is it not true that in the churches, and in all altruistic and moral movements whose chief motive is the uplifting of humanity, women are in the majority? Why, then, should their votes be feared? Senator Warren, of Wyoming, sums it up when he says: "Wyoming women nearly all vote, and since in Wyoming, as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil."

DO YOU KNOW that women are not disfranchised to-day because good men fear the influence of bad women on politics or of bad politics on good women, as is commonly reported; but because bad men fear the influence of good women on bad politics, and fear the influence of good politics over the affairs of bad men?

DO YOU THINK that woman suffrage would increase the foreign vote, as is often stated? During the last three years, 1,149,118 immigrants arrived in the United States. Of these only 383,975 were women—about one-third. For the last twenty-five years the number of women immigrants, in proportion to men immigrants, has been constantly decreasing. In New Hampshire, the Census of 1900 reports 44,513 foreign-born males and 43,594 foreign-born females—919 more males than females. This is a closer comparison than is usual in the United States. On the other hand, however, the Census of 1900 reports 160,866 native-born males in New Hampshire and 162,615 native-born females. If any conservative American citizen is frightened at the foreign vote, he should note that at present there are 116,353 more native-born than foreign-born men; but the preponderance will be even greater among women, for there are 119,021 more native-born than foreign-born women.

DO YOU KNOW why men are voters—by what guarantee they hold their right to the ballot? A citizen's right to a share in government was yours by inheritance. Who secured it? What was the plea that won this privilege? If you wish to go back to the very beginning of modern democracy, we shall find it when the barons of England, holding vast estates, and furnishing the wealth that supported English wars, demanded of King John a share in his power, and enforced their demand with the ultimatum: No division of power, no more taxes from our estates. The king yielded, and the *Magna Charta* was written. It gave no rights to the masses of the people, but an imperial monarchy became a baronial aristocracy. The king and the barons ruled the people. Later, those barons were forced to divide their power with the smaller nobles; and the nobility, an aristocracy of birth, and of position emanating from the king, ruled the people. Later, the nobility divided its power with the rich merchants, and an aristocracy of wealth became the ruling power. In many countries of the old world, rich women voted upon this basis of power.

DO YOU KNOW that in the Colonies only taxpayers were voters; that many additional restrictions were put upon voters, such as nativity, moral and religious qualifications? Then came the great Revolution with its war cry, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Yet few, if any, applied this axiom to individuals. It was the claim of a colony against a mother country, as Hawaii or the Philippines might make it against the United States to-day if there were cause.

DO YOU KNOW that when that war was over, a strong movement for the establishment of an empire arose among our forefathers, and that the refusal of George Washington to accept the crown was probably the one cause which defeated its success? Do you know that at that time the greatest men in the world believed that all public peace would come to an end; that revolution, mobs, violence and anarchy would be substituted for law and order, if the masses of men should be entrusted with the citizen's right to the ballot? Therefore a conservative government was formed, based upon the opinion that property represented the chief stake in government, and hence that "taxation without representation was tyranny" for individual men as well as for colonies. It was called a republic, but it was in reality an aristocracy of property.

DO YOU KNOW that later a great movement, inspired by the broad views of human liberty held by American statesmen in the early days of government, arose, which in time removed the property qualifications? "Governments," said they, should "derive their just powers from the *consent* of the governed." The movement did not originate with, nor was it continued by, those who were not taxpayers. No appeal arose from them, no campaign to secure a coveted right to vote was conducted by them. Instead, those who owned property were generous, and argued: "Have we any right to impose laws and conditions upon people who may find them offensive? Who are we, that we should arrogate to ourselves the authority to rule over others? Is not the rule of the majority over the minority more just than the rule of property over no property?" It was a contest severely fought, but the victory came in time. Yet it was a hundred years from the date when the first orginal State removed the tax qualification before the last one did, so reluctant is power to divide its authority.

DO YOU KNOW that, even yet, there was no republic, but, instead, an aristocracy of color sprang up into the place of the aristocracy of property, and white men ruled black men, even though free? Later, when all black men were emancipated, broad-minded white men said: "Give the black man a chance. The ballot is the only peaceable means of defence; give it to him." And it was done. Later, the ballot was extended to several tribes of Indians, and now there is practically a universal suffrage for men in the United States. Do you know, throughout this century of change, that no argument for the extension of the suffrage to men was ever made except "Taxation without representation is tyranny" and "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"? The unanswerable logic of these two principles is the guarantee by which all men hold their ballots. You are a voter to-day because your predecessors in the history of the world were willing to divide their governmental authority with you. Brother, will you not remember the Golden Rule, and now do by others as others have done by you?

DO YOU KNOW why women were not included among voters when the government was based upon taxation? Because they were not taxpayers. When a woman married (and there were few unmarried women in those days), all her belongings passed to her husband's possession, and therefore he was recognized as the taxpayer, and often secured the right to a vote upon her property. Nor could a married woman accumulate property, for she was not permitted to control her own wages, nor to go into business on her own account.

DO YOU KNOW why women were not included among the voters when the tax qualifications were removed? Because a married woman was not yet a taxpayer, and could not use her wages. The law did not recognize her as an independent unit of society, but as a servant of her husband. Her services belonged, not to herself, but to him. If an accident befell her, she could not sue for damages, but her husband could sue in his own name for the loss of her services. When a woman married, she became legally dead. As Blackstone put it, "Husband and wife were one, and that one, the husband." No wonder our statesmen did not include these women, who had no legal existence, among the voters.

DO YOU KNOW that these conditions no longer exist, and that a husband and wife are now two? Married women may now own property. The law no longer recognizes them as the servants of their husbands, but as their equals. They probably inherit as much as men do, and the bulk of property is inherited. The women of Boston pay taxes upon $350,000,000 worth of property. Three-fifths of the taxpayers of New Orleans are women. Millions of dollars' worth of property are held by the women of New Hampshire. What is taxation? The confiscation of private property for public purposes. Who confiscates it? Voters. Is not an opportunity to consent or refuse, a just part of such procedure? Is there any reason why the taxation of the non-voter has suddenly become justifiable? Is it not as much tyranny to-day as in any other period of American history? Do you say such taxation is fair because some women taxpayers are satisfied to have it so? Is it right to continue a wrong because the persons wronged make small protest?

DO YOU SAY that the women of New Hampshire do not want to vote? Hon. John D. Long, ex-Secretary of the Navy, has said: "If one man or woman wants to exercise the right to vote, what earthly reason is there for denying it because other men and women do not wish to exercise it? If I desire to breathe the fresh air of heaven, shall I not cross my threshold because the rest of the family group prefer the stale atmosphere indoors?" When the government extends the privilege of voting to a citizen, it says to him: "We do not compel you to appear at the polls; we simply give you the liberty to vote, or not to vote, as you desire. You may express your consent or your protest against conditions, and may help make civilization, if you wish." On the other hand, when the government refuses the privilege, it says: "We compel you to remain away from the ballot-box. Whether you wish to vote or not, you shall not. We will impose upon you any laws which we see fit, and you shall have no official authority to protest or to consent."

DO YOU KNOW that the movement for woman suffrage is only one phase of the eternal warfare of all the centuries for human liberty? What justice is there in refusing the ballot to all women because some women have conceived no desire for it? Would you think it fair to disfranchise you because other men did not want to vote? It is estimated that 20,000 men in New Hampshire have never voted. Would it be fair to disfranchise others because of their indifference? Many women do not want to vote, and many men do not care to vote. Many women are as earnestly anxious to vote as any man in the land. Should not all men and women who are public-spirited and liberty-loving have the privilege of the ballot? Can we expect women to move in the interests of their own self-government, since no class of men has ever done so? Instead, the movement to divide official power has always come from those who possessed it, and never through the appeal of the disfranchised. Woman suffrage, like man suffrage, must come through the generous action of those who now possess the power to give it. In fact, more women, in proportion to their numbers, have asked for the ballot than have men of any disfranchised class in the history of the world.

DO YOU KNOW that, while women are ruled out, the highest intelligence and morality will never be fully represented in any community in its law, since intelligence and morality must always be averaged at the ballot-box with ignorance and immorality? It is plain that wherever intelligence and morality predominate over ignorance and immorality, the trend of civilization must be upward, and since women can offer a higher per cent. of morality, and certainly an equal amount of intelligence with men, it requires no demonstration to show that women will help to make the world better.

DO YOU KNOW that in no State where the people have extended the suffrage to women, and therefore have had opportunities to observe the facts of its actual operation, has there been any effort to repeal such laws? There are people in the States where women vote who were anti-suffragists before women were enfranchised, and who are so still, but every year the number of those who advocate woman suffrage is larger than the year before. Hundreds of the most representative people, both men and women, have testified time and again in print, over their own names, that woman suffrage has brought none of the evils which the opponents fear, but, instead, has brought much positive good. It has enlarged the outlook of

women, increased their intelligence and self reliance, has rendered homes happier because of more intellectual companionship, has ennobled men and dignified politics. In all the places where women vote, the opponents thus far have not found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results.

Wyoming led this movement in the West, and, after twenty years of experience, the United States Census showed for Wyoming a per cent. of criminality, pauperism, insanity, idiocy and divorce far below the average. Wyoming has to-day the smallest proportion of unmarried women of any State in the Union. During the twenty years from 1870 to 1890, divorce in the United States at large increased about three times as fast as the population. In the group of Western States, omitting Wyoming, it increased nearly four times as fast as the population. In Wyoming it increased only about half as fast as the population. Why should not New Hampshire, with its rugged Yankee sense and its record of courageous conviction, make this experiment in the East? Brother, we ask you to vote for it.

Woman Suffrage Headquarters:
Capitol St., Concord, N. H.

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Woman's Sphere or Position,

Honestly Considered.

I am led by the Spirit to write some of my researches in the Bible concerning Woman's Position and the Justice of God.

We will begin with Genesis i. 26: "And God said let US (plural) make man in OUR IMAGE, and in our (plural) likeness, and let them (plural) have dominion." Verse 27: "In the image of God created he him, male and female created he them." And God blessed them equal in every particular.

Not only the human race, but all living creatures were created, male and female, with equal rights and privileges. The vegetable and also the mineral kingdom, carry the male and female throughout. There must have been a female in the beginning, or whence the likeness of the female that runs through the entire creation?

From whence the relation Father in heaven, without the necessary complement mother? Or how the family complete without the complete head? We read of "the only BEGOTTEN of the Father," "the only begotten son of God." From whom begotten, or how a SON without a mother? We can take the trinity: God the Father, the Holy Spirit the mother and Christ the Son. In the history of the first two centuries of Christianity, it is stated that Christ spoke of the "Holy Spirit, my mother." And also in the same book it is stated that the inspired writers made the name of the Holy Spirit feminine. But the translators, who were not inspired, changed the name and wrote the trinity all masculine.

I will say here, that if God made one half the human race inferior, or subjects for the other half, he is not a just God, but an unjust tyrant.

Men say that Eve was the cause of all the sin, and that man would not have had to labor if Eve had not taken the fruit. We will see what the Bible says. Gen. ii. 5: "There was not a MAN to TILL THE GROUND." That is plain that the thought in making man was that he should labor. Verse 7: "And the Lord God formed man," * * * and man became a living soul. * * * Verse 8: "And the Lord God planted a garden." * * * Verse 15: "And took the man and put him into the garden of Eden to DRESS it and to KEEP it. Dressing and keeping it was surely labor. "And the Lord God commanded the MAN, saying, of the tree of knowledge thou shalt not eat of it." Now note this: The woman had not yet been created, therefore it was the man alone that was commanded, not the woman. Afterward, "made he a woman and brought her to Adam."

"Now the serpent." I have seen the serpent pictured like a snake coiled around a tree. How absurd to represent the serpent as a snake, or to stand on its tail, talking to the woman with its forked tongue. It is more reasonable to say it was the "old serpent the devil and Satan." We read that the devil transforms himself into an angel of light to deceive. And my opinion is that the old serpent transformed himself into a being of higher order to tempt the woman, and said: "For God doth know your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall know as gods." And when the woman saw a tree to make one wise, "she took of the fruit and did eat, and gave to her HUSBAND WITH HER, and he did eat."

See. She was not alone, but her husband was with her. We cannot know how long from the creation until the fall, as the scripture does not give dates. But we suppose it must have been many years, as you will notice in Heb. xi., the Hebrews "by faith passed through the Red sea," and the next verse says, "By faith the walls of Jerico fell." We might suppose from the reading that the two events happened in one day, but there was an interval of forty years. We may suppose that there was an interval of at least one hundred years, as "Adam lived one hundred and thirty years and begat a son." And the tempter had many years to try his arts before he succeeded.

Adam and his wife hid themselves, and the Lord God called: "ADAM, where art THOU?" (second person singular)

"I was afraid because I was naked." "Who told THEE that thou wast naked? Hast THOU eaten of the tree that I commanded THEE that thou should not eat?" Then Adam put the blame on the woman. And God said to the woman: "What is this that thou hast done?" The woman said: "The serpent beguiled me." She was deceived, but it seems Adam was not. Paul says Adam was not deceived, but the woman was. Which think you was the greater sinner, the one that was deceived or the one that sinned knowingly and deliberately? And God said to the serpent. "Thou art cursed, the seed of the woman shall bruise thy head." And unto the woman he said: "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow; and thy desire shall be to thy husband." This was the woman's curse. Unto Adam he said: "Because THOU hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded THEE, saying thou shalt not eat of it, cursed is the ground for THY sake."

Notice the 17th, 18th and 19th verses of Gen. iii. Also notice that the serpent, Adam and Eve each received a separate curse or penalty; and God did not intend the woman to bear the man's penalty any more than the man to bear the woman's or the serpent's. And it is only that man is able and willing to shift his curse of labor on to women that the women have the double. So the Lord God drove out the man from the Garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he was taken. The woman was not taken from the ground, and was not driven out. But as her desire was toward her husband, she followed him out into the world, where she had not been before, as she was created inside of Eden and Adam outside.

I think I have shown plainly that the woman was not alone in the transgression, and that our God is just.

I have been asked why there was no woman priests in the Jewish church. The reason was, that the priests were all butchers, and it was not a position for women. But there was woman judges and prophets, and a woman led the army of Barak to victory. Miriam was one with Moses and Aaron in bringing the Israelites out of Egypt. Mic. vi. 4. Women did not have to offer sacrifices as men had to, and women did not have to be circumcised. They were the Lord's chosen without ceremony. The first woman's property rights convention is recorded in Numbers xxvii. And the Lord said the women had spoken right, and to give them a possession of an inheritance as they requested.

We will now come to the advent of the Redeemer. In the advent of Christ women were honored above kings and priests. Christ's mother was a woman, his father was not a man, but the Most High God. What an honor to be the mother of the Son of God, the Redeemer of the world.

Women rejoiced over Christ's advent before the angels sang glory to God and peace on earth. When Christ was taken to the temple to present him before the Lord "Simeon took him in his arms," etc. But Anna spoke of him to all who looked for redemption in Jerusalem. Anna preached Christ first to the Jews long before John the Baptist.

Christ first declared himself the Messiah to the woman at Jacob's well, and sent her to preach to the MEN. at Samaria, and "many believed for the saying of the woman." She was the first preacher to the Gentiles, for the Jews and Samaritans have no dealings. Women never denied Christ. Peter denied him with oaths and curses, and then called the women "the weaker vessel." Men spit on Christ and crucified him; his disciples all forsook him and fled; the women followed him to the cross and tomb, and beheld where he was laid, and were at the sepulchre very early in the morning and met the angel, who told them to preach a risen Savior to the MEN.

Christ honored women with his first appearance after he rose from the dead, and sent them to preach the glad tidings to his disciples and tell them where to meet him. The women ran with fear and great joy and told the good news, which seemed to the disciples as "idle tales." Peter and John ran to the sepulchre, but they did not see Christ or the angel, but had to wait, as the women told them.

After Christ's ascension the disciples returned to Jerusalem to wait the promise of the baptism of the Spirit, "and continued in prayer with the women and Mary," and they were ALL filled with the holy ghost, and began to speak with other tongues. Certainly the ALL included the women as well as the men. Phillip had four daughters who prophecied: Also Phebe, Lydia, Priscilla, Dorcas, and of honorable women not a few. Paul exhorts "wives to be subject," etc. Paul was only a man of like passions and prejudices, and could make mistakes as well as other good men. But Christ was the Son of God, and could not make mistakes; and if it had been the will of God that women should be subject Christ would not have made the mistake not to tell us. And there is not one sentence in all his teachings where he

either commanded or exhorted any woman to be subject to any man, or ever spoke of woman as inferior. There has been no age of the world in which woman's equal or superior ability has not been shown. In the foreign mission work, in the "Woman's Crusade," in the W. C. T. U., in every enterprise they have advanced. Even the originator of Sunday-schools, Hanna Ball started the first Sunday-school at Highwycomb, Eng., in 1769. Some fourteen years before Robert Rakes, at the suggestion of Sophia Cook, started that Sunday-school at Gloucester.

With all these facts before us we also know that this day women have to fight every step of their way to success through strong opposition. In the light of these facts God's justice is plain, and only unjust in the light of human oppression and injustice.

JUDITH MCCOY, Empire, Ohio.

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"THE STRIKE OF A SEX."

BY

LILY BELL.

"FOR GOD AND RIGHT."

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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WOMEN! ARISE!

Oh, Women! Hear your Sisters call,
Awake! Arise! Throw off the pall
Of slumber deep, whose deadly calm
Must end at last, for naught can dam
The flood of life that comes to burst
The bonds asunder, which a curst
And blind humanity has bound
Around you.

No longer can you lie and dream
In sweet seclusion, lulled by songs
That dull the ears to tales of wrongs
From which your sex has suffered.
These clamour now for hearing,
Nor will silenced be, till, in your might
Of wakening power you rise to smite
The vampire broods that in these lands
Feed on their prey!

No time is this for trifling,
For thought of self, or childish fear
To lose the graces men hold dear;
These are but tinsel glitter if they hide
A coward's soul beneath them.
She who would bear the Woman's name
Must cast aside the world's fame,
Must dare at last, whate'er befall,
To give herself, her life, her all,
For Freedom's sake.

For Freedom only can avail
To lift the burden from her sex,
Breaking the petty chains that vex
Her soul, and hold her in subjection.
Subjection, not alone to power of man;
No less to habits, customs, creeds,
That rule her thoughts, her words, her deeds,
Choking the life that seeks to find
An outlet there!

Shake off these bands! And that work done;
Oh! Listen to your sisters' cry,
Without your aid they e'en must die,
For they can never rise alone.
Slaves of the greed and lust of men,
Their spirit crushed beneath the load
Of shame and misery, want, and care.
Listen! for 'tis the Voice of God,
"Women! Arise!"

"THE STRIKE OF A SEX."

"FOR GOD AND RIGHT."

By Lily Bell.

A CHRISTIAN PEOPLE!

'Tis a Christian people, my friends. Bear it well in your minds. Though it is not I who will blame you, if, at this time, when reading your paper, and listening to "the man in the street" who echoes its sentiments — fancying he is voicing his own— the fact be forgotten.

I must even excuse you if thus led astray you imagine 'tis a nation of hypocrites we are instead. But be charitable, good sirs, and remember, 'tis but the habit and custom to which we are born, which to many is all the religion they know. 'Tis our habit and custom, one day in the week, to bend the knee—metaphorically—to the memory of that great Reformer who in his time was but the "despised and rejected of men." 'Tis equally our habit and custom, both on that and the six remaining as well, to ourselves "despise and reject" in our own time the men and the women who dare to arise in the name of reform and preach a new gospel among us. But all things come round to him, or to her, who can wait, and these in their turn will receive the respect and applause of the crowd when circled around with Antiquity's halo, and vanished themselves from this mortal sphere.

It has ever been thus.

A cross for the Christ who appears in our midst; a crown only after we have driven Him out and away!

But again, I protest, 'tis merely our habit and custom, the only gods that we know, beside which no heathen idols can ever compare. These are but stocks and stones. Our gods are alive, and they live and they move and have their being within us. But thank God—the true God—their life is but mortal, though we think it divine for the time, and can not be eternal, but must die and give place to others, else would our world stand still, and our progress be never!

When little more than a child I refused to obey the decrees of the laws laid down by the habit and custom of that time, relating to women. I have lived to see most of these same cast aside as dead matter to rot on the dust heap of obsolete rubbish, neither mourned nor regretted. Nor are my years yet too many to forbid me to hope that I may see in the future no less change than I see in the present.

A few years hence we shall look back upon the events of these times with amazement, not unmixed with amusement, and marvel to think what fools men have been. "What," we shall ask, "has the fuss been about?" What could any expect but that the deliberate refusal of those in authority to deal fairly and squarely with the reason-

able demands of any section of the people must eventually result in an outburst of revolt. When of arguments of any weight there are none, and the power that is held is used to suppress justice, the people have no other alternative left but to fall back, too, upon force, the only argument which some authorities have brains enough to understand. And yet we raise a howl of holy horror when we see

Brave and Determined Women

—driven to desperation by the barefaced trickery of men who have not the decency or the manliness to face an honourable discussion of the question involved—throw conventions to the winds, and declare war to the death—or to victory! If there were a spark of the true British spirit left in our people, our papers would ring with admiration for the pluck and endurance displayed by these pioneers of reform, who have flung themselves body and spirit into the fight for the freedom and independence of their sex. But the old British spirit has vanished. The days of Bruce are no more. We are a nation of shopkeepers now, mostly concerned lest the goods that we show be not up to the fashion; And it is unfashionable for ladies to fight, so it must be suppressed, if only for decency's sake! What matter if evils be rampant, and their victims clamour loudly for succour! If you value your place on the shelf of our national shop, remember, sweet ladies, it is only retained by decorous mien and behaviour. Though the floors may sadly need sweeping, and the pilfering under your eyes be sorely provoking, e dumb and say nothing; leave the work in the hands of the idle and lazy apprentice who muddles around, and don't worry about it. Talk, if so be you must, but, for god's sake—the god of this world—sit still, and don't let any temptation bring you down from your perch. Just think of your beauty of polish, advertised by your owners, and don't damage their ware! and don't

Risk a Thought on Poor Sisters

behind you, who, failing a sale at full price, are condemned to go cheap, or for nothing!

We hear much of the "masculine methods" adopted by women. What price the "feminine subterfuge" now shamelessly adopted by their male opponents? We have been led to expect a woman to evade the use of reasonable argument to support her case, but here it is the man who seeks around for every plausible excuse to do so. His position is that of the proverbially feminine disputant,, "I don't want it, therefore I'm not going to have it." Conclusive, no doubt, but hardly convincing!

The woman is the proverbial coward of fiction, but fact gives us the man who flies out at his back door to escape the necessity of facing the enemy whom he has no power to vanquish in any fair fight. It is the women, we understand, who usually take underhand methods of gaining their ends, but now we have police court proceedings which are a scandal and disgrace to the men who conduct them; when these women are tried, every possible subterfuge being adopted to prevent the truth being made known.

It is women who are credited with unfair partiality, but here it is men who discriminate, and are ruled by influence and expediency in their mock dealings of "justice." Why was Mrs. Despard, when arrested, released on being found to be sister of General French?

Why was Sylvia Pankhurst taken when another lady, more prominently aggressive with her, was left untouched? Let us stop prating of "masculine methods!"

Women, it is, who are said to be shirkers of truth, relying on half truths, and if need be, on falsehoods to take them out of a corner. But turn to our papers, written by men, and read for yourselves the distorted, perverted accounts of recent occurrences they have dared to set forth. Lies and half lies are openly told. Every possible appearance of justification for actions, described with proverbially "feminine" exaggeration of language, is most carefully suppressed. We read of sudden outbreaks of protest and revolt on the part of the women, whose even ordinary voice can only be rendered as

"shriek" in the "penny-a-liner vocabulary (!) but much care is exercised to prevent the public learning anything of the details of the intolerable provocation previously borne in silence. Few papers had the decency to mention that this last "scene" in the House of Commons was a protest against the contemptuous reply of the Liberal "whip" to a polite request from the women as to the intentions of the Government regarding its dealing with Women's Suffrage in the present session, or failing that, in the next.

Of course, it would never do to let people know that there is "method in the madness" of these suffragists. Far better hoodwink them into believing that these actions result only from hysterical excitement, otherwise the truth might out, and the powers that be sustain defeat.

But the truth will out, and no force can withstand it. This is no cry merely of "Votes for Women." It is the cry of the pent-up Womanhood of the people seeking outlet through Her awakened daughters, through whom She will yet lead in Her divine feminine life to revivify Society. Behind it and within it is a power which is invincible, greater even than that which inspires the struggle of the Russian people in their fight for freedom; and greater, too, is the principle involved.

In Russia the fight is against a form of autocracy which the whole civilised world condemns, and to that people goes out freely and fully the sympathy and moral support of their fellows abroad. Here,

The Fight is Against a Male Autocracy,

to the serious dangers of which the whole civilised world is still wholly or partially blind, and the fighters contend not only with the powers they oppose, but in face of the unsympathetic antagonism, which in the masses even of thinking men and women, is the inheritance of long generations of thinking on wrong lines of thought.

Every civilised system of the world, whether of State or of Church, has been based on a one-sex foundation, and every civilised system of the world, both of State and of Church, has been doomed thereby to failure. And as Christianity has so failed, so too, will Socialism unless to the foundation truth of "the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man" is conjoined equally that of "the Motherhood of God and the Sisterhood of Woman."

A shortsighted Government thinks to sweep back the ocean of progress with a mop of petty persecution. If it really desires to delay the advance there is one way only in which it can be done. The immediate Parliamentary enfranchisement of women would alone serve this purpose, for thereby would be lessened the opportunity for the immense propaganda work which will surely result among the women of the country, from the treatment meted out to Suffrage advocates at present.

I can safely give this tip to our opponents, knowing well they have not the sense to act upon it, and that we shall still have the advantage of their foolish behaviour to use in our work of

Arousing the Masses.

They have been so led astray by the meekly, patient behaviour of their own lady supporters, who, though asking for much, express no resentment at receiving nothing at all, that they judge these women the same—to be treated as irresponsible children would be. But they have different stuff now to deal with, and no more will there be peace in political camps.

If the Liberal ladies, who have been so set aside by their Party, are too fine to join in strong measures, then in the name of all commonsense let them give up their beggarly whining for "justice," and stand out of the way, leaving a clear field to the women who dare to fight for their rights, and will plead for them never again!

If, as a result of abstention, Liberal women find this movement thrown into the hands of Labour, they have but themselves and their leaders to blame. If they value

their principles less than appearances, think, not of what is right, but only of what is "proper," any cause they support must accordingly suffer. But—"The world moves, nevertheless."

Yes, dear friends,

'Tis a Christian People!

—though I fear, if Christ came to Westminster, and thought there to cast out the money-changers, it is He who would now be cast out, and flung, not into jail, but a lunatic asylum.

There He might comfort that poor dusky servant of His who dared to voice the name of Almighty God—where only the Devil is served!

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

If it were possible to disabuse the mind of some of the fallacies gathered there regarding the relations between men and women, we should be spared the weariness of listening to a great deal of the nonsense being talked about the Women's movement. In early days, when I happened to express my views on Women's rights in the presence of a man, I was invariably met with the same remark, "You want to make women into men"; to which I replied, "No, my friend, I do not want to make women into men. I don't even want to *make* them into women. I want them to be allowed to be women. It is you who, by presuming to take upon yourselves the right to allocate their place and duties in life, have made them mere nondescripts. We don't know what women are, for we seldom see any!"

Is it a relic of a dead theology which gave to us a man made by the hands of a God apart from himself, that has led that man to mechanical manufacture of woman?

Is he content with the finished article he has been turning out through the centuries that have passed? Has he not looked upon it with contempt, and loudly proclaimed its inferiority? Then, let him now stand aside—let him stand aside, I say, take off these desecrating hands which have but defiled and distorted the image of God in his sister. Let him no longer attempt to make her after the image of her he has set up in himself. Let him give freedom to the spirit within her to so fashion that image through which it seeks to manifest itself, that it may become a living outward form of the God within. So may we have growing up among us a race of women on whom we may look no longer with pity and contempt, but with pride and exultation of heart, knowing that through them will come the Salvation of Society.

I have been asked over and over again, "Why all this fuss about a vote? How many women will use it, and how much use will they make of it? Men have made little!" And how often have I replied,

"The Vote in Itself is a Small Thing."

"but the principle of sex equality involved in its possession by women is stupendous in its greatness, and all-powerful in its influence for good." Without this principle established, women remain practically an unrecognised factor in our social progress, and without the recognition of their right to give expression to such power as they possess; that power itself is dwarfed and remains undeveloped. The stamp of inferiority which the forcible withholding of their right of citizenship has placed upon them has remained there, and

exercised its baneful influence in determining their value not only in the estimation of men, but in their own eyes as well. Firmly fix into the mind of any man the thought of his mental and physical inferiority to others, and his inability to overcome his incapacity, and what one amongst men could rise superior to the thought? None, who did not first repudiate the thought, casting it aside as unworthy of the manhood in him.

Votes are, in themselves, useless, simply because they are not power, but are merely the medium through which power is manifested, but the freedom to so give manifestation to power assists in its development. Power still remains largely with the classes, and therefore votes are comparatively little used to benefit the masses of working people; but this condition is rapidly changing through the growth of intelligence in the average working class voter—a growth largely resulting from the responsibility placed upon him by the bestowal of the franchise. The same will inevitably be the experience among women when the present sex disability is removed. Little legislative result to their sex, at first, but increasing advantage as certain development, which must follow the change, proceeds.

At present the

Laws are Made by Men

in the interests of men, but this can no longer continue when women, by the assumption of responsibility, have developed not only the power, but the intelligence necessary to use it to advantage.

The Socialist outcry at present is that women, if placed on the voters' roll, would retard progress by voting against progressive measures, thus delaying the time when a Socialist Government shall be possible in the land. Without expressing any personal opinion regarding the fear itself, I would point out that no party, let it be Liberal, Tory, or Labour, has any right to establish a Government in the country against the will of the people, and therefore, that if it is true that women, as well as a large proportion of men, have not yet been educated into seeing that a Socialist Government would be an advantage to the country, the establishment of such a Government must be delayed until such education has convinced a majority of citizens, irrespective of sex, that it is a desirable end to attain. Here only is justice to be found; and, bear well in mind, that until such education has shown such results in the people themselves, a Socialist Government, paint it in what glowing colours you may, would be nothing more than tyranny, and to be fought as such. Socialists who would force their ideas where they are not yet acceptable must learn this much-needed lesson, and devote their energies to educating men and women alike into a clear understanding of their principles, and stop talking absurd nonsense about establishing Socialism first before further freedom to women is allowed. It can't be done without flagrantly breaking all the laws of justice and right of which they prate so much and understand so little.

Women are beginning to get a glimmering of the truth, hence their determination to stand out as resolutely

Against the Sex Tyranny

of the Socialist as of that of any other man, in whom it is the less reprehensible by reason of his fewer protestations of adherence to broader principles.

To those who, in connection with the present action of our Women Suffrage leaders, complain of the methods adopted, let me say two things. First, that as the methods themselves would most readily be condoned in men who used them in support of any agitation of their own for political freedom, similarly treated with contempt by the powers that be, it can only be the fact that these methods are used by women that is condemned.

Now, if women feel that their cause is one of the deepest and most vital importance to their sex and to the whole people, and see clearly that it must be fought for if it is to succeed, and if at the same time men who profess to sympathise with and support the movement refuse to do the fighting, who is to do it? It has come to this, that either the women must fight or let the whole thing continue to drag on in the old hopeless way in which it has dragged these forty years. Women are really and genuinely in earnest now. Looking around and seeing the results which have followed relentlessly in the train of the sex disabilities arbitrarily imposed by men, they see that the only hope lies in sex freedom, which is not only worth fighting for, but is worth dying for; being not led astray by the silly chatter of fools who see in this struggle only burlesque and comedy. It is tragedy, my friends, if it does not end in success, for the people suffer and die for lack of that which an awakened womanhood can bring into our midst.

But there are many who, while seeing

The Great Need for the Change,

and ardently desiring to help towards bringing it about, yet fail to see the need of extreme measures such as are now being used. They think, as constitutional measures have in the past been successful in obtaining Parliamentary reforms, constitutional measures will, if persisted in, eventually obtain this reform as well. Men have been reasoned and persuaded into passing bills which have improved the status of women—few enough yet, in all conscience—and, in time, will be reasoned and persuaded into passing this measure also. It might be so, but the time required to produce the change in this manner is far too long, and as it is becoming a matter of life and death in the judgment of those who can see a little of what is involved in it, such action as will hasten advance is clearly recognised to be necessary, and is therefore being adopted.

One thing is evidently overlooked by our constitutional friends, and that is that this change which we insist upon is not a "reform"—it is an alteration of the basis of power by which "reforms" are obtained. You may readily reason and persuade men into giving what it is at any time in their power to take back again while they hold the monopoly of power. It is a totally different matter to reason or persua de them into giving up the power of giving by sharing with woman the right they have hitherto forcibly assumed themselves to the making of the laws of the people.

It has become perfectly clear, from the fraudulent actions of so-called supporters of Women's Suffrage among politicians, whose pledges have been openly shown to be mere humbug, given to keep women quiet as long as possible, that until force of some kind is applied, the Parliamentary franchise will never be extended to women by them. That force is now being brought into use, and I can safely prophesy its speedy success; delayed only, it may be, for a time by the folly of those women who echo the enemy's cry that the methods now being used must put back the movement many years; It is curious to me that rational women cannot see through the speciousness of this ingenious plea brought forward by the men who rejoice in a plausible excuse for the inaction they have been practising so long. Haven't these been

Racking their Brains

for just such excuses to justify a policy of do-nothingism!

But we who support these methods are not blinded by such dust thrown in our eyes, and the dust throwing might as well be stopped.

We see that only by such methods will our efforts be recognised at all, and the reception given to them has been just that best calculated to make the Women's Suffrage movement a popular movement in a sense which has never been possible before.

The masses require striking events to arouse their interest in any great question,

and they are getting these now to such an extent as will mean a more rapid education regarding the relation of women to the State and to Society than could have been accomplished in scores of years, quietly and constitutionally. The people are attracted to listen, the one "sine qua non" of all popular education. How many of an audience could a polite, peaceful constitutional suffragist obtain in any of our country villages? Probably a dozen, and these only half interested, wondering what it is all about!

Now, to see and hear the women to whom this matter is so real and so deep and so vital that even

Prison Cannot Deter their Efforts

towards its success, crowds flock, and closest and most earnest attention is given.

What idiotic nonsense to prate of putting back the "cause" for years! It has made it a live thing instead of a dead shell, a movement of the people which will not stop until it has carried them to the top of the ascent, out of the valley of humiliation in which the degradation of their womanhood has held them.

FOR GOD AND RIGHT.

Perhaps the most valuable result gained through the experiences of the last few months is that of establishing once for all the truth that women are fighting for *freedom*, not merely for votes.

Let that fact be clearly understood by women, and the end of the battle is not far off. Very little else lies between the slave and emancipation than the full realisation of the slavery. With that knowledge is born the desire for freedom, which in its turn brings the will to work, and eventually to fight, for freedom.

The real cause of the attitude of apathetic indifference with which hitherto the masses of women have regarded the question of Women's Suffrage is to be found in the fact that to them it has meant nothing more than an effort to get votes. Now, to the majority of people, votes are very unimportant articles. Naturally so, seeing that men who have had them have used them to very little real purpose, at least so far as benefit to the race is concerned. Otherwise society could not possibly be in the condition it is.

The practical, level-headed woman, knowing a little of the present value of the vote—which may be bought for a shilling in some constituencies, and exchanged for a drink in others!—could hardly do less than marvel at the intensity of enthusiasm displayed by her sisters in the pursuit of its attainment.

It is hard enough for her to

Understand their Fighting for it,

while, that they should be willing to suffer imprisonment in addition to facing abuse and ridicule, for such a triviality, must seem sufficient evidence to warrant fitness for Colney Hatch rather than for Holloway Gaol!

But the events of the last few weeks, particularly, have done much to open the eyes of women to a clearer view of matters. They are being made to realise very forcibly that freedom has not been theirs in the past, and that it will not be theirs in the future, if it is in the power of men to withhold it from them.

To be shown, without any possibility of dubiety on the point, that not only are they refused a voice in the affairs of the State, but that they may not even protest against such exclusion except at the expense of forfeiting personal liberty, is proof positive of the existence of a sex slavery which is a degradation to womanhood.

The attitude of men all through the present agitation, whether it be in the insolent expulsion of women from political meetings, outside or inside the House of Commons, the moment their voices are raised there, or more markedly still, in the arresting and imprisoning of those now in Holloway, has been simply that of the arrogant master to an insubordinate servant, and most strikingly illustrates the entire absence of freedom in the relations of women to men—an attitude which is emphasised by the position taken by the press towards it. This is the lesson which thinking women will gradually have forced upon them by the continuance of such actions, and it is the lesson which once thoroughly learned will show its effect in

A Speedy Change in Conditions.

To realise that a woman cannot take a stand against an injustice to her sex without bringing down upon herself torrents of abuse, contempt and ridicule, and arousing every force possible to secure her suppression can have only one result—that of stirring up the latent womanhood in women which will eventually enable them to throw off the yoke of male autocracy.

Generations of such masculine rule has meant to most women the inheritance of a legacy, not only of meek submission to it, but of even the inability to recognise it as such. In some, however, there exists at all times an open or only half-concealed resentment and antagonism, which, if it had free expression, would be quite as great a surprise to men as has been the action of the Women Suffragists at this time.

My own earliest recollections in life are closely associated with such feelings, aroused by the unfair and wholly unjust discrimination made between boys and girls —more marked at that time than now. I refused to recognise these arbitrary differences, claiming and taking equal liberty for myself, but as that could only be had by setting myself against the recognised order of things, it meant, of course, much that was disagreeable in facing the

General Attitude of Disapproval

and ridicule thus brought upon me.

In my childish ignorance I blamed an unjust God for the infliction, foolishly fancying that to His unjust preference for the male human I owed my inferior status in life! And with all my heart and soul I repudiated the possibility of allegiance to any such Deity. Many another, older than I, has been led by just such foolish conceptions of the relations between God and man to just such an attitude of revolt, followed, when no other rational explanation is found, by a state of negation—which is a poor substitute for a true faith.

I have learned since then that man has brought upon himself the curse under which he labours just by placing the woman of him in subjection, for thereby he has prevented the orderly evolution of the race. Human development has been almost entirely limited to the masculine, for the femiinine life has been denied freedom of outlet, and the people have suffered accordingly.

Without such freedom of outlet, the God spirit within cannot manifest itself amongst us, as it seeks to do, equally on masculine and feminine lives, and, in consequence, we have now a Society founded upon the Masculine principle, which has been fitly described as

"The Struggle for Life,"

which, without its complementary companion, the Feminine principle of "the struggle for the life of others," has made for us a hell on earth.

Only by the removal of every man-made barrier which prevents the development of women can there be a true adjustment made, and until that is made we can expect little real human progress. A lesson which Socialists especially would be wise to take to heart.

The most terrible condemnation of our so-called Christianity is to be found in the fact that under its sway the subjection of women has not only been continued, but has even been confirmed by the promulgation of false doctrines and misrepresentations of the truth. Just because I so deeply reverence Christ and his teachings, I repudiate with contempt the travesty of both which has been given us by the Church, which has preached not the Gospel of Christ, but a Gospel according to Paul, and that distorted and perverted.

To offer us a Christ whose coming was supposed to set man free, and at the same time to place woman in subjection, is not only an absurdity; it is, no less, a blasphemy!

Christ has been crucified again in

The Woman of the People,

by the very Church which has professed to follow Him, and until that cross has been replaced by the crown, which is the right of free womanhood, Christianity will remain degraded and discredited amongst us.

Christ came to teach that the Kingdom of Heaven is *within* us, seeking for outlet *through* us, that thereby the will of the God Spirit, of which we are but the outward projection and manifestation, may be done upon the earth of our actions as in the heaven of our highest desires.

To such end we must have freedom. Without freedom can be no true human development. We are but half human now. The feminine qualities in man have been denied outlet, and society reflects the result.. The name feminine has been made a bye-word amongst us, used most often to denote that which is mean and weak and contemptible. Hence the efforts of

Women Towards Freedom

are credited towards a desire to disown and repudiate their sex.

We have yet to learn what true womanhood is, and that can only be known after all arbitrary sex restrictions have been removed, and a free and full expression of itself made thereby possible.

Let there be no doubt on the point. It is not votes we are fighting for, except as the symbol of that freedom which we must and shall have at all costs. And it requires only that women should see what we fight for, see, too, the real need there is for such fight.

Slavery is no less shame and disgrace, be its chains of gold or of iron, and it needs but an awakened womanhood to rise in its might and cast these aside. No power could withstand.

Women, look within you and around you, and see whether or not ye be free! Nay, the name is a mockery when applied to your sex, which has had its "place," and its "use," and its "power," at all times defined and restricted by men.

Refuse any longer to recognise such authority, and claim for yourselves the full right to determine your mission in life.

Join with us

in fighting for freedom, without which no true life can be.

And you, men, who are yet too blind to the good of the race to fight on our side, stand at least out of the way, and give to your sister that fair field you would not deny to a man. Though you know it not, she fights no less for *you*—for liberty, equality, for God and Right!

FORWARD!

(Tune: "Onward, Christian Soldiers.")

Forward! 'Tis the battle cry
Ringing through the land;
Raised is now the standard high—
Forward! Hand in Hand!
Pledged to fight for Liberty,
Hitherto denied—
Women free! The watchword be,
And Tyranny defied!

Forward! On to Victory!
Defeat can never be!
Liberty! Equality!
Women *shall* be free!

Men have fought the fight of men
For Freedom in the past;
Now the fight begins again—
Women rise at last!
Nevermore content to be
Denied an equal share—
Gone the days of slavery!
'Tis now, to do and dare!

Forward! On to Victory, etc.

Nevermore, for selfish ends,
Freedom's battle fought;
On the Victory now depends
Social good long sought.
Men have tried alone to lift
Burdens great that be;
But the power is God's own gift
'Tis given to women free!

Forward! Then to Victory!
Defeat can never be!
Liberty! Equality!
Women *shall* be free!

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Woman's National Foundation

Temple Heights
Washington, D. C.

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Woman's National Foundation

Temple Heights
Washington, D. C.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL FOUNDATION

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Financial Secretary
Mrs. Charles B. Howry

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Recording Secretary
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Asst. Recording Secretary
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Upon completion of the National Organization, Honorary Vice-Presidents will be chosen from the District of Columbia and each State and Territory. All Founder-Donors, Founders and Benefactors will be eligible for election to the Board of Governors as vacancies occur.



THE TEMPLE TRIUMPHANT

The Call Of The Temple

Cornelia D. B. Calhoun

I.

I, Temple of Triumph to Womanhood
Send out a Clarion Call to the World;
Through me you may speak and be understood.
Here is your Banner of Freedom unfurled.
Great women of the old world and the new
I am a lasting monument to you.

II.

Down through the ages, side by side with man
Have women ever walked, to cheer and comfort him;
To hold aloft the light of conscience on his path
So that he might not fall "nor dash his foot
Against a stone", nor, hopeless, lose his way.
Oh, mothers, wives and sisters of the race,
Light keepers of the world, keep it today!

III.

Help me to set that light upon a hill
So all may see. In your country's Capital
My shining walls shall rise and symbol bear
Of the true vessel of created life
Enthroned upon my highest pinnacle.
There in her right hand she shall hold on high
A torch, while with her left she doth extend
The scroll of knowledge, teacher to the end;
Teaching anew God's original plan
The natural head of the family is man;
Then woman, his comrade, home-maker and mate.
His comrade now on equal terms, the fate
Of nations breathless hangs upon the way
She uses the new power, hers today.

IV.

To help her here my walls shall house
The Fames of Music, Drama, Art,
Science of Government, the better part
Of Civic Law, The Thinkers of the world
Shall help my daughters learn and they in turn
Shall teach, and teaching live the truths they preach.
Welded in unenvious unity
With patriotic purpose sternly meant
She'll banish Anarchy and Discontent,
Showing to malcontents the high reward
For service which a grateful country grants
To those who rightly seek it at her hands
Americanism in the highest sense
Shall be the only guerdon she demands.

V.

A Hall of Memory in one Wing shall be
The names of those who generously did rear
These stately halls shall be recorded here
While numerous columns fair, one for each State
And territorial right commemorate
The names of the great women who have gone
Carved deep upon these noble shafts of stone.

VI.

I, the Temple of Women Triumphant
Invite the women of each nation
To share the fruits of my Foundation
That each may feel High Priestess of a cause
And in her Forum help uphold the laws.
My walls now to the four winds I turn
Lights like jewels on my brow shall burn
Ever reflecting from on high
"The Star hung promise of the sky."



ENTRANCE PORTICO

ENTRANCE PORTICO

WOMAN'S NATIONAL FOUNDATION

TEMPLE HEIGHTS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

An Organization Whose Membership is Womanhood

THE building of a modern Acropolis to Womanhood at the Nation's Capital is the controlling thought and first objective of the Woman's National Foundation.

The main structure of this magnificent group of buildings, all to be of superlative beauty and of utmost utility, is the TEMPLE TRIUMPHANT, which is designed to commemorate the great and worthy women of the past and to offer a fitting forum to the women of this and coming generations for the advancement of womankind and the betterment of humanity.

The initial step toward early consummation of this plan has already been accomplished. A group of nationally prominent women, to whom the first President of the Foundation presented the basic plan, and who immediately caught the vision, have most patriotically contributed sufficient money to undertake the work and to bind by a material payment the purchase of an ideal site. This site comprises approximately ten acres rich in beautiful contours, with a wealth of great old trees, situate upon a high plateau in the heart of Washington, and commanding a sweeping panorama which embraces the United States Capitol, the White House, the Washington Monument, and the official and business sections of the city.

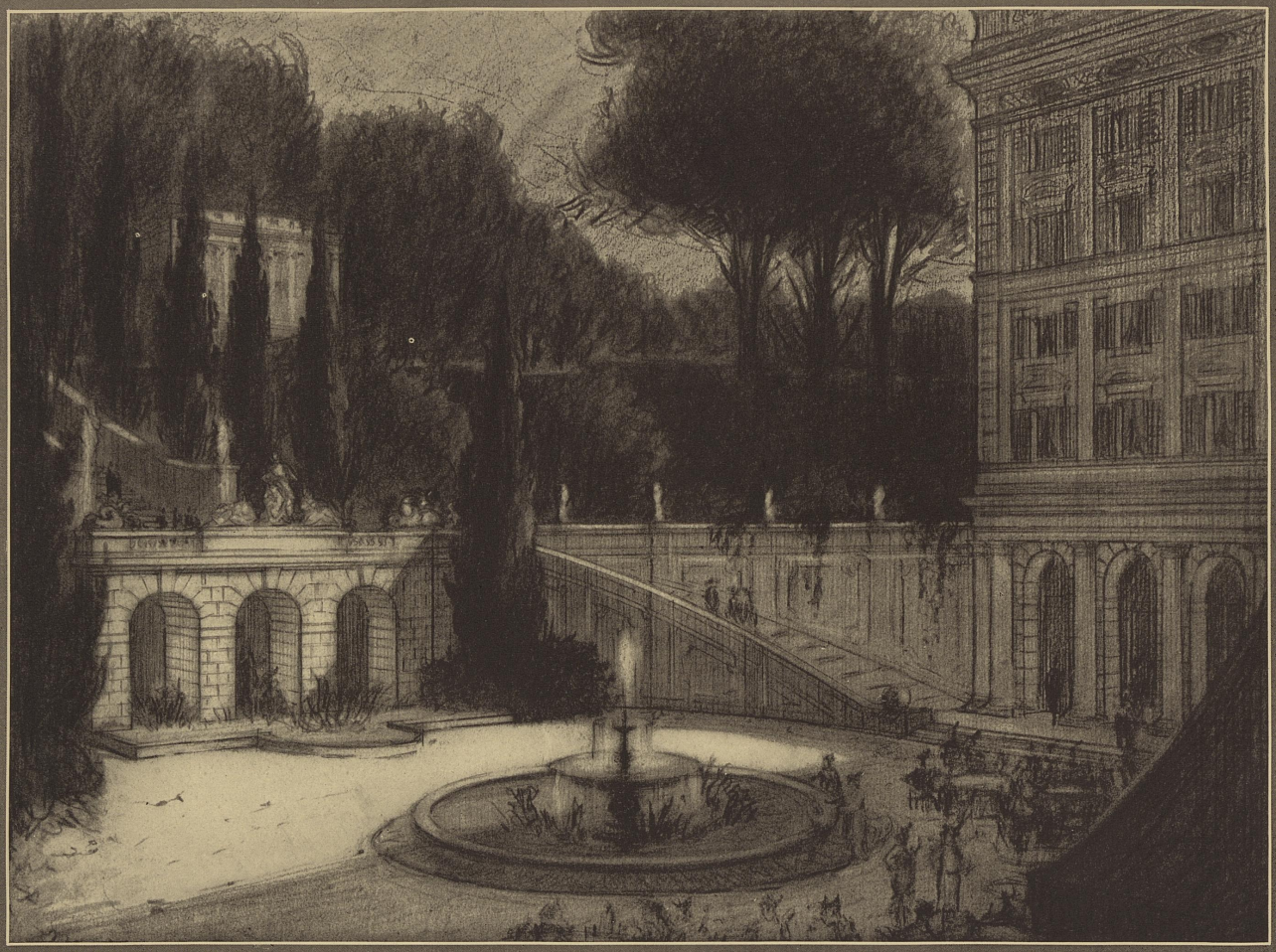
BUILDINGS AND PURPOSES

The drawings of the buildings here shown are by F. Burrall Hoffman, Jr., and Murray Hoffman of New York City, who have been selected as the architects of the Foundation. They have worked out the grouping of the buildings in such a manner as to make a composite arrangement that is most impressive and of perfect symmetry, without sacrificing any of the natural charms of the estate.

Although the Foundation's home will be magnificent in its massiveness and compelling in its beauty, the insistent requirements of utility run throughout these plans. Every building that is to be here constructed will not only be self supporting, through the activities which it will house, but will also insure material income to the Foundation for the carrying on of its national program, to the end that every member, regardless of how remote her residence may be from Washington, will receive direct benefit.

As stated, the main building of this group is the TEMPLE TRIUMPHANT, which will be approached from Florida and Connecticut Avenues by monumental steps and from the opposite side by a generous driveway leading to a *porte-cochere* formed by a lofty colonnade.

The central portion of the Temple will contain an Auditorium seating two thousand people. This auditorium will be a lucrative source of revenue to the



SUNKEN GARDENS OF GUEST HOUSE

SUNKEN GARDENS OF GUEST HOUSE

Foundation, as it will fill a long-felt need in the Capital as a center for conventions, music and drama. The Auditorium in its general proportions, its tiers of boxes, its promenade and foyer, is inspired by the Scala Theater of Milan, famous for its acoustics. The stage is most ample; it will accommodate the largest orchestra, and will be thoroughly equipped for theatrical and operatic productions. A unique feature will be a great door in the rear which may be opened to afford a panorama of the city beyond and below. The parquette, modeled on the arrangement of the old French Opera House at New Orleans, is so designed that it may, at will, be converted into a ball room floor, level with the stage and just below the boxes.

The Temple Triumphant will house the executive offices of the Foundation and other women's national organizations. It will contain the Hall of Friendship which will be the headquarters of affiliated clubs of other countries. Here also will be the Hall of Memory, in which the great and worthy women of the past will be commemorated. The working staff of the Bulletin will here have its offices and conduct, in conjunction with that publication, the scientific correspondence courses on constructive subjects, which will be offered by the Foundation to its members in this and other countries.

FOR VISITING MEMBERS

Ideally situated will be the commodious Guest House, an exclusive woman's hotel, which is much needed in Washington. Its appointments will be most complete and modern in every detail. Although accommodations may be had by visiting members at more moderate prices than will be found elsewhere, it will return a material income to the Foundation. Here also will be housed the work rooms, experimental kitchens, laboratories and other equipment used in conjunction with the correspondence courses.

The Sylvan Theater will be available for many months during the year in the mild climate of Washington. It is situated close beneath the curved terrace of the Temple and fits into a natural glade. Its arches and niches are reminiscent of Paladio's charming theater in Vicenza. Here will be given pageants, pastoral plays, classic and folk dances, and entertainments for children. It will be equipped for daylight motion pictures and when not otherwise occupied, approved films will be shown both afternoons and evenings. Contracts are now pending for the use of this theater for a portion of each year which alone guarantee a splendid return on the investment.

Harmonizing in its design with the other buildings, will be the Founders Club. It is surrounded by a walled garden, which encloses a number of the fine old trees of the estate, and with its pool, its loggia and other attractive features will be one of the most delightful portions of the grounds. Already the number of women who have accepted the invitation of the Board of Governors to become members of the Founders Club, assure that this club, from the standpoint of prominent and constructive women, will be most pre-eminent in the club life of America, and will afford another source of considerable revenue for the specific national welfare work of the Foundation.



SYLVAN THEATRE

SYLVAN THEATRE

PROGRESS

From the moment that the initial step of securing the site was taken the Foundation began to function and has advanced with tremendous strides. Patriotic women, with indomitable will and energy, all over the country are furthering its progress, and the feeling is expressed that the undertaking shall be readily accomplished despite its magnitude. Frequent expression is given also to the thought that the building of this Acropolis as a monument to the great and worthy women of the past is in itself more than deserving of every effort. The rearing of these splendid buildings, however, is only the first thought behind the Foundation.

Organized womanhood is recognized to be the greatest dynamic force for the advancement of civilization of the world today. Nothing is now outside woman's power provided the vital need of a universally respected center of activity is properly met so that there may be marshalled for the benefit of all, the full resources and strength of her collective intelligence. The Woman's National Foundation, here at the Nation's Capital, in its broad structure and national and international organization, meets this need.

The Foundation is now occupying the fine old mansion that stands upon the estate, which is the scene of great activity. The work has been departmentized and able women of proven ability are giving their best efforts, without stint, to further the program.

PROGRAM

Among the subjects that are receiving attention of the Foundation under its departments or will shortly be undertaken are: Education of women in their civil rights; teaching of Americanism by awakening the old simple standards; issuing of a bulletin of Foundation progress; National Bureau of club information; holding of a referendum on every question of national importance, so as to register the will of the women of America; fostering of music and the drama; production of edited motion pictures, pageants, pastoral plays; social hygiene; welfare of children and factory operatives; establishing of play grounds, and other important activities that have too long awaited the centralized interest of the women of this and other countries.

The Foundation will furnish to all of its thousands of local centers programs of merit taken from its work in all of its departments. There will be annually a great National Convention in Washington at the Foundation Center. The Foundation will be governed as a democracy, will be non partisan in politics and will be divorced from factionalism of any kind. Its first care will be to avoid duplication of work done by other established agencies.

It will arouse no jealousies, because its ambition, instead of being governance or power, is to be the servant of all entities representing women. Financial aid for civic betterment and welfare will be offered through interest on an endowment fund made available for use in any State in proportion as that State contributes to the support of the Foundation. Worthy enterprises will be passed upon by the Board of Governors.

Certificate of Remembrance

Witness

That there has been inscribed on everlasting parchment in the Name of

Mrs. Harold E. Johnston

a testimonial of respect and honor to her beloved mother

Maria Campbell Bryan

That this Testimonial has been placed in the Book of Remembrance in the Hall of Memory of the Temple Triumphant which crowns the Acropolis of the Woman's National Foundation at Washington, District of Columbia.

It is therefore decreed by the Board of Governors of the Woman's National Foundation that this Certificate be issued by its Executive Committee as a solemn pledge that this Memorial of love and remembrance which has thus been placed shall be held inviolate for all time

Woman's National Foundation

Executive Committee

Mrs. George Barnett
Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest
Mrs. James Carroll Frazer
Mrs. Rafael R. Goven
Mrs. J. Borden Harreman

WOMAN'S · NATIONAL · FOUNDATION
WASHINGTON · D·C

Cornelia D. B. Calhoun
(Mrs Clarence Crittenden Calhoun)
President

THE BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE

In the Temple Triumphant is to be the Hall of Memory with its commanding colonnade of pillars. On each of these pillars will be engraved the names of famous women selected by members of the Foundation in the respective States and Territories. Statues of women famous in the history of this country shall be placed in this Hall and other countries will be invited to here commemorate their greatest women.

Here also, most imposing in size, amid beautiful and appropriate surroundings, prominently placed in the Hall of Memory on a circular dias of white marble, will be the Book of Remembrance. Its pages of everlasting parchment will be engrossed with certificates of remembrance to women whom the builders of the Temple desire to honor. The opportunity to become a builder is offered to every member.

The cost of the property and the buildings is approximately ten dollars for each square foot of ground. Any woman who is eligible as a member may elect to become a Builder-Member. For each ten dollars, in first year dues or contribution, that is thus subscribed to the Foundation she, in effect, dedicates for all time in the name of some loved one, a square foot of the ground and all that is builded upon it.

CERTIFICATE OF REMEMBRANCE

In addition to this permanent record being entered in the Book of Remembrance, each Builder-Member will receive from the Foundation an official certificate duly engrossed and similar to the reproduction pictured on the opposite page. The like privilege of nominating the name of any woman chosen for entrance in the Book of Remembrance is also granted to any man who makes subscription to the Building Fund of the Foundation of ten dollars or more.

In a word, the Book of Remembrance will serve the two-fold purpose of perpetuating the names of the Builders and of honoring the women of their choice. Women who, though they be known or unknown to fame, though marked by history's page, or of lesser estate, have engraved on the hearts of those about them the love of family, and through the sanctuary of the home built the real bulwarks of the Nation.

Surely no more splendid thing could come to pass than that each square foot of ground and each block of marble that finds its place in this everlasting monument to womanhood, should be so dedicated. Nor in turn, no more beautiful and lasting tribute could be made by anyone to any woman to whom it is desired to give honor, than to so place such a memorial to her love and remembrance.



A VIEW OF WASHINGTON FROM TEMPLE HEIGHTS, THE HOME OF THE FOUNDATION

WOMAN'S NATIONAL FOUNDATION

A Creed for America's Women, Organized for Service

American Womanhood am I—a conqueror by inheritance—the daughter of pioneer women whose laughing lips made the music to which their men marched across America—heir of all the world's women who, breaking the bonds of sightless years and casting down the bars of outworn precedent, left to me the Empire of Opportunity.

To pay my debt to that past, I offer now to America her women joined together in patriotism, "welded into unenvious unity," a sword of action quick from the scabbard for their country's need.

For my forum I am building at my Nation's Capital, on its highest hill, a marble Temple to Womanhood, its corridors ringing to the music that is the wish to serve, its roof reaching to a sky, star-hung with promise.

And in its Hall of Memory will be memorials to great and worthy women.

A Hall of Memory to remind me that my home, still my sanctuary and my country's cradle, has four walls whose shadows reach as far as the four winds blow.

A Hall of Memory to remind me so to live that I shall always serve mankind, so serve mankind that I shall forever glorify my God.

And by thinking of the morrow to adorn the present with the splendors of my purpose.

To learn, to walk among the company of Thinkers, gathering benefits for the welfare of my people and the betterment of the world.

To teach, to show loveliness to eyes that have known only sordid things, to put into Literature a sweeter note, to re-enact the law of ancient Greece that the gods to be mighty must be beautiful, to reveal to children the glories of flowered gardens.

And to govern, to bring to Legislation the myrrh of my sympathy and the spikenard of my understanding, and, stern as Duty, take for my foe every preacher of Anarchy and Discontent.

Thus, shoulder to shoulder with father and son, I, America's womanhood, shall linger not in ease among the flowers already blooming, but, looking forever to the heights, top the high cliffs of seeming Impossibility where the supernal blossoms of an even greater beauty await our grasp.

Thus, always for America, we Americans shall bend the frame of Fortune to yet lovelier lines and hang on the giant shoulders of our Destiny a mantle more gorgeous than the world has ever seen. I am

America's Women, Organized for Service

MEMBERSHIP

ELIGIBILITY

ANY woman over eighteen years of age, duly vouched for by the Chairman of her District and approved by the Membership Committee, and the Board of Governors or the Executive Committee, may become a member of the Foundation. All members admitted by the Foundation prior to December 31, 1921, will be exempt from further dues until the last day of December 1922.

The Foundation offers seven forms of membership: Basic, Guest House, Benefactor, Founder, Founder-Donor, Representative-Founder and Memorial-Founder. Holders of any of these forms of membership excepting Basic may elect to become Builder Members without further payment; Basic members may become Builder Members by paying a minimum in dues and contribution the first year of $10.00.

These various forms of membership are designed so as to offer to each eligible prospective member the opportunity to enter the Foundation in such a manner as will best suit her needs, convenience and desire for activity.

BUILDER MEMBERS

DUES OR CONTRIBUTION . . . . . *$10.00 or more*

ANY Founder-Donor, Founder, Benefactor, Guest-House or other Member who pays annual dues of or in excess of ten dollars, or any Basic Member who makes a total first payment as dues and donation to the Foundation of ten dollars or more, will be designated as a BUILDER MEMBER and without further payment be entitled, in addition to the privileges granted under the form of membership chosen, to the right of nominating any woman desired, for entrance on a Certificate of Remembrance in the Hall of Memory. This Certificate will perpetuate in The Book of Remembrance the one nominated and will also carry the name of the one making the nomination as a subscriber to the building fund.

The like privilege of nominating the name of any woman chosen for entrance in the Book of Remembrance is also granted to any man who makes a subscription of ten dollars or more to the building fund of the Foundation.

Builder Members will be accepted only until the cost of the buildings are subscribed and the Book of Remembrance will carry Certificates of Remembrance exclusively for those who are nominated by Builder Members, prior to the closing of this form of membership.

The Board of Governors of the Foundation are making the special request of all Chairmen that the members of their Local Centers be impressed with the opportunity which is presented to each in taking a sufficiently high form of membership or to contribute through dues and donations a sufficient first payment to entitle them to be designated as Builder Members.



THE FOUNDER'S CLUB

BASIC MEMBERSHIP. Dues: *Non-resident* ..... *$1.00 per annum*
Resident of District of Columbia and vicinity 2.00 per annum

Privileges

1. Access to Information Bureau, which will be the clearing house for club, legislative and welfare activities and a center for registration for all visiting members.

2. To receive for a nominal subscription fee the Foundation's monthly Bulletin, which will be unique in contents and appearance and be constructed according to the highest possible standards for entertainment and instruction. Important features of each issue will be the discussion from an impartial standpoint of all questions before Congress, and voting coupons that will be used to register the opinion of the women of the country for or against any measure.

3. The right to enroll for correspondence courses in the study of pending legislation, civics, science of government, social and diplomatic usage, health, home and mother culture, child welfare, cooking, sewing, and other subjects.

4. The right to a vote in each general referendum.

5. The right to organize Local Centers of fifty or more members, with an electoral delegate to the Annual Congress.

6. The right to use on a rental basis, the Club House rooms for private entertainments, and other functions.

7. The right to attend an excellent series of Free Lectures and Concerts, given in the Foundation Convention Hall.

8. Right through minimum payment of ten dollars, for first year's dues and contribution, to become Builder Member and to commemorate in the Book of Remembrance in the Hall of Memory any woman of her choice.

GUEST HOUSE MEMBERSHIPS. Dues ..... *$15.00 per annum*

Privileges

1. All privileges of Basic Membership.

2. Access to every Club Privilege of Guest House and Grounds with right to occupy rooms at Guest House at a nominal charge, and to extend for a period of ten days every privilege of Guest House to any visiting Basic Member.

3. May elect without further payment to become a Builder Member and commemorate in the Book of Remembrance in the Hall of Memory any woman of her choice.

4. The Guest House will be exclusively for women, but there will also be an Annex for members and their families.

BENEFACTOR MEMBERSHIPS. Initiation ..... *$100.00 or more*

Privileges

1. Privileges of Basic and Guest House Members with Associate Membership in the Founders Club for a period of two years; annual dues thereafter $60.00.

2. Electoral vote on all questions and officers and eligibility for election to the Board of Governors as vacancies may occur.

3. May elect without further payment to become a Builder Member and commemorate in the Book of Remembrance in the Hall of Memory any woman of her choice.

FOUNDERS MEMBERSHIPS. Loan ..... *$1,000.00 or more*

Dues exempt while this loan is in force, as interest on loan will constitute annual dues. Upon re-payment of loan by the Foundation, which will be made at any time upon sixty days written notice, Founder Members will be required to pay annual dues in advance of $60.00.

Privileges

1. All privileges of Basic, Guest House and Benefactor Memberships.

2. Enjoyment of all privileges of the Founders Club.

3. May elect without further payment to become a Builder Member and commemorate in the Book of Remembrance in the Hall of Memory any woman of her choice.

FOUNDER-DONOR MEMBERSHIP. Donation ..... *$1,000.00 or more*

Founder-Donor Membership can be had only upon invitation by the Board of Governors prior to January 1, 1923.

Privileges

1. All privileges of every character of the Foundation for life.

2. Electors for life and eligible for election to the Board of Governors as vacancies may occur.

3 Founder-Donor Memberships may be held in perpetuity throughout the lifetime of the original donor and by being willed with all rights, privileges and prerogatives descend to successive women heirs who are approved by the Board of Governors of the Foundation.

4. Name of Founder-Donors shall be perpetuated in appropriate and lasting manner in the Hall of Memory.

REPRESENTATIVE FOUNDER MEMBERSHIPS. Initiation ..... *$1,000.00 or more*

Any club or organization which contributes one thousand dollars or more or secures Basic Memberships totaling one thousand, is thereby entitled to designate a representative as a Founder for a period of twenty years.

Privileges

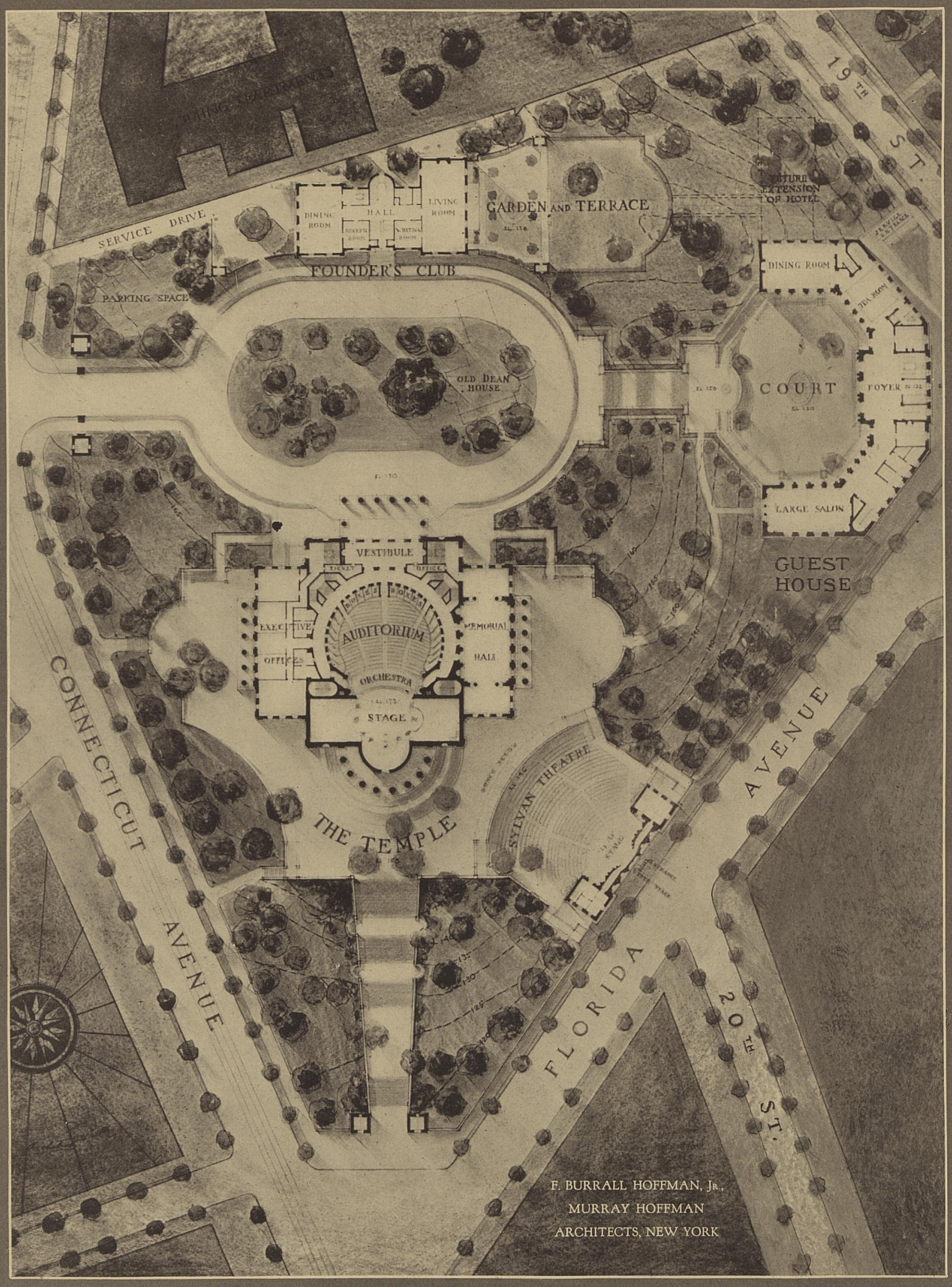
1. All privileges of Founder's Club, Basic, Guest House and Benefactor Memberships.

2. Name of Representative Founders shall be perpetuated in appropriate and lasting manner in the Hall of Memory.

MEMORIAL FOUNDER MEMBERSHIPS. Subscription ..... *$1,000.00 or more*

By subscription of one thousand dollars or more to the Foundation any man, woman or organization, individually, or jointly, upon the approval of the Board of Governors, may establish a Memorial Founder Membership in the name and in memory of any woman of their choice. Memorial Founders will be appropriately commemorated in the Hall of Memory.

JAMES WILLIAM BRYAN PRESS
WASHINGTON, D. C.



WOMAN'S NATIONAL FOUNDATION

From Headquarters News Letter, N. A. W. S. A.
Published,-505 Fifth Ave., N.Y. : 25 cents a year.

SOME CURRENT DOCUMENTS*
ON
SUFFRAGE AND THE CONGRESSIONAL UNION

A: Letter by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to New York State Assembly District Leaders in answer to claims of the Congressional Union.

B: Letter by Mrs. Catt to Miss Alice Paul asking her to withdraw from New York during the campaign.

C: Letter from Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan, of the Congressional Committee of the N. A. W. S. A., to the National Board reviewing some of the current claims and assertions of the Union.

D: A sane and balanced review of the whole situation by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell in the *Woman's Journal*, April 24.

War has been declared upon the National by a new militant organization which enjoys autocratic leadership and a philosophic irresponsibility to the suffrage movement in the various States.

We haven't much time or money to waste in pulling down another organization. About all we can do is to place rapidly before the suffragists of the country the facts as they seem to us.

For this reason we are placing herewith, without extended comment, certain recent documents in suffrage history for the information of those who want to understand the differences which have arisen between the National Association and the Congressional Union.

We shall have more, perhaps, to print. This is a democratic movement and it must be fought out through the rank and file. The leaders of the National American Woman Suffrage Association can not move without first convincing the State organizations and the suffragists in general that they are right. This is the democratic procedure but it throws some of the responsibility upon you!

Don't shift it. Read these open letters and stow away their points for further reflection.

—:o:—

A: *What Mrs. Catt thinks of the romantic reaction in American suffrage movement.*

To Assembly District Leaders:

Two up-State Campaign District Chairmen have complained that workers for the Congressional Union are seriously handicapping their work. One County Leader and two captains have resigned with a view to working with that organization. These Congressional Union workers are reported as saying.

(1) That our amendment cannot possibly be carried; that the Federal amendment is the easiest and surest road to victory. (2) That they do not intend to interfere in our campaign as no congressional elections take place this year. They are only organizing now in order to set up a congressional campaign after November, but in doing this they are drawing off workers upon the ground that there is no hope in doing the work our way. (3) Some have said that they really hope our amendment will be beaten so that the Federal amendment movement will not be set back by the idea that the suffrage can be won State by State. (4) That the National has given up the historical suffrage amendment and has taken up another. The National has denied this over and over again but with no effect upon the Congressional Union. I do not blame these young women who have had no background of experience upon which to base judgment for such half-baked notions, but it is important that all our leaders should know the facts concerning the Federal amendments so as to be prepared for any predatory raids upon our organization and campaign.

A Federal amendment must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, which means that 36 States must vote for and that 12 may vote against. Ever since the Civil War the South has clung tenaciously to the doctrine of States Rights and has never yet endorsed anything in Congress which conflicts with that idea. The South may get away from that notion some time, but suffrage agitation in that part of the country is many years behind that of the North and there is not a ghost of a chance that the real Southern legislatures will ratify a Federal amendment even if submitted.

Formerly the southern group numbered fifteen. Take away Texas and Missouri as westernized, and Kentucky and Tennessee as northernized, and consider these four as possible in the list of States to ratify our amendment, and there remain eleven iron-bound Southern States which for a long time to come will not ratify a Federal amendment. It follows then that the suffrage amendment when submitted must be ratified by all the New England States, all the Middle States and by New York and Pennsylvania, one or both. Only one State outside of this Southern group can go against the amendment and still give us a chance to win.

No legislature in New York or in any other Eastern State has ever had more than one-third of its members who believed in suffrage; in New York it has usually been about one-fourth. Submission of our question is merely throwing the responsibility on the voters, and most of our legislative members will use their influence to defeat it at the polls, whereas, the ratification of a Federal amendment means that the members will vote for suffrage *per se* not only for our own State but for all States.

Imagine a Federal amendment submitted now. How could we secure its endorsement by our Legislature? Only by doing what we are now doing; working up a big sentiment in the constituency of each man. As yet that sentiment has not become noticeable enough to have brought the majority over. It doubtless would involve going into the elections with the effort to elect favorable members. The difficulty of an unenfranchised class attempting to persuade political parties to give up the men of their choice, needs only to be tried to be appreciated.

In the event we should lose in our campaign and if no way is open for immediate or early resubmission, then in my judgment, we should turn our guns upon Congress and work for a Federal amendment;

*Note—Press chairmen and others will please note that these are printed for the information of suffragists and not primarily for newspaper use.

but while working for it we will have to work also upon the Legislature which will be called upon to ratify it. Any one who has observed with care the development of our movement within the last five years will realize that the task is quite as difficult to secure that ratification in Albany as to secure the ratification at the polls. We may come in finally by the Federal route; but whether we do or not it is good common sense to do our utmost to carry the general election while the referendum is on rather than to postpone action to some uncertain date in the future. If we fail, every vote we have made will serve again in the constituency of the legislature.

Do not allow your workers to grow weak-hearted over this campaign. Political machines and bribers may, it is true, rob us of our well earned victory, but if these tactics are not tried our chances are splendid. Sentiment moves on by leaps and bounds and there is no reason to be discouraged. Those who have dropped out are evidently afraid of hard work and have been duped into the belief that there is an easy way to get the vote. Alas, there is none. By whichever route we women pass to our final enfranchisement, it will be over a road of hard work, sacrifice and struggle. Tell your women "to stay in the trenches" if they would serve the women of the world. Most cordially yours,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, *Chairman.*

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B: *On the Union's activities in a Campaign State.*

MY DEAR MISS PAUL:

I have been asked by motion of the Empire State Campaign Committee to write you, expressing their protest against the character of the work being done by the Congressional Union in this State. The reason for the motion was the complaint of two Campaign District Chairmen that your agents were handicapping their local campaign by the attempt to call off their workers with the argument that New York has no chance and that the Federal route is the only one which can lead to victory. As the Committee did not instruct me what to say, I will set forth my own point of view.

When the suffragists of New York entered upon this campaign a year and a half ago, the leaders, and I think most of the rank and file, were actuated by two groups of reasons.

1. The amendment had passed one legislature and was pretty sure to pass the second. For the sake of the future, if not the present, and for the effect upon the movement the whole world over, it was clear that the best showing possible must be made on the final popular vote. When the corruption, bigotry and ignorance of New York was uppermost in one's thoughts it seemed impossible that woman suffrage or any other good cause could ever win at the polls; but no human being can positively know when the appointed time for the victory of righteousness will arrive. History is full of examples of the sudden surrender of opposition after years of bitter conflict and the astonishingly easy establishment of a truth. How could we know that the "woman's hour" was not at hand, we asked ourselves.

We all determined to wage the most efficient campaign within our power, hoping that conditions, political and social, would prove so propitious that our work might bring our cause to victory. To this end many women have given the last penny they can squeeze out of their pockets and have worked like galley-slaves every day of every week since the campaign began.

2. We knew that if a Federal amendment were submitted the Legislature of New York must be one of those to ratify it. We knew that the State had never had a suffrage legislature. The one which submitted the State amendment was not more than one-fourth in favor of suffrage *per se*. We knew that, in case of failure this autumn, the work would not be lost, as it would all tell in the effort to secure the ratification of a Federal amendment. So whether suffrage for the East was to come by the State or the National route, it was clear that we needed an organized, educated constituency behind every man in the legislature.

It was good sense to drop all discussion of the Federal process, as it befogged the issue, but all have realized that the present campaign would eventually prove a Federal asset. Meanwhile the "citadels of prejudice" are yielding to our attacks beyond our fondest hope a year ago. The only ominous thing is that everything seems coming our way. Hope grows stronger every day. Men who know New York politics say we are sure to win. But a slip somewhere like the famous "Rum" etc., an unexpected breach in our defenses, or an evidence of hopelessness, may easily turn the tide against us. Ours is a delicate situation, but not at all hopeless. Most of us are thrilled by the belief that the woman's hour is indeed about to strike.

I am sure you must realize that the winning of New York is the greatest thing which could happen to the movement. In behalf of my committee, therefore, and on my own account as well, I ask you to withdraw your efforts at organization in New York until the campaign is over.

At this time you may connect with disgruntled suffragists here and there, but you are not likely to command the adherence of any of the really efficient ones. For the time and money expended you will garner small results, but you may irritate and antagonize, to the permanent detriment of your work. On the other hand, six months hence the field is free. If we win, as we hope, the women will all want to help other States by Federal aid; and if we lose, the women will be hot for the next battle. The psychology of the two situations, now and then, will mean little progress now and a hundred-fold greater results then. Can you not see that this will be true? There are plenty of States where you are unorganized and where there is no campaign. Why not work there *now?*

There is a rift between the National Association and the Congressional Union over the Federal amendment. The National has agreed to let us alone during the campaign. Will you not do the same? I hold it to be a courtesy which one body of earnest suffragists has a right to ask of another with whom it has no quarrel, that you will direct your efforts towards other States for the next six months. Give us the chance to think of you as allies and not as competitors. Yours truly,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

C: *How it Seems to a Member of the Congressional Committee.*

DEAR BOARD MEMBER:—

In view of the recent action of the Congressional Union in calling upon all suffragists to withdraw from the National American Woman Suffrage Association and to unite with the Union on the ground that the National does not support the Susan B. Anthony amendment, I am sending this letter to the members of the National Board that they may be put in as close touch as possible with the present congressional situation, which it seems to the committee, should be largely the determining factor in a question of this kind. I am the member of the committee who has been responsible for the publicity issued from Washington during the past session, and have given whatever time I could spare from that work to the lobby. Last year, though not a member of the committee, I followed the work and was in charge of the Washington publicity during the summer.

The first point that I wish to make is that this whole situation has arisen through deliberate misstatements by the leaders of the Union: first the charge that the National was not working for the Mondell amendment, second the statement that if the National had worked for it it would have passed at the last session, and finally the misrepresentations made concerning the Shafroth amendment itself.

It does not seem reasonable that the policy of the Congressional Committee or the National Association should be changed, not to meet a change of conditions, but merely to avoid criticism, none of which is founded on facts. What we should do, as I see it, is to *get the facts before the suffragists*.

It is not necessary, of course, to explain to you the work that the committee has done for the Susan B. Anthony amendment. What I should like to emphasize is the effectiveness of that work. If it had not been for the Congressional Committee that amendment would never have come to a vote during the past session.

It is, however, as everyone knows, no less than absurd to suppose that anything that could have been done by suffragists would have changed enough votes to pass the resolution. The fact that the poll made by the Congressional Committee the week before the vote in the House was taken differed in only four votes from the vote itself is evidence that the committee understood the situation.

The Congressional Union leaders knew perfectly well at this time the work our committee was doing, especially during the last month before the vote, when our office was in constant communication with the suffrage leaders at the Capitol. So far as I know the Union did not attempt to do anything during that time. In fact, it was then that they were opening headquarters in New York. They were present at the Capitol, however, on January 12th in large numbers, with the usual statement that they were the only body supporting the Mondell resolution. This statement they have never even tried to substantiate, and, as a matter of fact, the leaders of the Union do not themselves believe in the claims they make for the Anthony amendment. Both Miss Paul and Miss Burns, when pinned down to it, have been unable to say that they believed that the amendment would pass. But they say, "you cannot succeed without faith." Naturally it is necessary for them to keep up the fiction with their followers or their case would collapse.

I will not take up the objections raised against the Shafroth resolution, except the one that it is impossible to work for two measures at the same time—the argument upon which rests the assumption of the Union that because the National is in favor of the Shafroth it is against the Anthony.

It is only necessary to scan the history of legislation in Congress for the last decade to prove the fallacy of this argument. It is a general principle that no measure of reform or innovation in legislation has been enacted without some degree of temporary compromise on the part of its proponents, accepted as necessary for the achievement of the ultimate success. As a matter of practice the advocates of a measure to which there is formidable opposition have always a second choice to bring forward in case the first fails. Very often several bills on the same subject are introduced at once and tried out together, and the one that survives is the one that can command the votes.

An argument against this method of procedure which would be valid in the case of referendum to the voters fails here. Without doubt two similar measures presented to an electorate, the majority of whom are too ignorant or indifferent to discriminate between them, would cause such confusion as to bring about the defeat of both. But members of Congress are trained men. A large proportion of them are lawyers. It is their business to understand the measures for which they vote. On a question of public interest, one in which their constituents watch their action, they are not uninformed.

Many examples can be given of the procedure that I have mentioned, such as bills for Federal supervision of grain inspection, for Federal licenses for inspectors, for Federal regulations of railroads, postal savings banks, direct election of senators, and so on to a great number. Perhaps the most striking example is the action of the prohibition party in regard to their two measures which were pending in the last Congress at the same time, one the Constitutional amendment for Nation-wide prohibition, the other a bill for prohibition in the District of Columbia. When the amendment failed in the House they at once began to push the District bill. They attempted nothing more with the other even in the Senate, where they undoubtedly could have forced action had they tried. Yet the prohibitionists have more States behind them than the suffragists today.

The Shafroth amendment was never intended as a substitute for the Anthony amendment. It is only the opening wedge. When by means of it enough States have come into the suffrage ranks, nothing in the world can prevent the passage of the full suffrage amendment. The fear of timid suffragists that Congress having passed one measure will refuse to pass the other has no ground in legislative precedent.

Yours respectfully,

LAURA PUFFER MORGAN,

D: *Miss Alice Stone Blackwell Sums it up.*

The near approach of suffrage has brought with it a great controversy as to how we can best get it. There was no need to worry about this while success was still a long way off. Now that victory is clearly in sight, it has become a burning question.

There are now two national suffrage organizations in the field, with two clearly defined policies. Both the National Association and the Congressional Union are working for the Nation-wide suffrage amendment—the Anthony amendment, as it is often called—but the Congressional Union advocates concentrating wholly upon that amendment, while the National Association believes in trying also for the Shafroth amendment, as a flank movement, and holds that this will help the final success of the Anthony amendment. Both organizations are non-partisan, but in different senses of the word. The National Association believes in opposing, irrespective of party, candidates who are individually opposed to equal suffrage. The Congressional Union believes in opposing the party in power at Washington, whichever party that may be, unless it consents to submit the Nation-wide suffrage amendment to the States; and it aims to bring pressure upon the dominant party by getting the women in the enfranchised States to vote against that party's Congressional candidates until the party leaders withdraw their opposition to the passage of the Nation-wide amendment through Congress.

Feeling over this question has grown acute. This is, perhaps, inevitable among women who think that the method used by the other side is in danger of fatally injuring the cause. The editor of *The Woman's Journal* believes that the policy of the National Association is the wiser policy; but she is not much concerned over the controversy, because she holds that the movement has now got along so far that no mistakes of method on the part of any leader can kill or very seriously delay it. Moreover, she is profoundly convinced that, AT THIS STAGE OF THE GAME, what happens in Congress is a matter of minor consequence. The vitally important thing just now is to get more suffrage States.

If either the National Association or the Congressional Union had put into helping last year's campaign States the money and enthusiasm that it expended upon Congressional work, it is certain that we should have carried not only Nevada and Montana, but also Nebraska and South Dakota, and perhaps one or two of the others. This is not said in a spirit of reproach. All were doing the best that they knew how, according to their light; and there was not light enough to enable us to see in advance in just which States the vote was going to be very close. That would have been the place for us to concentrate our forces—on Napoleon's principle of massing his attack against the weakest point of the enemy's line.

If last November we had carried four or five States instead of two, it would not only have given a great impetus to the movement throughout the country, but it would have done more to help the Nation-wide suffrage amendment in Congress than anything else that could have happened. It was the simultaneous carrying of three States in 1912 that changed the status of our question in Congress from one of contempt to one of serious respect. When we have half a dozen more States, Congress will give us the Anthony amendment, or anything else that we want.

But if Congress submitted the Anthony amendment to-morrow, we should still find ourselves up against a stone wall in the necessity of having it ratified by the legislatures of 36 States. One of Mary Hallock Foote's stories describes the digging of a great irrigation canal. One end of it has to be cut in a mountain, through solid rock, the other end through a valley, where the soil is soft and the digging easy. There is a dispute as to which end shall be dug first. The experienced engineer in charge of the work wants to make the cut in the rock first. When that is once made, he says, it will stand firm, defying time and weather, and they can complete the canal through the soft soil without trouble: whereas if the ditch is dug in the soft soil first it will deteriorate under every rain while they are cutting through the rock. But he is overruled by some of the directors, who want the soft end of the ditch dug first, because it can be dug faster, and its long extent will make more show in the eyes of certain people whom they wish to interest in the project. The task of securing Nation-wide suffrage for women is something like that canal. It consists of two parts—first the passage of the amendment through Congress, then its ratification by the States; and the ratification is the heavy end of the job.

When a State is once carried for suffrage it is a solid gain, achieved for good and all, and it is also just so much ground secured toward the ratification of the Nation-wide suffrage amendment; whereas the composition of Congress is continually shifting, and members won over with pains and labor at one session may be gone the next.

We ought to keep hammering away at Congress for the Nation-wide suffrage amendment, both as a matter of principle and as a means of agitation and education; but it is not a question of vital importance whether it goes through Congress this year or next, since it is sure in any case to go through before the legislatures of 36 States are ripe for its ratification. Long before public opinion in the country at large has grown to this point, the demand for the submission of the amendment will go through Congress with ease.

Some enthusiastic women talk as if Nation-wide suffrage would be almost won when the amendment is through Congress. If it had passed Congress already, not a woman could vote under it until the assent of the legislatures of 36 States had been secured. Not a drop of water can flow through that ditch until both ends of it are dug. Anybody who is digging away at either end of the ditch is hastening the coming of suffrage; but those wishing to put in their money and work where it will do the most good just at present should put it into helping the campaign States, especially New Jersey, as New Jersey is to vote on the question first, and its success or failure will help or hurt all the other campaigns.

A. S. B.

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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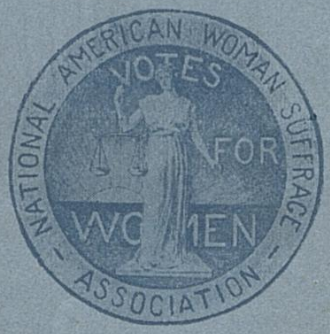
DISFRANCHISEMENT

BY

DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS



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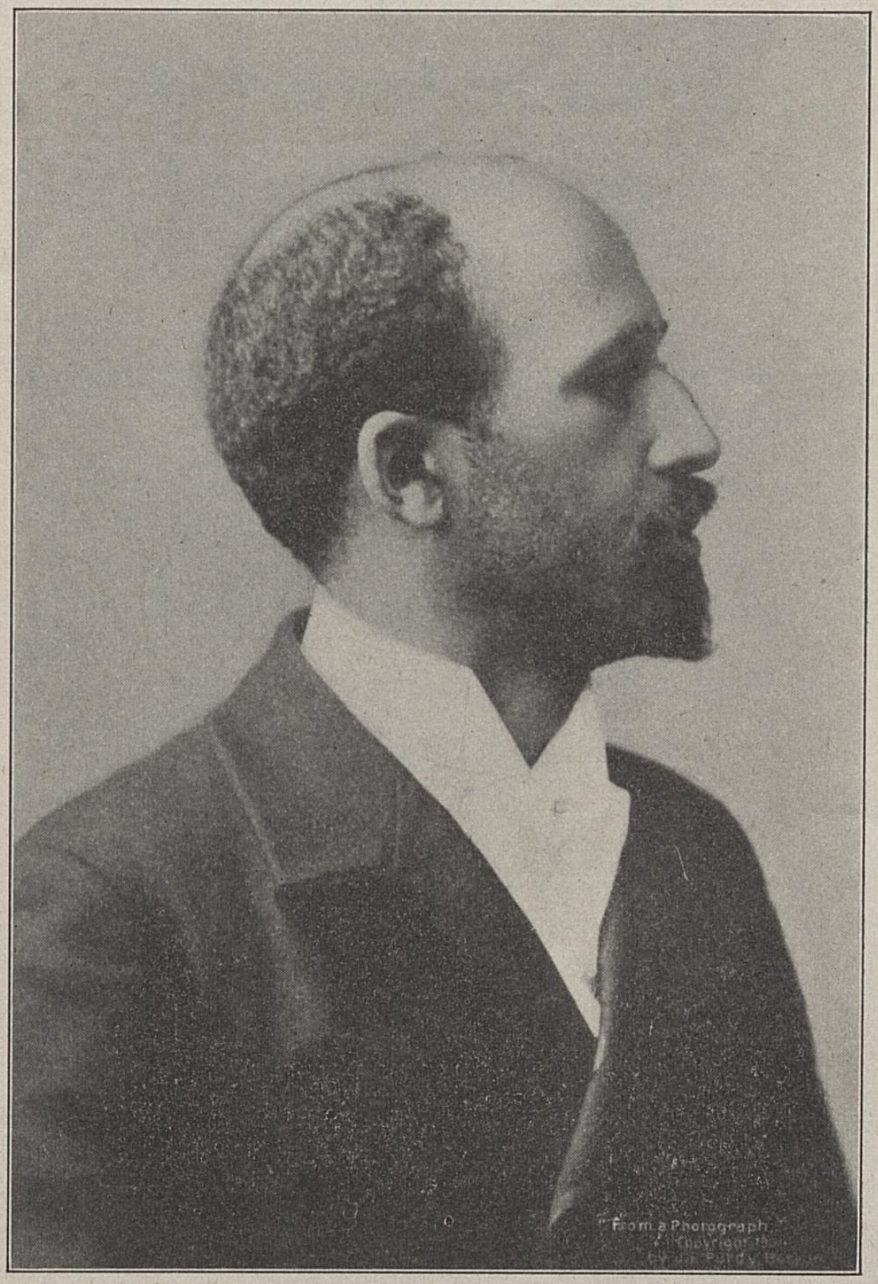

Dr. W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS

Disfranchisement.

By

W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS.

1. Arguments.

The mere fact that democratic government has spread in the past and is still spreading does not prove that those concerned in its spread always realize the broader foundations of the argument that supports it. Usually nations are dealing with concrete groups whose enfranchisement is advocated and the arguments against the step fall under these categories:

(a) The persons in the group are too ignorant to vote intelligently.

(b) The persons are too inexperienced to be trusted with so great responsibility.

(c) The persons would missuse the privilege.

(d) They do not need the ballot.

(e) They do not want the right to vote.

The obvious assumptions behind these objections are that only the intelligent should have the right to vote: that voters should possess some technical knowledge of the government; that only those should have the franchise who do not misuse it for selfish or other ends, and who need the ballot for their good and are anxious to have it.

No sooner, however, do we express these qualifications than it is manifest that these are not such qualifications as one could reasonably require. They are in reality arguments addressed to the self-interest of the present rulers and calculated to show that sharing their prerogative with another group will not disturb or prejudice their present power and perquisites.

2. Fallacy of Certain Arguments.

While it is manifestly the part of practical political wisdom thus to cajole the present ruler, the weapon used is dangerous and the argument is only partially valid. The real underlying and eternally valid arguments for extending as far as possible the participation of human beings in their own government must lie deeper than these phrases and be more carefully framed. If this is done then the advance of democracy will be made easier and more effective since we can scrutinize the essential facts and not be distracted by immaterial suggestions.

What is then the essential argument for extending the right to vote? We may possibly reach it by clearing away the misapprehensions that lurk in the arguments mentioned above.

For instance, we say easily, "The ignorant ought not to vote." We mean to say, "There should be in the State no grown person of sound mind who is not intelligent enough to vote." These two statements may seem to be esentially the same, but they have vastly different implications. In the one case we cast the ignorant aside. They ought not to vote and the implication is that it is their fault. Their interests, we assume will be looked after by others and if they are not, we acknowledge no responsibility. On the other hand, if we stress the responsibility of the State for the education of its citizens as prior to political rights, then the conclusion is that if a State allows its citizens to grow up in ignorance it ought to suffer from an ignorant ballot; that it is the threat of ignorant voters that makes good schools.

The second argument that experience is a necessary prerequisite to voting is absurd. According to this we should have no new voters, unless we assume that the capacity to rule is hereditary. Such assumptions have been made in the past with regard to certain races and one sex. It can scarcely be said, however, that any adequate proof exists which proves that only Englishmen or only persons of the male sex are capable of learning to take part in democratic government. When we consider that the civilized world today is being ruled by

classes who were pronounced utterly incapable of self-rule or of being trained for self-rule a century ago, we must conclude that the ability to rule is, on the whole, a matter of individual social training and that consequently there must always be a part of the body politic without experience who must be trained by the others. In voting as in other matters we learn by doing. It is to be expected that every new voting class and every new democracy will make its costly and ridiculous mistakes—will pass through demagoguery, extravagance, "boss" rule, bribery and the like; but it is through such experience that voters learn to rule and the cost although vast is not excessive if the end is finally gained.

Thus we see that ignorance is a warning and a public responsibility rather than a permanent excuse for disfranchisement, save in the case of the small number who cannot be educated; that inexperience can only be cured by experience and is consequently no reason for disfranchisement; and that misuse of the ballot is perhaps the most effective way of teaching its right use.

3. The Problem of Democracy.

There are, however, people who insist on regarding the franchise not as a necessity for the many but as the privilege of the few. They say of persons and classes, "They do not need the ballot." This is often said of women. It is argued that everything that women might do for themselves with the ballot can be done for them; that they have influence and friends "at court," and that their enfranchisement would simply double the number of ballots. So, too, we are told that Negroes can have done for them by others all that they could possibly do for themselves with the ballot, and much more because the whites are more intelligent.

Further than this it is argued that many of the disfranchised recognize this. "Women do not want the ballot," has been a very effective counted war cry; so much so that many a man has taken refuge in the declaration, "When they want to vote, why then—."

Such phrases show so curious a misapprehension of the foundations of the argument for democracy that this argument

must be continually restated and emphasized. We must remember that if the theory of democracy is correct, the right to vote is not merely a privilege, not simply a method of meeting the needs of a particular group, and least of all a matter of recognized want or desire. Democracy is a method of realizing the broadest measure of justice to all human beings. The world has in the past attempted various methods of attaining this end, most of which can be summed up in three categories:

The method of the Benevolent Tyrant
" " " " Select Few
" " " " Excluded Groups.

The method of entrusting the government of a people to a strong ruler has great advantages when the ruler combines strength with ability, unselfish devotion to the public good and knowledge of what that good calls for. Such a combination is, however, rare and the selection of the right ruler is very difficult. To leave the selection to force is to put a premium on physical strength, chance and intrigue; to make the selection a matter of birth simply transfers the real power from sovereign to selected minister. Inevitably the choice of real rulers must fall on electors.

4. Election.

Then comes the problem. Who shall elect? The earlier answer was: A Select Few, such as the Wise, the Best Born, the Able. Many people assume that it was corruption that made such aristocracies fail. By no means. The best and most effective aristocracy, like the best monarchy, suffered from lack of knowledge; they did not know or understand the needs of the people, and they could not find out, for in the last analysis only the man himself, however humble, knows his own condition. He may not know how to remedy it, he may not realize just what is the matter, but he knows when something hurts, and he alone knows how that hurt feels. Or if, sunk below feeling or comprehension or complaint, he does not even know that he is hurt, God help his country, for it not only lacks knowledge, but has destroyed some of the sources of knowledge!

So soon as a nation discovers that it holds in the heads and hearts of its individual citizens the vast mine of knowledge out of which it may build a just government, then more and more it calls those citizens to select their rulers and judge the justice of their acts.

Even here, however, the temptation is to ask only for the wisdom of citizens of a certain grade, or those of recognized worth. Continually some classes are tacitly or expressly excluded. Thus women have been regularly excluded from modern democracy, because of custom, because of the persistent theory of female subjection, and because it was argued that their husbands or other male folk would look to their interests. Now manifestly most husbands, fathers and brothers will so far as they know how, or so far as they realize women's needs look after them. But remember that the foundation of the argument is that in the last analysis only the sufferer knows his sufferings, and that no state can be strong which excludes from its expressed wisdom, the knowledge possessed by mothers, wives and daughters. Certainly we have but to view the unsatisfactory relations of the sexes the world over and the problem of children, to realize how desperately we need this excluded wisdom.

The same argument applies to other excluded groups: If a race like the Negro race is excluded from the ballot, then so far as that race is a part of the economic and social organization of the land, the feeling and the experience of that race is absolutely necessary to the realization of the broadest justice for all citizens. Or if the "submerged tenth" be excluded, then again there is lost experience of untold value, and the submerged must be raised rapidly to a plane where they can speak for themselves.

In the same way and for the same reason children must be educated, insanity prevented and only those put under guardianship of others who can in no way be trained to speak for themselves.

The real argument for democracy is then that in the people we have the real source of that endless life and unbounded wisdom which the real ruler of men must have. A given people today

may not be intelligent, but through a democratic government that recognizes not only the worth of the individual to himself but the worth of his feelings and experiences to all, they can educate not only the individual unit, but generation after generation until they accumulate vast stores of wisdom. Democracy alone is the method of storing the whole experience of the race for the benefit of the future, and if democracy tries to exclude women or Negroes or the poor or any class because of innate characteristics which do not interfere with intelligence then that democracy cripples itself and belies its name.

5. Extension of the Right of Suffrage.

From this point of view we can easily see the weakness and strength of current criticism of extensions of the ballot. It is the business of a modern government to see to it, *first,* that the number of the ignorant within its bounds is reduced to the very smallest number. *Secondly,* it is the duty of every such government to extend as quickly as possible the number of grown persons of mature age who can vote. Such possible voters must be regarded not as sharers of a limited treasure, but as sources of new national wisdom and strength.

The addition of the new wisdom, the new points of view and new interests must of course be, from time to time, bewildering and confusing. Today those who have a voice in the body politic have expressed their wishes and sufferings. The result has been a more or less effective balancing of their conflicting interests. The appearance of new interests and complaints means disarrangement and confusion to the older equilibrium. But this is not in itself evil—it is the inevitable preliminary step to that larger equilibrium in which the interests of no human soul will be neglected. These interests will not, surely, be all fully realized but they will be recognized and given as full weight as the conflicting interests of others will allow. The problem of government thereafter will be to reduce the necessary conflict of human interests to the minimum.

From such a point of view one easily sees the strength of the demand for the ballot on the part of certain disfranchised classes. When women ask for the ballot they are asking not a privilege but a necessity. You may not see the necessity; you may easily argue that women do not need to vote. Indeed the women themselves in considerable number may feel the same. Nevertheless they do need the ballot. They need it to right the balance of a world sadly awry because of its brutal neglect of the rights of women and children. With the best will and knowledge no man can know women's wants as well as women themselves. To disfranchise them is deliberately to turn from knowledge and grope in ignorance.

So too with American Negroes: The South continually insists that a benevolent guardianship of whites over blacks is the ideal thing. They assume that white people not only know better what Negroes need than Negroes themselves, but are anxious to supply those needs. As a result instead of knowledge they grope in ignorance and helplessness. They cannot "understand" the Negro, they cannot protect him from cheating and lynching and in general instead of loving guardianship, we see anarchy and exexploitation. If the Negro could speak for himself in the South instead of being spoken for; if he could defend himself instead of having to depend on the chance sympathy of white citizens, how much healthier growth of democracy the South would have.

It is not for a moment to be assumed that enfranchising women would not cost something. It would for many years confuse our politics. It would change the composition of family and social life. It would admit to the ballot thousands of inexperienced persons unable to vote intelligently. Above all it would interfere with some of the present prerogatives of men and probably for some time to come annoy them considerably.

So, too, Negro enfranchisement meant Reconstruction with its theft, bribery and incompetency. It would mean today that black men South would have to be treated with consideration, have their wishes more respected and their manhood recognized. Every white Southerner who wants peons beneath him, who believes in

heriditary menials and a privileged aristocracy, or who hates certain races because of their characteristics, would resent this.

Notwithstanding this, if America is ever to become a government built on the broadest justice to every citizen, then every citizen must be enfranchised. There may be temporary exclusions until the ignorant or their children are taught, or to avoid too sudden an influx of inexperienced voters. But such exclusions can be but temporary if justice is to prevail.

6. Dangerous Arguments.

While many of those seeking enfranchisement recognize the broad demand of justice for all human beings which underlies their argument, they are often tempted by the exegencies of the situation to ignore the application of those underlying principles to any but themselves, or even to deny and attack the justice of equally just demands for the ballot. The advocates of woman suffrage have continually been in great danger of asking the ballot not because they are citizens, but because they occupy a certain social position, are of a certain grade of intelligence, or are "white." Continually it has been said in America, "If Paupers and Negroes vote why not college-bred women of wealth and position?" The assumption is that such a woman has superior right to have her interests represented in the nation and that Negroes and Paupers have few rights which society leaders are bound to respect. So, too, many colored people, in arguing their own enfranchisement, are willing to be counted against the enfranchisement of women or foreigners or the unfortunate. Such argument or neglect is both false and dangerous, and while its phrasing may be effective at times it represents a climbing of one class on the misery of another.

The insistent call of democracy is ringing in the ears of all people today as never before in spite of the hard experiences of the past. The cure for the ills of democracy is seen to be more democracy. We are rapidly changing from a form of social control dictated by the interests of a few to one dictated by the interests of a large and larger majority. Not only is this true in what

is usually called politics but also in industry. In fact our political interests are becoming more and more industrial and our industry is assuming larger and larger political aspects. In the industrial world we are still under the rule of the strong Monarch, with at most the mitigation of the power of the Selected Few. We feel the consequent confusion. We lack knowledge of industrial conditions. We have no standard of industrial justice. Whence shall knowledge and standards come? Through democracy. Through having the rights and wishes of every worker represented in the Power that controls industry. This will be hard to attain. The passing of the strong monarch in industry as in politics will spell anarchy in many places, but social justice will eventually come. How necessary then to build a state of the broadest democracy to cope with the industrial problem within nations and between nations and races.

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