



## Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

### **Copyright Notice:**

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit [www.mnhs.org/copyright](http://www.mnhs.org/copyright).

# SUFFRAGE PLAYS

---

---



To be had from the  
**National American Woman Suffrage Association**

505 Fifth Avenue, New York

The following plays and duologues have been selected with special reference to the limitations of amateur production. The fees are due the day following the performance, except in the case of "Our Friends, the Anti-Suffragists," the fee for which must accompany the acceptance of the play for production. Make check payable to National American Woman Suffrage Association. The Headquarters Office, by arrangement with the various authors of the plays, retains a five per cent. commission, and forwards all royalties monthly. The English plays on the following list are provided by arrangement with Miss Edith Craig and with the Actresses' Franchise League of London, by which this office becomes sole agency in America.

\***How the Vote Was Won.** By Cicely Hamilton and Christopher St. John . . . . . \$0.15 \$5.00  
For 2 men and 8 women. Time, 45 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A farcical situation due to the decision of every woman in London to go to her nearest male relative and demand support until given the ballot. All the women act simultaneously, and this play shows the result in one family only. It is quite sufficient.

\***The Pot and the Kettle.** By Cicely Hamilton and Christopher St. John . . . . . 0.15 5.00  
For 2 men and 3 women. Time, 25 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—The amusing dilemma of an anti-suffragist who loses her temper at a meeting and becomes "militant," from the sad results of which she is magnanimously saved by her suffragette cousin.

\***Lady Geraldine's Speech.** By Beatrice Harraden . . . . . 0.15 5.00  
For 7 women. Time, 25 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A woman doctor, who is a strong suffragist, is begged by an old friend to help her prepare an anti-suffrage speech. The doctor yields, and the friend is converted in the process, with the aid of a lively group of professional women of various sorts, who are friends of the doctor.

\***Press Cuttings.** By Bernard Shaw . . . . . 0.30 5.00  
For 3 men and 3 women. Time, 45 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A most comical farce, a burlesque on Asquith and the "force" argument. It requires skill in acting, but is an opportunity for brilliant success, if well done.

\***A Woman's Influence.** By Gertrude Jennings . . . . . 0.15 5.00  
For 1 man and 4 women. Time, 25 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A clever showing-up of the "indirect influence" idea. The characters are an intelligent young married woman and her friend, who are bent on legislation to ameliorate sweat-shop work; the husband, who won't take his wife seriously, a clinging vine type of woman, who tries to influence the husband, and a sweat-shop worker. The husband's eyes are opened at last.

\*English.

\***Before Sunrise.** By Bessie Hatton . . . . . \$0.15 \$5.00  
For 2 men and 4 women. Time, 45 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—The old-fashioned idea of a girl's helplessness in making a perfunctory marriage is the theme of this play. The girl's best friend, an independent young woman with modern spirit, tries to save her, but the influence of the parents and lover are too strong, and she weakly succumbs.

\***Miss Appleyard's Awakening.** By Evelin Glover . . . . . 0.15 5.00  
For 3 women. Time, 25 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—Highly diverting little play, in which a rampageous "anti," in marshalling her arguments against suffrage, is routed point by point by a fellow "anti," whose eyes she unwittingly opens in the process.

\***The Maid and the Magistrate.** By Graham Moffat . . . . . 0.10 2.50  
For 1 man and 1 woman. Time, 25 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A lawyer proposes to a suffragette who, unknown to him, had been arrested that day, and was out on bail, while he, unknown to her, had just been made magistrate, and she discovers that her case will come before him for trial. The situation is cleverly sustained.

\***An Allegory.** By Vera Wentworth . . . . . 0.15 5.00  
For 3 men and 3 women. Time, 25 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A picturesque presentation of Woman, in chains, struggling to keep up with Man. She is baffled by Fear and Prejudice until Courage comes to her rescue. The lines are well written, and it is capable of great beauty in costuming.

†**A Home Thrust.** By Mrs. Charles Caffin. . . . . 0.10 2.50  
For 2 women. Time, 20 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A powerful scene between a woman of leisure (an anti) and a charwoman, in which the former sympathizes in a remote sort of way with the hardships of the latter and her class. The charwoman tells her story, the climax of which is the discovery that it was the son of this very leisure woman who had attempted the ruin of her little daughter. It is exceedingly well written.

†**Scissors or Sword.** By Elizabeth Gerberding . . . . . 0.10 5.00  
For 10 women. Time, 25 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A scene at the directors' meeting of a woman's club. The lively discussion of resolutions in behalf of some women employes who are being unjustly treated ends in an endorsement of votes for women. Very easily presented by amateurs.

†**The Girl from Colorado.** By Selina Solomon . . . . . 0.10 5.00  
For 5 men and 5 women. Time, 40 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—Written especially for the California campaign, but entirely applicable elsewhere. The heroine, a girl from Colorado, visits her "anti" relatives, and the play culminates in their conversion, in which two love affairs are amusingly interwoven.

†American.

†**Three Women.** By Charlotte Perkins Gilman . . . . . \$0.10 \$5.00  
For 1 man and 3 women. Time, 45 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—The play shows a mother who had given up her career as a singer for love; her sister, who had given up love for her career as a painter, and her daughter, who insists on having both love and a career, and her fiancé acquiesces after a struggle.

†**Something To Vote For.** By Charlotte Perkins Gilman . . . . . \$0.10 \$5.00  
For 2 men and 7 women. Time, 50 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—The corrupt head of a milk trust tries to secure the support of a woman's club, the president of which he would like to marry. All the members are anti-suffragists. His efforts are frustrated by a Colorado woman doctor, aided by an honest milk inspector.

†**Help Us to Help Ourselves.** By Miriam Nicholson . . . . . 0.10 5.00  
For 1 man and 6 women. Time, 30 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—An interesting situation in which the daughter of a New Zealand member of Parliament is converted to woman suffrage by the appeal of a hotel chambermaid—formerly employed in a laundry—to her father, who has become an advocate of votes for women, unknown to the daughter. An anti-suffragist and three suffrage leaders are effectively introduced.

†**If Women Voted.** By Inez Millholland . . . . . 0.10 2.50  
For 1 man and 1 woman. Time, 10 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—An amusing Irish duologue, in which the woman holds her own, and shakes the man's complacency by her understanding of what a vote can accomplish. Excellent propaganda.

†**Cinderelline; or, The Little Red Slipper.** By Florence Kiper . . . . . 0.10 5.00  
For 1 man and 4 women. (The male part may be taken by a woman.) Time, 30 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A charmingly poetical allegory representing the New Woman as a modern Cinderella, and the two types of the Old Woman embodied in the sex parasite and the domestic drudge as the wicked sisters.

†**The Last Trick.** By Ida Rauh Eastman . . . . . 0.10 5.00  
For 4 women. Time, 15 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—Shows the conversion of a woman trades unionist to a belief in the working woman's need for the ballot through a trick by means of which an unsuspecting young girl is made to testify before a state legislature against the interests of her fellow-workers. Industrially sound and convincing.

## ENTERTAINMENTS

	Per Copy	Fee for Pro- duction
† <b>The Perfect Lady.</b> By Marie Jenney Howe . . .	\$0.10	\$5.00

For 3 women. Time, 25 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—An amusing scene in a beauty parlor, introducing a sensible suffragist, a frivolous anti and the hard-working proprietor of the establishment, in the course of which the latter is converted to woman suffrage.

† <b>Election Day.</b> By Emily Sargent Lewis . . .	0.15	5.00
---	------	------

For 3 men, 5 women, 1 child. Time, 35 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—Shows a prosperous and conventional anti appealing to the various other characters to use their influence or to cast their votes against a woman suffrage amendment. Meeting with failure in each instance, she turns about and declares her intention of going over to the popular side.

† <b>Our Friends, the Anti-Suffragists.</b> By Mary Shaw	1.00	10.00
--	------	-------

(The Association handles this play under a special arrangement with Miss Shaw, which provides that \$1.00 must accompany the request for the manuscript, and, if accepted, \$9.00 additional must accompany the application for permission to produce.)

For 12 or more women. Time, 45 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A satirical comedy skit, equally effective on a stage or a platform, presenting a rehearsal of the pleas which a number of anti-suffragist speakers are to present before a hearing of a state legislature. Three "indifferents" who are present are converted to suffrage in the process. Highly amusing.

	Per Copy	Fee for Pre- sentation
† <b>A Dream of Brave Women.</b> A Pageant. By Emily Sargent Lewis . . . . .	\$0.10	\$5.00

For 20 to 30 women, the same number of men, and 3 children.  
Time, 1 hour.

SYNOPSIS:—A group of eighteen verses to be read to accompany a series of eighteen tableaux showing women famous in American history. For the concluding verse, which is applicable only to Pennsylvania, Mrs. Lewis will, on application, substitute one suitable to any given state without extra charge.

	Purchase Price	Rental, one occasion
‡ <b>Poster Talks.</b> By Henrietta W. Livermore . . .	\$16.00	\$2.00

Manuscript and seven posters. Time, 45 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—Seven witty little suffrage sermons, each illustrated by a popular and attractive suffrage poster conveniently mounted for platform exhibition.

‡ <b>Entertainment to Make Votes for Women.</b> By S. L. W. Clark, National W. C. T. U. Franchise Superintendent . . . . .	Per Copy \$0.10	No fee for pre- sentation
--	-----------------------	---------------------------------

For 25 to 50 women. Time, 45 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—The scene presents a discussion of a bill to enfranchise men in a state legislature in the year 2099. The entertainment was given in the Hall of Representatives, Capitol Building, Olympia, Washington, during the Washington campaign.

‡ <b>An Anti-Suffrage Monologue.</b> By Marie Jenney Howe . . . . .	0.03	No fee for pre- sentation
--	------	---------------------------------

For 1 woman. Time, 10 minutes.

SYNOPSIS:—A burlesque on the stock anti arguments and attitude of mind. Telling, but thoroughly good-humored.

¶ Miss Mary Shaw will give a complete suffrage program made up of her play, "Our Friends, the Anti-Suffragists," done as a monologue, and other suffrage skits. For terms address Miss Shaw at the Professional Women's League, 1999 Broadway, New York.

¶ Mrs. Augusta Raymond Kidder, author of "The Pageant of Protest," given at the Broadway Theater in New York for the benefit of the New York Woman Suffrage Party, will direct a professional presentation of the Pageant, or will give it in the form of a reading with musical accompaniment. Address, 3120 Broadway, New York.

¶ For information concerning "Every Woman's Road," "The Best Thing That Could Have Happened," "Outwitting Providence," etc., apply to the Agency for Unpublished Plays, 41 Concord Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

[undated]

# CATALOG AND PRICE LIST

of

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE

## Literature and Supplies



NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

NOTE:—All pamphlets, booklets and other articles listed at .03 cents each can be had at the rate of two for .05 cents or two for .06 cents postpaid. Parcels will be sent by express whenever the charge is less than the postage would be. Remittances should be made by check, money order or postage stamp; checks and money orders to be made payable to The National American Woman Suffrage Association.

NOTE:—For the saving of both time and money to suffragists in the western states, a national branch office stocked with literature and supplies has been opened by courtesy of the Illinois W. S. A. at its Headquarters, Fine Arts Building, Michigan Ave., Chicago. Prices and stock same as at National Headquarters.

## BOOKS ON SUFFRAGE

### HISTORY AND ARGUMENT.

**The History of Woman Suffrage.** By Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper. Cloth \$8.00 Express  
Calf 10.00 extra

An invaluable reference work giving in detail the history of the movement up to 1900, in four volumes.

**The History of Woman Suffrage.** By Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper. Cloth \$2.00  
Calf 2.50

Vol. IV. Contains a summary of the early years and a detailed chronicle up to 1900.

**Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony.** By Ida Husted Harper. \$7.50

A complete biography, picturesquely and dramatically sketched against the background of the woman suffrage movement. In three volumes.

**Equal Suffrage.** By Helen M. Sumner.... \$2.00  
Postpaid..... 2.16

An impartial report of the effects of equal suffrage in Colorado, prepared at the instance of the College Equal Suffrage League of New York State.

**A Short History of Women's Rights.** By Eugene A. Hecker. \$1.50  
Postpaid..... 1.65

A comprehensive survey of the changing status of woman from the days of Augustus to the present, with special reference to England and the United States.

**The Political Status of Women in the United States.** By Bertha Rembaugh.... \$1.00  
Postpaid..... 1.10

A digest of the laws concerning women in the various states and territories. Prepared at the instance of the Women's Political Union.

**The Woman Movement in America.** By Belle Squire. .... \$.75  
Postpaid..... .83

A series of sketches of different phases of and periods of the woman movement in America.

BOOKS ON SUFFRAGE.

HISTORY AND ARGUMENT

(Continued).

The Modern Woman's Rights Movement.

By Dr. Kaethe Schirmacher ..... 1.50  
Postpaid..... 1.60

An historical survey of the movement all over the world. Translated from the German by Carl Conrad Eckhardt of the University of Colorado.

The Subjection of Women. By John Stuart Mill. .... .60

Postpaid..... .68

The great English economist's unequalled essay, an imperishable classic of the movement. With an introduction by Carrie Chapman Catt.

The Suffragette. By Sylvia Pankhurst.... 1.50  
Postpaid..... 1.62

An historical account of the militant movement in England.

	Per copy	Per doz.
Woman Suffrage, Arguments and Results.	.25	2.50
Postpaid.....	.29	express

Woman Suffrage, Arguments and Results. Postpaid..... .29

A bound volume of all the envelope-size booklets, covering practically the entire field of suffrage claims and evidences. Specially useful to debaters, speakers, workers and libraries.

FICTION.

The Light. By Jean Magoun..... .50  
Postpaid..... .55

A suffrage love story.

Mr. Lex. By Catherine Waugh McCulloch. .35  
Postpaid..... .38

Presents in fiction form the legal status of mother and child in America.

Sally Ann's Experience. By Eliza Calvert Hall. .... \$ .50  
Postpaid..... .55

Presents in a delightful blend of humor and pathos an unusually striking example of the injustice of property laws towards women. Daintily bound.

BOOKS ON SUFFRAGE.

FICTION (Continued).

Rebel Women. By Evelyn Sharp..... \$1.00  
Postpaid..... 1.10

A volume of sketches on the militant movement in England. Attractively bound in the W. S. P. U. colors.

The Convert. By Elizabeth Robins..... \$1.50  
Postpaid..... 1.61

A novel dealing with the development of a character under inspiration of the suffrage movement.

An American Suffragette. By I. N. Stevens. \$1.20  
Postpaid..... 1.30

A stirring tale of love, mystery and adventure with an attractive heroine fired with a noble zeal for human uplift.

POETRY.

Per copy Per doz. Per 100

Suffrage Songs and Verses. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman.....

\$ .10	\$1.00	....
Postpaid..... .11	1.04	....

A collection of practically all the poetry Mrs. Gilman has written on the suffrage cause. Suitable for readings and recitations.

SONGS.

The New America. By Althea C. Briggs.. \$ .01 \$ .08 \$ .75  
Postpaid..... .02 .10 .92

Equality. By Helena Bingham. Words and Music. .... .25  
Postpaid..... .28

RECITATIONS.

The Yellow Ribbon Speaker. By Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Alice Stone Blackwell and Lucy Elmina Anthony. .... .50  
Postpaid..... .57

An Anti-Suffrage Monologue. By Marie Jenny Howe ..... .03 .25 2.00  
Postpaid..... .04 .29 express

P A M P H L E T S—Magazine Size.

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
<b>Education and Democracy.</b> By Frances Squire Potter.....	\$.05	\$.50	\$3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.55	express
Shows how the enfranchisement of women contributes to the development of democracy.			
<b>Woman, Economics and the Ballot.</b> By Frances Squire Potter.....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.55	express
Points out the connection between the vote and woman's economic position.			
<b>Women and Social Service.</b> By Charlotte Perkins Gilman.....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.57	express
An appeal for the recognition of woman's duty to society as well as to the home.			
<b>A New-Fashioned Argument for Woman Suffrage.</b> By M. Carey Thomas.....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.60	express
Demonstrates the injustice of denying to self-supporting women the best means for their own defense.			
<b>Obstructions in the Way of Justice.</b> By Charles Edward Russell.....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.58	express
The democracy argument convincingly put.			
<b>Suffrage—A Right.</b> By Ida Husted Harper.....	.10	1.00	6.00
Postpaid.....	.11	1.08	express
A masterly presentation of the constitutional aspects of the woman suffrage question. Highly commended by lawyers.			
<b>The World Movement for Woman Suffrage.</b> By Ida Husted Harper.....	.01	.10	.80
Postpaid.....	.02	.12	1.16
A concise and reliable statement of the present status of woman suffrage all over the world, published this year and containing all the recent gains.			
<b>The World Movement for Woman Suffrage.</b> By Carrie Chapman Catt.....	.04	.37	2.50
Postpaid.....	.05	.46	express
Address before the International Alliance at Stockholm.			

P A M P H L E T S—Magazine Size (Continued).

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
<b>Government by the People.</b> By Nathaniel Schmidt.....	.03	.25	1.50
Postpaid.....	.04	.29	1.77
Shows the growth of social responsibility among women and points out that its logical outcome is full citizenship.			
<b>Homo Sum.</b> By Jane Ellen Harrison.....	.10	1.00	7.00
Postpaid.....	.11	1.11	express
Being a letter from an anthropologist to an anti-suffragist. The biological and sociological argument.			
<b>Breaking Into the Human Race.</b> By Rheta Childe Dorr.....	\$.05	\$.50	\$3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.56	express
A witty and brilliant article reprinted from a popular magazine, demanding recognition for women as human beings.			
<b>Report on Votes for Women to the French Chamber of Deputies.</b> By the Commission on Universal Suffrage.....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.58	express
Contains strong recommendations, besides a fund of useful information about the movement all over the world.			
<b>Does a Man Support His Wife?</b> By Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.59	express
A debate between two brilliant writers on a question of vital and growing interest.			
<b>Shall Women Vote?</b> By W. I. Thomas..	.05	.50	4.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.56	express
A clever and satirical article reprinted from a popular magazine. Well adapted to catch the attention of the indifferent.			
<b>Why Equal Suffrage Has Been a Success.</b> By Thaddeus P. Thomas.....	\$.03	\$.25	\$2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.32	express
Points out the large social gains actually resulting from woman suffrage in practice.			



P A M P H L E T S—Magazine Size (Continued).

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
<b>The Guardianship of Children.</b> By Catherine Waugh McCulloch.....	.04	.48	2.00
Postpaid.....	.05	.51	2.20
A brief statement by a lawyer of the laws concerning the rights of mothers over their children in the United States.			
<b>Shall Women Have the Right to Vote?</b> By Wendell Phillips .....	.10	1.10	8.80
Postpaid.....	.11	1.24	express
A famous address made in 1851 and having as much force to-day as when it was delivered.			
<b>Suffrage for Women.</b> By John Stuart Mill.	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.54	express
A famous and stirring speech made in the British Parliament in 1869, a presentation of the fundamental claims of woman suffrage that has never been surpassed.			
<b>Causes of the Revolt of the Women in England.</b> By Annie G. Porritt.....	.03	.30	2.50
Postpaid.....	.04	.35	express
A brief and authoritative statement of the events and circumstances leading up to the militant movement.			
<b>The Militant Movement in England.</b> By Annie G. Porritt .....	\$.03	\$.30	\$2.50
Postpaid.....	.04	.35	express
Valuable as history. Invaluable for the disarming of prejudice.			
<b>The Political Duty of Mothers.</b> By Annie G. Porritt .....	.01	.12	.90
Postpaid.....	.02	.17	1.10
Shows that suffrage is concerned with women's duties as well as women's rights.			
<b>Votes and Babies.</b> By Annie G. Porritt..	.01	.12	.90
Postpaid.....	.02	.15	1.07
Shows how politics enters into all the affairs of the home. Carries an especially strong appeal to the mother and home maker.			

B O O K L E T S—Cabinet Size.

WHAT WOMEN MIGHT DO WITH THEIR BALLOT SERIES

Each one of the booklets in this series takes up a specific social problem and shows the cause. They are written by well-known authorities, who present first the problem by a few graphic instances, next the legislation which will solve the problem, and, finally, the connection between an individual citizen and such legislation. The pamphlets are bound attractively in uniform style and most of them illustrated with a frontispiece.

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
<b>The Abolition of Child Labor.</b> By Florence Kelley .....	\$.05	\$.50	\$3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.54	3.27
Gives the author's personal experience of the difficulty in securing regulation of the employment of children without political power.			
<b>The Abolition of the White Slave Traffic.</b> By Clifford G. Roe.	"	"	"
Shows how woman's enfranchisement might serve to wipe out the traffic in women.			
<b>Reasonable Postal Laws.</b> By James L. Cowles.	"	"	"
A statement by an expert of some new and wonderful possibilities.			
<b>Fire Prevention.</b> By Arthur E. Mac Farlane.	"	"	"
Points to a new field where women's political action is needed.			
<b>The Abolition of the War System.</b> By Lucia Ames Mead.	"	"	"
Shows how woman's enfranchisement conduces to the establishment of the world peace.			
<b>The Annihilation of the Slum.</b> By Frederick C. Howe.	"	"	"
Shows the need for women's help in dealing with the problem of city congestion.			
<b>Disfranchisement.</b> By W. E. Burghardt DuBois .....	"	"	"
Postpaid.....	"	"	"
A powerful statement of the wrong and injustice of political discrimination.			

BOOKLETS—Cabinet Size (Continued).

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
<b>Militant Methods.</b> By Alice Stone Blackwell .....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.29	2.32
A dramatic, sympathetic and authoritative summary of the English militant movement.			
<b>When All the Women Want It.</b> By Alice Stone Blackwell .....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.27	2.32
A clinching answer to a favorite anti-suffrage argument.			
<b>Why Man Needs Woman's Ballot.</b> By Clifford Howard .....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.27	2.32
A concise statement of the practical social expediency of giving votes to women.			
<b>Women Should Mind Their Own Business.</b> By Edward J. Ward.....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.30	express
A witty and brilliant statement of the social obligations of women.			
<b>Christian Citizenship.</b> By Mary E. Craigie. Postpaid.....	.03 .04	.25 .29	2.00 2.32
Shows the relation of the church to suffrage. Prepared by the chairman of the Church Work Committee of the N. A. W. S. A.			
<b>How Six States Won Woman Suffrage.</b> By Ida Husted Harper .....	.03	.25	2.25
Postpaid.....	.04	.29	express
Useful not only as history but for campaign suggestions.			
<b>Is Woman Suffrage Important?</b> By Max Eastman .....	\$.03	\$.25	\$1.25
Postpaid.....	.04	.29	express
Shows the practical expediency of giving women the vote.			
<b>Woman Suffrage in New Zealand.</b> By Mrs. K. A. Sheppard.....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.30	express
Gives the history, extent and results of the movement in New Zealand, with testimonials from leading citizens.			

BOOKLETS—Envelope Size.

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
<b>Objections Answered.</b> By Alice Stone Blackwell .....	\$.03	\$.25	\$2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.30	express
Meets all the stock arguments against woman suffrage with invincible reasoning. Universally useful for all kinds of propaganda purposes. New edition fully up to date.			
<b>Do You Know?</b> By Carrie Chapman Catt. . . . .	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.30	2.22
Presents facts and statistics in compact and readable form. A new and extended edition fully up to date.			
<b>Why Women Should Vote.</b> By Jane Adams .....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.30	2.25
Shows the home woman's need for the vote in a sympathetic, appealing and convincing manner.			
<b>Measuring Up Equal Suffrage.</b> By Judge Ben B. Lindsey and George Creel.....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.30	express
A summary of results in Colorado that meets and answers all the stock questions with respect to the actual workings of woman suffrage.			
<b>A Common Sense View of Equal Suffrage.</b> By Jesse Lynch Williams.....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.28	2.21
Answers all the stock objections in a gently satirical vein. Readable and sound.			
<b>Why Women Want to Vote.</b> By Frances Maule Björkman .....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.28	2.21
A categorical summary in paragraphic form.			
<b>Where Women Vote.</b> By Frances Maule Björkman .....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.58	express
A compilation of facts and statistics about the suffrage states and countries. Designed especially for the convenience of debaters, suffrage workers and speakers.			

BOOKLETS—Envelope Size (Continued).

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
Eminent Opinions .....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.58	express
An imposing array of expressions from eminent persons of all kinds.			
Votes for Women—A Success.....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.32	express
A symposium on the actual results of equal suffrage by mayors of towns and cities in the equal suffrage states.			
Politics and Government in the United States. By E. T. Fox.....	.25	2.75	....
Postpaid.....	.26	2.84	....
A brief but thoroughly comprehensive and authentic outline of the method of government of the United States.			

LEAFLETS.

	Set of 25	Complete set	Per 100 any one kind
POLITICAL EQUALITY SERIES....	\$.10	\$.20	\$.15
Postpaid.....	.11	.25	.20

All the arguments, facts, figures, statistics, results and endorsements in cheap and convenient form for debaters, for distribution at meetings and for enclosure in letters.

Equal Suffrage in Practice.

Laws Resulting from Equal Suffrage.  
 Ministers on Votes for Women. By Alice Stone Blackwell.  
 The Ballot and the Schools. By Helen L. Grenfell.  
 Mrs. Decker on Woman Suffrage.  
 Judge Lindsey on Equal Suffrage.  
 The Truth About Colorado.  
 Testimony from Colorado.  
 Testimony from Idaho.  
 Testimony from Wyoming.  
 Woman Suffrage in New Zealand.  
 Equal Suffrage in Australia.  
 Woman Suffrage in Norway. By Frances Maule Björkman.  
 Woman Suffrage in Finland. By Frances Maule Björkman.  
 California Enlightens the World as to Woman Suffrage.

LEAFLETS (Continued).

Opinions and Endorsements.

Eminent People Declare for Equal Suffrage.  
 More Eminent People Declare for Equal Suffrage.  
 Catholic Opinions.  
 \*Ministers on Votes for Women. By Alice Stone Blackwell.  
 \*Judge Lindsey on Equal Suffrage.  
 Newspapers on the California Victory.  
 Frederick C. Howe on Suffrage.  
 Woman Suffrage Endorsed.  
 Summing Up the Case for Woman Suffrage. By Justice David J. Brewer of the United States Supreme Court.

General Arguments.

Why Women Should Vote. By Alice Stone Blackwell.  
 Women Do Not Want It. By Alice Stone Blackwell.  
 Is Voting an Industry? By Alice Stone Blackwell.  
 Do Teachers Need the Ballot? By Alice Stone Blackwell.  
 Voting and Fighting. By Alice Stone Blackwell.  
 Remarks on "The Ladies' Battle." By Alice Stone Blackwell.  
 Have We a Democracy? By Susan W. FitzGerald.  
 The Real Point. By Mary Ware Dennett.  
 Woman's Ballot. By M. Carey Thomas.  
 Persuasion or Responsibility. By Florence Kelley.  
 Woman Suffrage in Its Relation to Working Women and Children. By Florence Kelley.  
 Why the Housekeeper Needs the Vote. By Anne O'Hagan.  
 Do Men Represent Women? By Anne O'Hagan.  
 The Reason Why. By Mary Johnston.  
 Indirect Influence. By Lida Calvert Obenchain.  
 The "Unanswerable Argument" Answered. By Lida Calvert Obenchain.  
 The Direct Way. By Frances Squire Potter.  
 Suffrage and Soldiering. By Edwin D. Mead.  
 Woman's Place. By Mary Alden Hopkins.  
 Why the Working Woman Needs the Vote. By Mary Kenney O'Sullivan.  
 Living Wages and Respectability. By Dr. Raymond V. Phelan.  
 What Difference Does It Make to the Women? By Ellis Meredith.  
 Dorothy Dix on Woman's Ballot.  
 Women and Public Housekeeping. By Jane Addams.

\*Same leaflet listed under Equal Suffrage in Practice.

LEAFLETS (Continued).

Miscellaneous.

- The Secret Enemy.
- Disfranchised Men.
- Pigs Vs. Boys.
- Bees, Clams and Children.
- Two Workings of a Bad Law.
- A Few Leading Questions.
- Twenty Facts About Woman Suffrage.
- Gains in Equal Suffrage.
- Facts and Dates to Remember.

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
What Kind of Men Want Women to Vote and Why. By Katherine Houghton Hepburn .....	\$.01	\$.10	\$.25
Postpaid.....	.02	.12	.36
Have You Ever Thought Why Your Mother, Wife, Sister and Daughter Are Not Allowed to Vote? By Katharine Houghton Hepburn .....	.01	.10	.25
Postpaid.....	.02	.12	.33
The Revolution in Women's Work Makes Votes for Women a Practical Necessity. By Katharine Houghton Hepburn .....	.01	.10	.25
Postpaid.....	.02	.12	.36
A Suffrage Answer to an Anti Platform..	.01	.10	.25
Postpaid.....	.02	.12	.30

Designed especially for distribution to members of legislatures in connection with the free leaflet "Of Interest to Legislators," but useful also for general propaganda work.

CENTRAL OFFICE SERVICE.

Of Interest to Legislators ..... Free on application

Designed for distribution among members of state legislatures. Contains no arguments, but gives instead well authenticated facts showing the strength of the movement.

What to Do..... " " "

Contains specific instructions to beginners in suffrage work.

LEAFLETS (Continued).

Political District Organization..... Free on application

Gives direct instructions for organizing suffrage work and forces along political lines.

What to Read..... " " "

A monthly bulletin containing a list of articles of interest to suffragists in the current magazines, and a standing list of books and periodicals of value to suffragists.

NOTE. The publications in this department will be added to as occasion demands.

FLYERS.

	Sample set	Per 100	Per 1,000
Rainbow Series .....	\$.01	\$.10	\$1.00
Postpaid.....	.02	.15	express

A set of leaflets printed in large type on bright colored paper and carrying all the most potent arguments in brief, popular and readable form. Designed especially for out-door meetings.

**Orange:** Anti-suffrage and suffrage arguments in parallel columns.

**Pink:** Who gave men their right to vote and when?  
Who will give women their right to vote and when?  
Historic and prophetic.

**Yellow:** The woman's reason—because.  
Ten reasons why women should vote, all beginning with "because."

**Green:** Woman suffrage endorsed by federations of labor and famous labor leaders.

**Blue:** Six kinds of women who need to vote and why.

**Violet:** Women in the home; the close connection between home and voting.

Rainbow Flyers. In German, Italian, Bohemian and Yiddish.....	.01	.15	1.50
Postpaid.....	.02	.20	express

SUPPLIES.

VOTES FOR WOMEN BUTTONS. Each Per doz. Per 100

Six stars and Votes for Women in gold on a white ground.....	\$.01	\$.08	\$.75
Postpaid.....	.02	.10	.85
Votes for Women lettered in dark blue on a gold ground .....	.01	.08	.75
Postpaid.....	.02	.10	.85
Portrait of Susan B. Anthony .....	.01	.08	.75
Postpaid.....	.02	.10	.85
Portrait of Susan B. Anthony surrounded by five stars.....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.52	3.12
Portrait of Rev. Anna Howard Shaw.....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.52	3.12

VOTES FOR WOMEN BANNERETTES.

Blue cambric, lettered in dark blue, 8 in. x 18	.10	1.00	Special rates when ordered in quantities over a dozen.
Postpaid.....	.15	1.20	
Yellow felt, lettered in white, 8 in. x 18.....	.25	2.40	
Postpaid.....	.30	2.42	
Yellow felt, lettered in white, 12 in. x 30..	.50	5.40	
Postpaid.....	.55	5.65	
White felt, lettered in yellow, 12 in. x 30..	.50	5.40	
Postpaid.....	.55	5.65	

VOTES FOR WOMEN POST CARDS.

Liberty Welcomes the New Star.....	.01	.10	.80
Postpaid.....	.02	.12	.88
Susan B. Anthony, portrait and quotation.	.03	.20	1.00
Abraham Lincoln, portrait and quotation.	.03	.20	1.00
Judge Ben. B. Lindsay, portrait and quotation: "I do not have all the rights I want, etc."	.04	.23	1.08
The Yellow Girl.....	.03	.25	1.50
Postpaid.....	.04	.27	1.58
Any one of twelve English varieties.....	.03	.25	1.50
Postpaid.....	.04	.27	1.58
Prejudice Battling With Justice. Imported English card beautifully printed in colors..	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.52	3.08

SUPPLIES (Continued).

VOTES FOR WOMEN POSTERS. Each Per doz. Per 100

Any one of the 12 imported English varieties .....	\$.25	.....	.....
Postpaid.....	.20	.....	.....
"Let the People Rule".....	.15	.....	.....
Postpaid.....	.20	.....	.....
Advertising bill poster in purple, white and green, with blank space for special announcement desired.....	.15	.....	.....
Postpaid.....	.20	.....	.....

MISCELLANEOUS.

SPECIAL RATES WHEN ORDERED IN QUANTITY.

Flag Pin in White Enamel. Lettered with Votes for Women in gold .....	Each	\$.25
Postpaid.....		.26
Rainbow Stickers. Six-pointed stars in six different colors, with Votes for Women, and six stars raised in white, done up in neat packages containing about 50 each .....		.10
Postpaid.....		.11
Votes for Women Rubber Stamp and Pad.....		.15
Postpaid.....		.17
Votes for Women Note Paper. Pale blue, lettered in silver; Pale yellow, lettered in gold, done up in neat boxes.....		.50
Postpaid.....		.60
Votes for Women Ribbon Tape. For tying up parcels. Done up in neat spools containing fifteen yards, each.....		.10
Postpaid.....		.11

Per doz. Per 100 Per 1,000

Votes for Women Baggage Stickers. A neat white gummed label lettered with Votes for Women.....	\$.05	\$.50	\$3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.52	express
Votes for Women Paper Napkins. Designed for suffrage luncheons, picnics, etc..	.....	.30	2.50
Postpaid.....	.....	.35	express
Votes for Women Sashes. For ushers, etc.	Price on application.		

## ENTERTAINMENTS AND EXHIBITS.

**Plays**—A list of about twenty plays and entertainments, both English and American, especially designed for amateur production, and dealing with every aspect of the suffrage question.

**Catalog**, giving synopses and terms for production, free on application.

**Illustrated Suffrage Lecture**—Manuscripts (one for lecturer and one for operator) and sixty-five lantern slides.

	Price
Purchase price.....(Express additional)	\$21.00
Rental—Single occasion	3.00
One week	5.00
One month	15.00

**Poster Talk**—Manuscript and seven posters. Conveniently mounted for exhibition.

Purchase price.....(Express additional)	16.00
Rental—Single occasion	2.00
One week	4.00
One month	10.00

**Travelling Picture Gallery**—An exhibit of photographs of eminent suffragists. Conveniently mounted for exhibitions. Effective as a decoration for booths at fairs, etc.

Rental—One occasion.....(Express additional)	1.00
One week	3.00
One month	8.00

**Exhibit of Propaganda Material**—A collection of literature, and propaganda material.

Free on application, express charges only.

## INDEX

	Page
Abolition of Child Labor. The, Kelley.....	9
Abolition of the White Slave Traffic. The, Roe.....	9
Abolition of the War System. The, Mead.....	9
American Suffragette. An, Stevens.....	5
Annihilation of the Slum. The, Howe.....	9
Anti Suffrage Monologue, Howe.....	5
Anti Suffrage Platform. A Suffrage Answer to a (See Suffrage).....	14
Australia. Equal Suffrage in (See Equal Suffrage).....	12
Baggage Stickers (See Stickers).....	17
Ballot and the Schools. The, Grenfell.....	12
Bannerettes .....	16
Bees, Clams and Children.....	14
Breaking Into the Human Race. Dorr.....	7
Buttons .....	16
California Enlightens the World as to Woman Suffrage.....	12
California Victory. Newspapers on the (See Newspapers, etc.).....	13
Catholic Opinions .....	12
Causes of the Revolt of the Women of England, Porritt.....	8
Christian Citizenship, Craigie.....	10
Common Sense View of Woman Suffrage. A, Williams.....	11
Colorado. Testimony from (See Testimony).....	12
Colorado. The Truth About (See Truth).....	12
Convert. The, Robins.....	5
Child Labor. The Abolition of, Kelley (See Abolition).....	9
Decker on Woman Suffrage Mrs.....	12
Direct Way. The, Potter.....	13
Disfranchisement, DuBois .....	9
Disfranchised Men .....	14
Do Men Represent Women? O'Hagan.....	13
Do Teachers Need the Ballot? Blackwell.....	13
Do You Know? Catt.....	11
Does a Man Support His Wife? Gilman and Pethick Lawrence.....	7
Dorothy Dix on Woman's Ballot. ....	13
Education and Democracy, Potter.....	6
Eminent Opinions .....	12
Eminent People Declare for Equal Suffrage.....	13
Equality, Bingham (Song with music).....	5
Equal Suffrage, Sumner.....	3
Equal Suffrage in Australia (See Australia).....	12
Exhibit of Propaganda Material.....	18
Facts and Dates to Remember.....	14
Few Leading Questions. A.....	14
Finland. Woman Suffrage in, Björkman (See Woman Suffrage).....	12
Fire Prevention, McFarlane.....	9
Flags (See Bannerettes) ..	16
Flyers (See Rainbow).....	15
French Chamber of Deputies' Report on Votes for Women.....	7

	Page
Gains in Equal Suffrage.....	14
Gallery (See Travelling, also Picture).....	18
Government by the People, Schmidt.....	7
Guardianship of Children. The, McCulloch.....	8
Have We a Democracy? FitzGerald.....	13
Have You Ever Thought Why, etc., Hepburn.....	13
History of Woman Suffrage. The, Stanton, Anthony, Gage, Harper....	3
History of Woman Suffrage. The, Vol. IV, Anthony and Harper.....	3
Homo Sum, Harrison.....	7
How Six States Won Woman Suffrage, Harper.....	10
Howe. Frederick C., on Suffrage.....	13
Idaho. Testimony from (See Testimony).....	12
Indirect Influence, Obenchain.....	13
Is Voting an Industry? Blackwell.....	13
Is Woman Suffrage Important? Eastman.....	10
Illustrated Suffrage Lecture (See Lecture).....	18
Judge Lindsey on Equal Suffrage (See Lindsey).....	12
Laws Resulting from Equal Suffrage.....	12
Lecture. Illustrated Suffrage (See Illustrated Suffrage Lecture).....	18
Legislators. Of Interest to (See Of Interest to Legislators).....	14
Light. The, Magoun .....	4
Lex. Mr., McCulloch.....	4
Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Harper.....	3
Lindsey on Equal Suffrage. Judge (See Judge).....	13
Living Wages and Respectability, Phelan.....	13
Measuring Up Equal Suffrage, Lindsey and Creel.....	11
Militant Methods, Blackwell.....	10
Militant Movement in England. The, Porritt.....	8
Ministers on Votes for Women, Blackwell.....	12
Modern Woman's Rights Movement. The, Schirmacher.....	4
Napkins. Paper (See Paper Napkins) .....	17
New America. The, Briggs (Song).....	3
New Fashioned Argument for Woman Suffrage, A, Thomas.....	6
Newspapers on the California Victory (See California).....	13
Norway. Woman Suffrage in (See Woman Suffrage).....	12
New Zealand. Woman Suffrage in, Mrs. K. A. Sheppard (See Woman Suffrage) .....	10
Note Paper (See Paper).....	17
Obstructions in the Way to Justice, Russell.....	6
Objections Answered, Blackwell.....	11
Of Interest to Legislators (See Legislators).....	14
Paper. Note (See Note Paper).....	17
Paper Napkins (See Napkins).....	17
Persuasion or Responsibility, Kelley.....	13
Picture Gallery. Travelling (See Travelling, also Gallery).....	18
Pin (Votes for Woman Flag in White Enamel).....	17
Plays .....	18
Political District Organization .....	15
Political Equality Leaflets.....	12

	Page
Politics and Government in the United States, Fox.....	12
Political Duty of Mothers. The, Porritt.....	8
Political Status of Women in the United States. The, Rembaugh.....	3
Posters .....	17
Poster Talk .....	18
Post Cards .....	16
Ribbon (See Tape).....	17
Ribbon (See Sashes) .....	17
Rainbow Flyers (See Flyers).....	15
Reasonable Postal Laws, Cowles.....	9
Real Point. The, Dennet.....	13
Rebel Woman, Sharp .....	5
Reason Why. The, Johnston.....	13
Remarks on "The Ladies' Battle," Blackwell .....	13
Report on Votes for Women to the French Chamber of Deputies (See French Chamber of Deputies) .....	7
Recitations .....	5
Revolution in Woman's Work, etc. The, Hepburn.....	14
Rubber Stamp and Pad (See Stamp).....	17
Sally Ann's Experience, Obenchain.....	4
Sashes (See Ribbon) .....	17
Schools. The Ballot and the, Grenfel! (See Ballot).....	12
Secret Enemy. The .....	14
Short History of Women's Rights, A, Hecker.....	3
Shall Women Have the Right to Vote? Phillips.....	8
Shall Women Vote? Thomas.....	7
Slides (See Lecture, also Illustrated).....	18
Speaker (The Yellow Ribbon) Shaw, Blackwell and Anthony.....	5
Stamp (Rubber) and Pad (See Rubber Stamp).....	17
Stickers (For Letter) .....	17
Stickers (For Baggage) (See Baggage Stickers).....	17
Subjection of Women. The, Mill.....	4
Suffrage for Women, Mill.....	8
Suffrage and Soldiering, Mead.....	13
Suffrage Answer to an Anti-Suffrage Platform, A.....	14
Suffragette. The, Pankhurst.....	4
Suffrage Songs and Verses, Gilman.....	5
Suffrage—A Right, Harper.....	6
Summing Up the Case for Woman Suffrage, Brewer .....	13
Tapes (See Ribbon) .....	17
Testimony from Colorado (See Colorado).....	12
Testimony from Idaho (See Idaho).....	12
Testimony from Wyoming (See Wyoming).....	12
Truth About Colorado. The (See Colorado).....	12
Travelling Picture Gallery (See Picture, Also Gallery).....	18
Two Workings of a Bad Law .....	14
Twenty Facts About Woman Suffrage.....	14
"Unanswerable Argument" Answered. The, Obenchain.....	13
Votes and Babies, Porritt.....	8
Votes for Women—A Success.....	12
Voting and Fighting, Blackwell.....	13
What Women Might Do With Their Ballot Series.....	9
What Kind of Men Want Women to Vote and Why, Hepburn.....	14

	Page
What to Do .....	14
What to Read .....	14
Where Women Vote, Björkman.....	11
When All the Women Want It. Blackwell.....	10
Why Equal Suffrage Has Been a Success, Thomas.....	7
Why Man Needs Woman's Ballot, Howard.....	10
Why Women Should Vote, Blackwell (Leaflet).....	12
Why Women Should Vote, Addams (Booklet).....	11
Why Women Want to Vote, Björkman.....	11
Why the Housekeeper Needs the Vote, O'Hagan.....	13
Why the Working Woman Needs the Vote, O'Sullivan.....	13
Woman, Economics and the Ballot, Potter.....	6
Woman's Ballot, Thomas.....	13
Woman Movement in America. The, Squire.....	3
Women and Social Service, Gilman.....	6
Women Do Not Want It, Blackwell.....	13
Women Should Mind Their Own Business, Ward.....	10
Woman Suffrage. Its Relation to Working Women and Children.....	13
Woman Suffrage in Finland, Björkman (See Finland) .....	12
Woman Suffrage in Norway, Björkman (See Norway).....	12
Woman Suffrage in New Zealand, Sheppard (See New Zealand).....	10
Woman Suffrage Endorsed .....	13
Women and Public Housekeeping.....	13
World Movement for Woman Suffrage. The, Harper.....	6
World Movement for Woman Suffrage. The, Catt.....	6
Wyoming. Testimony from (See Testimony).....	12
 Yellow Ribbon Speaker, Shaw, Blackwell, Anthony (See Speaker).....	 5

## Come to National Headquarters for WHAT YOU NEED FOR SUFFRAGE WORK

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

---

### SUBSCRIBE FOR THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

The only suffrage paper of National scope. It keeps you in touch with the entire suffrage movement all over the country

Official organ of the Association, Alice Stone Blackwell, Editor

\$1.00 PER YEAR

5 CENTS PER COPY

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION OF FOUR MONTHS 25 CENTS

ADDRESS:

National American Woman Suffrage Association

505 Fifth Avenue

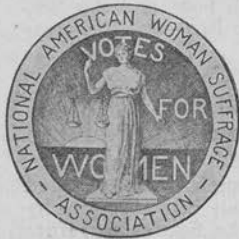
New York City




[undated]

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST  
OF THE  
CATALOG AND PRICE LIST

WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
Literature and Supplies



NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
505 FIFTH AVENUE  119 NEW YORK CITY

PAMPHLETS.

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
"If I Were a Woman." By Judge Ben B. Lindsey .....	\$.03	\$.25	\$2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.28	2.24
A clinching answer to the assertion that a woman does her whole duty if she looks after her own children in her own home.			
What the Ballot Will Do For Women and For Men. By Frederick C. Howe.....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.30	express
Answers in direct, simple and forceful manner the objection that woman suffrage, while just, is not important, and shows how and why it is important.			
The Truth Versus Richard Barry.....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.33	express
A careful and authoritative refutation, paragraph by paragraph, of Mr. Barry's famous anti-suffrage article, and containing, therefore, the answer to a number of the stock anti charges.			
The Truth About the Wage Earning Woman and the State. By Pauline and Josephine Goldmark and Florence Kelley..	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.28	2.24
Eight pages of refutation, with facts and statistics, of the statements of Minnie Bronson, the anti-suffragist.			
The Wage Earning Woman and the State. A Reply to Miss Minnie Bronson. By Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckenridge.			
Same as the above, only much more detailed and extensive, and having an introduction by Miss Jane Addams. Gives the figures to refute the stock anti charges on the wage-earning woman.			
Postpaid.....	.10	1.00	8.00
	.11	1.10	express
Twenty-five Answers to Antis. By twenty-five eminent suffragists.....	.25	2.50	20.00
Postpaid.....	.29	express	express
Five minute speeches in answer to all the stock objections by famous people, illustrated with half-tone portraits of the authors. Suitable for a gift-book.			

PAMPHLETS— (Continued)

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
How the Vote Was Won in California. By Selina Solomons.			
Postpaid.....	.35	....	....
	.37	....	....
A vivid story of the whole campaign. Valuable for its suggestions to campaign managers.			

CABINET SIZE BOOKLETS.

Organizing to Win.....	\$.10	\$1.00	\$8.00
Postpaid.....	.12	1.11	express
A hand book for working suffragists, describing the political district method of organization.			
Women in Political Evolution. By Joseph McCabe .....	.20	2.00	16.00
Postpaid.....	.23	express	express
An historical survey of woman's struggle for political equality and a refutation of the theory that her subjection is demanded by the good of the race.			
The Common Man and the Franchise. By Prof. Charles A. Beard.....	.03	.25	1.25
Postpaid.....	.04	.27	1.41
Shows how the vote was won by men. By the head of the Department of Politics in Columbia University.			
Values of the Vote. By Max Eastman....	.03	.25	1.25
Postpaid.....	.04	.28	1.49
Shows that a vote is a possession worth having. Especially good to give to men.			
Home and State. By Selma Lagerloff. (In English.) .....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.53	3.24
The speech that moved a great convention to tears. Beautiful and sympathetic.			
Hem och Stat. By Selma Lagerloff. (In Swedish.) The same as the above in the original .....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.54	3.27
Needed: Women's Votes to Thwart Landlord's Greed. By Benjamin C. Marsh.....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.54	3.27
The latest addition to the series, "What Women Might Do With Their Ballot." Shows how they might better housing conditions with their vote.			

**CABINET SIZE BOOKLETS—(Continued)**

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
Bondwomen. By Dora Marsden.....	.03	.25	2.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.29	2.32

A frank and courageous statement of some un-considered factors of the woman problem.

**ENVELOPE SIZE BOOKLETS.**

**Suffrage and the Working Woman**

A set of six different booklets by six different wage-earning women, as follows:

Relieving Working Women. By Clara Lemlich

The Family and Family Relations. By Maggie Hinchey

Delicacy and Charm of Woman. By Rose Schneiderman

Cornelia's Jewels. By Melinda Scott.

Woman as Minister to Man. By Lillian Heaffely

	Per copy	Per dozen	Per 100
Admiration and Devotion to the Sex. By Mollie Schepps .....	\$.05	\$.50	\$3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.53	3.27

	Per set of six	Per doz. sets	Per 100 sets
Postpaid.....	.15	1.50	12.00
Postpaid.....	.14	1.70	express

	For three	Per doz.	Per 100
Surprise Booklet .....	.05	.20	1.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.22	1.16

**PENNY FOLDERS.**

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
The Cost of Living and the Ballot. By Lida Parce .....	\$.01	\$.05	\$.25
Postpaid.....	.02	.06	.33

Shows what women could do to control the cost of living if they had the vote.

The Revolution in Women's Work. By Katherine Houghton Hepburn.....	.01	.05	.25
Postpaid.....	.02	.06	.33

A presentation of the industrial argument that has never been surpassed.

**NEW LEAFLETS.**

	For two	Per doz.	Per 100
Farmers' Wives, Consider This.....	\$.01	\$.03	\$.15
Postpaid.....	.02	.04	.23

Shows what the vote can do towards the solution of rural problems. Especially designed for use in Granges and at country fairs.

Have You Ever Thought Why Your Wife, Mother, Sister or Daughter is not Allowed to Vote. By Katherine Houghton Hepburn	.01	.03	.15
Postpaid.....	.02	.04	.23

**FLYERS.**

Sample set Per 100 Per 1,000

**Picture Flyers**

Value of a poster in cheap leaflet form. Six different kinds, as follows:

If This is Womanly, Why Not This?

How Can a Mother Rest Content With This, When Such Things are Going on as This?

What Breaks Up the Home?

Madam, Who Keeps Your House?

Who Are the People?

The Suffrage Map.....	\$.01	\$.10	\$1.00
Postpaid.....	.02	.20	express

Rainbow Flyers in Norwegian-Danish.....	.01	.15	1.50
Postpaid.....	.02	.20	express

Flag Dogers. Six varieties of small flyers bordered with flags and bearing a patriotic message. Designed for patriotic celebrations .....

Postpaid.....	.01	.05	.45
Postpaid.....	.02	.06	.59

**SUPPLIES.**

Each Per doz. Per 100

**VOTES FOR WOMEN REGALIA.**

Ushers' sashes of yellow and white webbing, 50-in. long by four wide, lettered with Votes for Women back and front.....

Postpaid.....	\$.35	3.50	....
Postpaid.....	.32	3.65	....

S U P P L I E S — (Continued)

	Per copy	Per doz.	Per 100
<b>VOTES FOR WOMEN BUTTONS.</b>			
Gold ground with Votes for Women and ten stars in black.....	.01	.10	.75
Postpaid.....	.02	.12	.85
<b>VOTES FOR WOMEN BANNERETTES</b>			
Yellow felt with Votes for Women printed in black, 8 x 18 in.....	.15	1.60	12.50
Postpaid.....	.20	1.80	express
Yellow felt with Votes for Women stitched on in black felt, 12 x 30.....	.50	5.40	44.00
Postpaid.....	.55	5.65	express
Yellow cambric with Votes for Women printed in black .....	.10	1.00	17.00
Postpaid.....	.15	1.20	express
<b>VOTES FOR WOMEN FLAGS.</b>			
Yellow waterproof bunting with Votes for Women and ten stars stitched on in black, 3 x 5 feet, with six-foot pole tipped with spearhead .....	5.00	....	....
Postpaid.....	express	....	....
<b>VOTES FOR WOMEN POSTCARDS.</b>			
The Suffragist Arousing Her Sisters. Ella Buchanan's famous statuette.....	.01	.10	1.00
Postpaid.....	.02	.12	1.07
Antis Beware Your Friends. Yellow card printed in black.....	.03	.25	1.00
Postpaid.....	.04	.27	1.07
The Anti Procession. Yellow card printed in black four times length ordinary card....	.05	.50	3.00
Postpaid.....	.06	.52	3.25
<b>VOTES FOR WOMEN POSTERS.</b>			
Portrait poster of Rev. Anna Howard Shaw and Miss Jane Addams.....	.25	2.50	....
Postpaid.....	.30	express	....
Advertising poster, Votes for Women photo play .....	.15	1.50	....
Postpaid.....	.20	express	....
Suffrage Map .....	.25	2.50	....
Postpaid.....	.30	express	....

S U P P L I E S — (Continued)

VOTES FOR WOMEN STATIONARY.

	Per box	Per doz. boxes	Per 100 boxes
White note paper, bordered and lettered in yellow, 5½ x 8½. ....	\$.50	\$5.00	\$45.00
Postpaid.....	.64	express	express
Pale yellow note paper with broad band and Votes for Women in yellow, 5½ x 5½ in. ....	.75	7.50	65.00
Postpaid.....	.91	express	express
White correspondence cards, bordered and lettered in yellow.....	.50	5.00	45.00
Postpaid.....	.61	express	express

MISCELLANEOUS.

Bar Pin in White Enamel, lettered with Votes for Women in Gold.....	\$.25	\$2.50	\$20.00
Postpaid.....	.26	2.53	20.16
Flag pin in white enamel, lettered with Votes for Women in Gold.....	.10	1.00	7.00
Postpaid.....	.11	1.03	7.16
Votes for Women teacups, fine white China lettered and banded with gold.....	.50	5.00	45.00
Postpaid.....	.59	express	express
Votes for Women calendars, a suffrage quotation for each month from a world-famous person. Six cards, 3 x 4 in., mounted in a neat standing frame.....	.15	1.50	12.00
Postpaid.....	.16	1.59	express
Votes for Women glove purses.....	.10	1.00	....
Postpaid.....	.11	1.04	....
Christmas and New Years cards, Christmas tie ribbon, stickers and tags, Valentines, etc., from \$.05 to \$.25 per article. Special rates in quantity.			

For more light on suffrage, for information regarding the movement, for help and suggestions in campaigns, for literature, for campaigning regalia and supplies, for

## **EVERYTHING THAT SUFFRAGISTS NEED**

or for

**HELP FOR THE MOST CASUAL INQUIRER**

### **Come to National Headquarters**

No Suffragist Should Be Without

## **ORGANIZING TO WIN**

The Political District Plan

A hand-book for working suffragists, prepared by the Woman Suffrage Party. Tells just how to organize and carry on every part of political district work.

Price, \$.10 each; \$1.00 per dozen; \$8.00 per hundred  
Postpaid, \$.12 each; \$1.11 per dozen; \$8.00 per hundred,  
plus express

---

## **"ARGUMENTS AND RESULTS"**

"The little blue bound book with all the facts and arguments in it." Invaluable to speakers, debaters and seekers after a simple and concise statement of the case for equal suffrage.

Price, \$.25 each; \$2.25 per dozen  
Postpaid, \$.29 each; \$2.25 per dozen, plus express

Send for complete catalog

National American Woman Suffrage Association  
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City

# A Suffrage Reading Course

By FLORENCE BENNETT PETERSON

"No education can be complete that excludes the idea of efficiency in any important social institution."—*Chancellor*

To study Equal Suffrage is to apply the mind to the most important phase of The Great Woman Movement which is encircling the world. To understand the relations which Equal Suffrage bears to the Woman Movement is to perceive important relations and correlations between politics and institutions of humanity.

Society manifests itself, in greater or less completeness in eight great social institutions—Property, Family, Church, State, School, Culture, Business and War. Equal suffrage is basic in the relations which it bears to the functions of each.

The International Woman's Movement makes about the same demands in all countries. These are four in number:

1. *In education and instruction*:—to enjoy the same educational opportunities as those of man.

2. *In the field of labor*:—freedom to choose any occupation, and equal pay for the same work.

3. *In the field of civil law*:—the wife should be given the status of a legal person before the law, and full civil ability. *In criminal law*:—the repeal of all regulations discriminating against women. The legal responsibility of men in sexual matters. *In public law*:—woman suffrage.

4. *In the social field*:—recognition of the high value of woman's domestic and social work and the incompleteness, harshness, and one-sidedness of every circle of man's activity from which woman is excluded."—*Schirmacher*.

## HISTORY

**The Decay of Vassalage Among Women**—"A Short History of Woman's Rights," by Eugene Hecker.

**A Social Study of Women**—"Why Women Are So," by Mary Roberts Coolidge.

**A Study in History and Legislation**—"The Rights of Women," by M. Ostrogorski.

**The International Scope of the Woman Movement**—"The Modern Woman's Rights Movement," by Dr. Kaethe Schirmacher

**The American Woman's Struggle for Suffrage**—"The History of Woman Suffrage," by Anthony, Stanton and Harper.

**What Primitive Woman Has Contributed to the Race**—"Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," by Otis T. Mason.

**A General Survey of Woman Suffrage, Historical, Sociological, Political and Statistical—Woman Suffrage, Vol. VII. of the Woman Citizens' Library.**

### EDUCATION

**History of the Education of Women**—“Education of Women,” by Marion Talbot.

**Moral Education and the Enfranchisement of Women**—“The Subjection of Women,” by John S. Mill. See Chapter IV.

**Equal Suffrage and Human Efficiency**—“Motives, Ideals, and Values in Education,” by William Chancellor. See “Woman” in Index.

### LABOR

**The Inherent Right of Every Woman to Labor**—“Woman and Labor,” by Olive Schreiner.

**A History of the Wage Earning Woman**—“Woman in Industry,” by Edith Abbott.

**Present Conditions of Woman Labor and Child Labor in United States**—Documents: U. S. Bureau of Labor; Report on the Woman and Child Wage Earners in United States (19 vols.).

**Economic Processes of Society**—“Human Work” and “Woman and Economics,” by Charlotte Gilman.

**Results of Inequality of Wages**—“Equal Pay for Equal Work,” by Grace Strachan.

**Labor Problems**—“Fatigue and Efficiency,” by Josephine Goldmark.

**The Government and Wage Earning Women**—“The Wage-Earning Woman and the State,” by Edith Abbott and S. P. Breckinridge. Pamphlet. “The Truth About Wage Earning Women and the State,” by Josephine Goldmark and Florence Kelley. Pamphlet.

### LAW

**Woman and Law in the United States**—“The Legal and Political Status of Women in the United States,” by Jennie L. Wilson.

**Mother Right in the Law**—“The Guardianship of Children,” by Catharine Waugh McCulloch. Pamphlet.

**Laws Pertaining to Constitutional Rights, Marriage, Divorce, Guardianship, Property, Wages, Contracts, Age of Consent, Crimes and Offenses Against Woman (such as Rape, Seduction, Bastardy, and Prostitution), Wage Earning Women and Children, Education, Political Suffrage, Taxation, etc.**—“Woman and the Law,” Vol. VIII. of the Woman Citizens' Library.

**A Study of the Legal Position of English Women**—“The Status of Women Under English Law,” by Annie B. Chapman. “British Free-women,” by Charlotte Stopes.

### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

**Preparing For Politics**—“Woman's Part in Government,” by William Allen, “Preparing for Citizenship,” by William Backus Guitteau.

**Woman Suffrage and Political Science**—“Introduction to Political Science,” by James W. Garner. (See Woman Suffrage in Index.) “The American Commonwealth,” by James Bryce. See Index in Revised Edition (1913).

**Political Theories**—“A History of American Political Theories,” by Charles Merriam.

**Practical Politics**—“An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics,” by J. Orman Ray.

**A Vital Study of State Government**—“Actual Government in Illinois,” by Mary L. Childs, is a new kind of socio-civic text-book, abounding in suggestions for any state.

**Government and Politics**—First six volumes of the Woman Citizens' Library.

### SOCIAL EVOLUTION

**“Woman and Womanhood,”** by C. W. Saleeby.

**“Parenthood and Race Culture,”** by C. W. Saleeby.

**“The Social Direction of Human Evolution,”** by W. Kellcott.

**“Democracy and Social Ethics,”** by Jane Addams.

**“The Newer Ideals of Peace,”** by Jane Addams.

**“The Advance of Woman,”** by Jane J. Christie.

**“Problems of the Sexes,”** by Jean Finot.

**“The Woman Movement,”** by Ellen Key.

**“The Old Fashioned Woman,”** by Elsie Parsons.

**“Sex and Society,”** by W. I. Thomas.

**“Woman's Share in Social Culture,”** by Anna Garlin Spencer.

**“Man and Woman,”** by Havelock Ellis.

### THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

**The Menace of the White Slave Traffic**—“My Little Sister,” by Elizabeth Robins.

**The Doom Awaiting the White Slave**—“The House of Bondage,” by Reginald Kauffman.

**Facts Concerning a Great Social Evil**—“A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil,” by Jane Addams.

### THE DRAMA

**The Awakening to Social Values and Responsibilities**—“Mrs. Raford, Humanist,” by R. Brown.

**Political and Legal Injustice Toward Motherhood**—“Maternity,” by Brieux.

**The Inevitable Evolution of Feminine Consciousness**—“A Doll's House,” by Henrik Ibsen.

**The New Conception of Woman**—“Tomorrow,” by Percy MacKaye.

**Woman for Woman**—“Womenkind,” by W. W. Gibson.

### WORKS OF FICTION

**“The Egoist,”** by George Meredith.

**“Das Recht der Mutter”** (“The Mother's Right”), by Helene Böhlau.

- "The Squirrel Cage," by Dorothy Canfield.
- "The Woman of Genius," by Mary Austin.
- "Julia France and Her Times," by Gertrude Atherton.
- "Moving the Mountain," by Charlotte Gilman.
- "Hagar," by Mary Johnston.
- "Mother," by Kathleen Norris.
- "The Precipice," by Elia Peattie.
- "A Modern Madonna," by Caroline Abbott Stanley.

Note.—1. The books listed in this reading course represent but a fraction of the contributions to the literature of humanitarianism. The literature of a movement is a vital force if it is put into active circulation. Every woman should strive to make a collection of these books. Clubs should see that they are put into libraries. If there are no public libraries, women should establish circulating libraries. A splendid plan is to have good books reviewed at club programs. Book-review afternoons and evenings have been very successful in Chicago and New York.

2. "Social Forces"—a topical outline published by the Wisconsin State Suffrage Ass'n, Madison, Wis., is very suggestive for study.

Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson, 1320 Glenlake Ave., Chicago, Chairman of Literature for the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference, is bringing out some four-page leaflets, six inches by nine. She sells them at just enough to cover cost—75 cents per hundred and \$6.00 per thousand. The first are:

- Eliminating Vice from a Small City**, by Virginia Brooks-Washburn.
- The Ballot for the Women of the Farm**, by Ella S. Stewart.
- The Working Girl's Need of Suffrage**, by Agnes Nestor.
- The Bible on Women Voting**, by Catharine W. McCulloch.
- Woman's Ballot to Protect the City Child**, by Miss Harriet Vittum.
- A Suffrage Reading Course**, by Florence Bennett Peterson.
- Children and Enfranchisement**, by Dr. Anna E. Blount.
- Motherhood and Government**, by Florence Bennett Peterson.
- A Mother's Prayer**, by Catharine Waugh McCulloch.



# Books worth keeping

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc.

171 Madison Avenue

New York, N. Y.

## Books worth keeping

### Story of a Pioneer

The autobiography of a great American personality. *by* Anna Howard Shaw.....\$2.00 *net*

### The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution

One of the most picturesque figures of the Russian revolt; Catherine Breshkovsky's own story. *edited by* Alice Stone Blackwell.....\$2.00 *net*

### Next of Kin, or Those Who Wait and Wonder

These stories show with telling effect various ways in which Canadian women are doing their part in the war and something of the plans for better social organization hereafter. *by* Nellie L. McClung.....\$1.25 *net*

### Women Suffrage Year Book

A calendar of suffrage events, containing charts, statistics and numerous facts for suffrage workers. *edited by* Martha G. Stapler.....\$1.00 *net*

### Women and War Work

The spirit of women organization and its pitfalls; hospitals, Red Cross, the V. A. D.; bringing Blighty to the soldiers; woman-power and man-power; women in munitions; the women's land army; war and morality; what the war has done for women. *Illustrated.* *by* Helen Fraser .....\$1.50 *net*

### For Rent—One Pedestal

The story of a suffrage campaign with a laugh on every page. *by* Marjorie Shuler.....\$1.00 *net*

### Woman Suffrage by Federal Amendment

A simple, direct statement of why the Federal Amendment is the fair method of gaining self-government for women. *by* Carrie Chapman Catt ....\$1.25 *net*

### Laws Affecting Women and Children

Compilation of laws of special interest to women in suffrage and non-suffrage states. *by* Annie G. Porritt.

Cloth, \$1.50 *net*

Paper, \$1.00 *net*

### The Sturdy Oak

A composite novel dealing with woman's citizenship and its relation to the war situation. (Royalties to the suffrage cause.) *by* Fourteen Eminent American Authors.....\$1.40 *net*

# A Course in Citizenship

"With Good Will Doing Service"

EDITED BY

ELLA LYMAN CABOT  
FANNIE FERN ANDREWS  
FANNY E. COE  
MABEL HILL  
MARY McSKIMMON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

*Honorary President of the American School Peace League*



AUTHORIZED BY  
THE MASSACHUSETTS BRANCH OF THE  
AMERICAN SCHOOL PEACE LEAGUE

---

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

# A Course in Citizenship

## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: By WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

TO THE TEACHER: By THE EDITORS

The Need of a Course in Citizenship  
Plan of the Course  
Relation to the School Curriculum

### Grade I

HOME: By MARY McSKIMMON

Kindness to Playmates  
Kindness to Animals  
Responsibility for Cleanliness and Care  
Making Others Happy  
Faithfulness  
The Kindness of Great Men  
Generosity  
Kindness shown by Good Manners  
Avoiding Quarrels and Making Peace  
Protection and Care of Plants and Flowers

### Grade II

SCHOOL AND PLAYGROUND: By MARY  
McSKIMMON

Sympathy  
Obedience  
Helpfulness  
Gratitude  
Other Homes than Ours  
Childhood of Great Men  
Keeping One's Word  
Helpfulness to Old and Feeble  
Peace among the Children  
The Golden Rule

### Grade III

THE NEIGHBORHOOD: By ELLA LYMAN  
CABOT

Who is My Neighbor?  
Ways of Service  
Perseverance  
Hospitality  
Thoughtfulness and Respect for Authority  
Fair Play and Unselfishness  
Good Work  
Cheerfulness under Defeat and Suffering  
Peace among Neighbors  
Working Together

### Grade IV

TOWN AND CITY: By MABEL HILL

The Influence of the Home  
The Influence of the School  
Care of Public Property  
Public Health and Public Charity  
Fire and Police Department  
Obedience to Community Laws  
Loyalty to Public Officials  
Good Will among all Classes of Citizens  
Good Will among all Communities  
How We can Help our Communities

### Grade V

OUR COUNTRY: By ELLA LYMAN CABOT

Pioneers  
The Contribution of Each Race to American Life  
Government by the People  
E Pluribus Unum  
Responsibility of Each Citizen  
Great Americans  
Social Service  
Patriotism  
Friendship with Other Nations  
How we can Serve Our Country

### Grade VI

AMERICAN IDEALS: By FANNY E. COE

Sympathy and Courtesy  
Honesty  
Courage to Overcome Difficulties  
Regard for Truth  
Reverence  
Self-Control  
Regard for Civic Beauty  
Thrift and Industry  
Heroes of Peace  
The Working Members of Society

### Grade VII

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD  
By FANNIE FERN ANDREWS

Our Beginnings in Europe  
The Influence of Europe on Our Early History  
The United States in the Napoleonic Period  
European Interest in Spanish America  
The United States a Melting-Pot for Races  
The Influence of the United States on Asia and  
Africa  
The United States and the American Continent  
The United States and the World's Culture  
The United States and World Brotherhood  
American Ideals Yet to be Achieved

### Grade VIII

THE WORLD FAMILY: By FANNIE FERN  
ANDREWS

National Characteristics  
Each Nation's Contribution to the World  
"Above All Nations is Humanity"  
Independence of Nations  
Justice and Honor between Nations  
Effects of War between Nations  
Growth of Law as an Agency Promoting Good Will  
Agreements between Nations  
World Conferences Leading to World Federation  
How Can we be of Service in the World Family?

## A Course in Citizenship

\$1.25 net. Postpaid.

A discount of 20 per cent (carriage extra) will be granted to members of the American School Peace League where books are ordered through Branch Secretaries, in lots of three or more at a time.

### ORDER BLANK

Dear Sirs :

Kindly send me cop of "A Course in Citizenship."

Please { find enclosed }  
{ charge to my account } \$

Name .....

Address .....

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

4 Park Street, Boston

16 East 40th Street, New York

623-633 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago

## A Course in Citizenship

A letter from Randall J. Condon  
President of the American  
School Peace League

*To all Teachers and School Officials :*

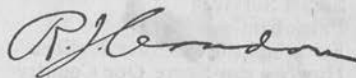
*To those who love Peace and cherish Good-Will :*

*To those who believe these subjects can and should  
be taught :*

*To those who love their country and their fellow  
men — the " American School Peace League " sends  
greeting and announces the publication of " A  
Course in Citizenship " — " With Good-Will  
doing Service."*

*The names of the authors of the Course, and the  
plan pursued in its preparation, are a guarantee  
of its quality and value. The introduction by Ex-  
President Taft makes the work one of national  
importance.*

*In behalf of the American School Peace League,  
I endorse the publication and ask teachers every-  
where to obtain it, read it, teach it, — to the end  
that good citizenship may result — that the nation  
may fare well within its own borders, and may  
exercise an ever widening influence throughout the  
world in behalf of Peace and Good-Will founded  
upon honor, liberty, and justice.*



Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout



Redpath

**Grace Wilbur Trout**  
*Author - Lecturer - Leader*

THRUOUT the great state of Illinois, and in every state in the Union, the name of Grace Wilbur Trout is known and, as the Chicago Examiner remarks, this name, "will go down in big letters in the history of the Woman's Suffrage Movement in America."

The success of Woman Suffrage in Illinois, including that great metropolis, Chicago, sets a new precedent for the Suffrage Cause thruout the United States and no one is more responsible for the establishing of this precedent than Mrs. Trout.

As stated in the Illinois Press Bulletin, "It has developed she was the one woman best fitted to direct the state work in passing the Suffrage Bill at Springfield.

Just how well she and her co-workers succeeded in this most eventful piece of legislation in the State of Illinois is now known around the world. That Mrs. Trout played the principal part in



The Illinois delegates today won the place of first rank in the Suffrage Parade in the opinion of the spectators along the line of march. Immediately following the band was Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, and commander-in-chief of the delegation with the other suffragists marching behind her four abreast.—From the Chicago Record-Herald.



Photo from The Chicago American  
 Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout starting Engine 2102, B. & O., hauling the Suffrage Train to Washington

the direction of this great Movement is also known.

Out of the hour of her great victory she has come the most democratic and lovable of women, in her dealings with all showing the native goodness of a great nature, always ready to bestow credit and kindest consideration wherever it belongs. In the short year that has passed, our President, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, has guided the forces of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association in such manner that

**Comments of Well-Known Newspapers**

*The Chicago Tribune:*

Mrs. Trout, who is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, has by her brilliant attainments achieved a position of eminence in the cause which seeks to confer a broader significance upon the principles and precepts of her progenitors.

*Chicago Examiner:*

When Mrs. Trout addressed the mass meeting at Springfield of both Houses of the Legislature, she received applause that would have satisfied Mary Garden.



Managing the Suffrage Edition of the Chicago Examiner.

*The Chicago American:*

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout spoke last night on "Some Florentine Landmarks," interspersing her talk with charming flashes of humor and wit, and drawing amusing comparisons between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries. Mrs. Trout enjoys a degree of popularity seldom extended to so beautiful and brilliant a woman.

*The Chicago Inter-Ocean:*

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout spoke on the subject "The Division and Scope of American Politics." The feature of the evening was Mrs. Trout's address.

*Milwaukee Free Press:*

Mrs. Trout is one of the well-known speakers on the subject of equal suffrage in the middle west. Gifted and scholarly, thoroly informed upon her subject and filled with the enthusiasm of it, she presents her theme in masterly shape with literary finish and yet with spirit and sparkle.

*Dayton, Ohio News:*

That the Illinois Senate has passed the Bill granting women the franchise except for constitutional offices was due more to the fine statesmanlike efforts of Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, than to any other factor.

*The Chicago Tribune:*

Mrs. Trout ought to speak in every state in the union.

*Lyceumite and Talent:*

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout is indeed a remarkable woman. With all the stress of public life she has kept an ideal home, has reared to manhood four boys and is yet a handsome, youthful woman with nothing of the militant about her. She presents her cause without brickbats but with social grace that wins. She is the true type of the woman's leader.

**Grace Wilbur Trout**  
 Author - Lecturer - Leader

THRUOUT the great state of Illinois, and in every state in the Union, the name of Grace Wilbur Trout is known and, as the Chicago Examiner remarks, this name, "will go down in big letters in the history of the Woman's Suffrage Movement in America."

The success of Woman Suffrage in Illinois, including that great metropolis, Chicago, sets a new precedent for the Suffrage Cause thruout the United States and no one is more responsible for the establishing of this precedent than Mrs. Trout.

As stated in the Illinois Press Bulletin, "It has developed she was the one woman best fitted to direct the state work in passing the Suffrage Bill at Springfield."

Just how well she and her co-workers succeeded in this most eventful piece of legislation in the State of Illinois is now known around the world. That Mrs. Trout played the principal part in



The Illinois delegates today won the place of first rank in the Suffrage Parade in the opinion of the spectators along the line of march. Immediately following the band was Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, and commander-in-chief of the delegation with the other suffragists marching behind her four abreast.—From the Chicago Record-Herald.



Photo from The Chicago American  
 Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout starting Engine 2102, B. & O., hauling the Suffrage Train to Washington

the direction of this great Movement is also known.

Out of the hour of her great victory she has come the most democratic and lovable of women, in her dealings with all showing the native goodness of a great nature, always ready to bestow credit and kindest consideration wherever it belongs. In the short year that has passed, our President, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, has guided the forces of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association in such manner that

the state of Illinois is today a greater commonwealth than it was before. And with the newly enfranchised womanhood of 1,600,000 behind her, who can say where her influence for good may lead her and them?"

Mrs. Trout is a lecturer and author, but she is more than either of these. She is a born leader, not only of women, but of men as well.

Her heroic yet diplomatic leadership at Springfield, while the Suffrage Bill was being discussed, was such that even many opponents of the measure expressed their desire that the suffragists be given fair play on each and every occasion.

Also seldom indeed have the metropolitan newspapers so espoused the cause of Woman's Suffrage as they have done under Mrs. Trout's administration as President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. And not alone Chicago papers but the newspapers in the East have commented most favorably, the New York Sun saying: "Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, has a persuasive and irresistible method of propaganda."

Mrs. Trout's practical ability and sound judgment were recognized recently by the Mayor of Chicago, who appointed her as one of two women chosen from Chicago to serve as a member of the permanent Charter Commission.

The newspaper comments which follow and the photographic illustrations on these pages, tell a partial story of the many important and interesting events in which



MRS. TROUT AT HER DESK.  
 Mrs. Trout believes in an eight hour working day for other people but she works ten hours a day herself.—Chicago Tribune.



Governor Dunne signing Suffrage Bill.—Mrs. Dunne looking over shoulder.—Mrs. Trout and other leaders.

Mrs. Trout was the central figure. Her opening of the throttle of the B. & O. locomotive and starting the Suffrage train on its trip to Washington D. C.; her congratulating of the Governor of Illinois upon his signing the Suffrage Bill; her triumphant arrival in Chicago from a Suffrage Auto Tour of Northern Illinois; her managing of the Great Woman's Suffrage Edition of the Chicago Examiner which cleared over \$15,000 for the Suffrage Cause—all tell a human interest story of leadership and triumph.

It is therefore no wonder that there is a wide demand for her to lecture, and that she should carry her message to the Lyceum and Chautauqua platform.

Mrs. Trout some years ago became interested in and made an exhaustive study of "Mormonism." The result was she wrote a story entitled "A Mormon Wife." On this work she received wide press comment and commendation.

Her lecture subjects are: "Suffrage from the American Woman's Standpoint," "The Psychology of the Movement," "A Human Problem," "Objections Answered, with Sidelights on Springfield," and "A New Citizenship."

A Special from Des Moines, Ia., to the Chicago Record Herald,

The Chicago Examiner,

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, of Chicago, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, addressed a joint session of the Iowa Legislature today. The Legislators were so impressed by the talk of the Illinois Suffragist that they ordered the address placed in the records.

"The little woman who has been responsible for the greatest 'entering wedge' for the national campaign for votes for American women, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, thru whose marvelous persistence, sane methods and a big understanding of 'the way men get things in politics', the vote was won for Illinois women, reached New York today and is a guest at the Hotel St. Regis.

She had scarcely gotten into the hotel when she was besieged with invitations to speak here and speak there.

The Salem (Mass.) News, writes as follows on Monday,

Of the many out-of-town suffrage leaders addressing the many suffrage meetings in New York this month, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, is probably the most popular. Mrs. Trout led the legions that won the ballot for women in Illinois this year. Mrs. Trout confided that one of the surest ways to win suffrage in New York is to follow the example of Illinois women, and leave creed and parties go. "Let your motto be non-partisanship," said Mrs. Trout, "and you will win."



COMING IN FROM SUFFRAGE AUTO TOUR OF NORTHERN, ILL.  
 Suffragists' tour ends in triumph. . . . With mud-bespattered "Votes for Women" still flying, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, leader of the Suffrage automobile crusade, and her party of orators returned late yesterday afternoon. . . . Men and women cheered the suffragists all the way in from their last stop at Wheaton to the Fine Arts Building headquarters.—From The Chicago Tribune.





Davenport (Iowa) Times:

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, the brilliant leader of the woman's cause in Chicago, answered clearly and logically many of the arguments against equal suffrage in her address yesterday afternoon before the Davenport Woman's Club, at the Outing Club, and an audience of fully two hundred and fifty women listened with close attention and applauded repeatedly her presentation of the woman side of the question.

The Chicago Sunday Tribune:

Mrs. Trout's voice is of unusual quality, clear and distinct, and at times thrilling, compelling when she gives to her audience some big thought put in an unusual way.

"Mrs. Trout's voice is as unusual in the speaking world as Patti's was in opera."

From Editorial in Christian Science Monitor. Commenting on article by Mrs. Trout, previously published in that paper:

The leaders of the movement found in the Forty-Eighth General Assembly at Springfield (Illinois) in 1913 only indifference, apathy and antagonism. But tact and good generalship were displayed. The force of Mrs. Trout's message will be lost upon men or women who fail to catch the note she sounds on citizen responsibility. She is addressing a wide audience, and one that should be deeply interested.

From Editorial in Peoria Transcript:

Mrs. Trout is not only a prominent leader in the Suffrage Movement, but she is a most gifted speaker, and the message she brings will be of interest to men as well as women.

We do not hesitate to affirm that for sound logic, forcefulness of expression, clarity of argument, delicacy of satire, and freedom from buncombe, Mrs. Trout's address surpassed any political address heard in this city for many months, and we are not unmindful of the fact that such notable orators, as Hiram Johnson, Senator Mason, and the President of the United States himself have spoken to Peoria audiences during the past year.



MRS. TROUT THANKING GOV. DUNNE. — SPEAKER WM. MCKINLEY BESIDE HIM  
A New York paper stated that there has been no event since the civil war of such far-reaching, national significance as the passage of the Suffrage Bill in Illinois.

After signing the bill, Governor Dunne said: "I congratulate you ladies on the gallant and successful fight that you have conducted." Mrs. Trout stepped forward a little from the group around his desk and answered, "I want to thank you Governor Dunne for signing this document. You have won the everlasting gratitude of the women of Illinois. We feel confident that they will prove worthy of the great responsibility which has been granted them by the men of Illinois. May the Divine power that guides and controls the destinies of us all direct you and yours forever."

Newark, N. J., Evening Star:

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout — suffragist who helps to make Nation's history.

New York City American:

"Tell us how you did it; we're going to be next. This was the plea and pledge from leading suffragists of New York, repeated again and again at the St. Regis yesterday to "The Little Conqueror of Illinois," Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout.

Mrs. Trout led the legions that won the ballot for women in the great key State of Illinois.

Mrs. Trout was fairly lionized by all.

Monmouth, Illinois, Atlas:

Cogent, earnest, logical and many other adjectives might be used in telling of the address delivered at the Auditorium last night by Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout.

An Appeal to  
All Loyal Suffragists of  
Minnesota

Two years ago the Suffragists of Ohio endeavored to get Political Equality for women through a clause in their new State Constitution. They carried on a strenuous three months campaign, at the same time working for the Initiative and Referendum.

The latter won, but the Suffrage Cause lost, although polling 249,420 votes, a larger number than had ever been cast for Suffrage in all of the States together, in which it had at that time been won. Defeated but not discouraged, the Suffragists at once went to work to get signatures to an Initiative petition, about 104,000 names being required. They secured 131,000 and are now in the midst of another campaign.

Ohio has over a million voters to be reached consisting of all classes of men, from the multi-millionaire to the miner.

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, President of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, who was for many years Treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and is one of the fine, strong women of the movement, and one who is always to be relied upon, writes that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt says that

**“OHIO IS THE PIVOTAL POINT IN  
NATIONAL SUFFRAGE WORK NOW.”**

Mrs. Upton goes on to say: “We are organizing by townships, towns and counties. We have troupes of five go into each county and visit all of the towns of over 500 inhabitants, call at every place of business and every house, and talk matters over, leave literature, arrange for a meeting in the centre of the town, hold the meeting and move on. When they have finished all of the county, they go to the County Seat and get up a County Organization. It is working out finely, costing but \$260.00 a county, owing to the fact that some of the people are paying their own expenses—and others are going for their expenses only. No salaries are paid.

We have covered all but 19 counties—and we are preparing to do those. Cannot Minnesota undertake to finance one of these counties? Of course that seems a good deal to raise, but if Ohio wins this year New York and Pennsylvania are sure to follow soon, and think what that would mean for the rest of the country!”

What will the suffragists of Minnesota do to help? **Immediate action is necessary.** Any sized contributions, great or small, from individuals, clubs, corporations, firms, churches, friends or enemies, will be welcomed and promptly acknowledged. Kindly send your contribution in the form of a check, postal order or stamps to any of the undersigned.

MRS. A. H. BRIGHT, Pres. Minn. Woman Suffrage Association.  
MISS TERESA PEYTON, State Pres. Equal Franchise League, St. Paul.  
DR. ETHEL E. HURD, Pres. Minneapolis Political Equality Club.  
MRS. ANDREAS UELAND, Pres. Equal Suffrage Association.  
MRS. LUTH JAEGER, Pres. Scandinavian Suffrage Association.  
MISS ABBIE GAIL MABEE, Pres. Woman Workers Suffrage Club.  
MISS LILLIAN RITCHIE, Pres. 1915 Suffrage Club.  
MRS. C. P. NOYES, Pres. Women's Welfare League, St. Paul.  
DR. MARY E. HARTMAN, Pres. Political Equality Club, St. Paul.

ORGANIZING  
TO  
WIN

VOTES FOR WOMEN

THE  
POLITICAL  
DISTRICT  
PLAN

A HANDBOOK FOR  
WORKING SUFFRAGISTS

National American Woman Suffrage Association

505 Fifth Avenue

New York City



# ORGANIZING TO WIN

BY

## THE POLITICAL DISTRICT PLAN

---

A HANDBOOK FOR  
WORKING SUFFRAGISTS

---

Price, Ten Cents

---

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
505 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY

# ORGANIZING TO WIN BY THE POLITICAL DISTRICT PLAN

The following plan of organization was worked out and first applied by the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, and while the term "Woman Suffrage Party" is used throughout this pamphlet, it can be equally well adopted by any association under its existing name or under any new name.

As long as we are endeavoring to attain suffrage state by state, through amendments to the constitutions of the various states, and as long as the members of the State Legislatures alone have the power to place the amendment definitely before the whole body of the voters, just so long must those political units which send men to the Legislatures be our primary concern.

These political units are the "Senatorial District" from which the members of the Senate or the Upper House of the State Legislatures are drawn, and the "Assembly" or "Legislative District" or "Ward," from which are drawn the members of the Lower House of the State Legislatures. This Lower House and its members are variously named in the different states. For convenience, we shall use the name "Assembly District" through this pamphlet.

The basis of the Woman Suffrage Party organization is the Assembly District. We do not deal especially with the Senatorial District, for the reason that the several Assembly Districts (generally three) which make up a Senatorial District can always combine to bring pressure to bear upon the State Senator through every Woman Suffrage Party agency that is employed in the case of the Assemblyman or Representative.

The aim of the Woman Suffrage Party is to focus all the existing suffrage work directly upon these political representatives of the people to the end that they may be induced to work for the suffrage bill once it has been introduced into the Legislature.

Price per copy, 10c; per dozen, \$1.00; per hundred, \$8.00.  
Postpaid, per copy, 12c; per dozen, \$1.25; per hundred, express.

In structure, the Party is like a great pyramid tapering upward from the enrolled membership throughout the entire city, which forms its base, through the Captains and the Leaders of the various Assembly Districts, to the Chairman of the city organization at the apex.

This plan of work did not originate with suffragists. It was merely appropriated by them. It is a plan which voters have evolved after a century of political experience. Under test, it has been found to be the most effective possible organization, and should, therefore, prove correspondingly effective to suffragists in their work of preparation for a suffrage campaign.

Collectively the Party can undertake as bold and picturesque work as any organization, but, in addition, the careful, undeviating, systematic political organization work must be constantly carried on by the Chairman, the Leaders of the Assembly Districts and the Captains of the various Election Precincts within the Assembly Districts.

The Party work not only intensifies the suffrage comradeship, but gives a pride in local achievement and a strong neighborhood feeling that, in a great city, is most salutary. It is accompanied inevitably by an awakening of civic pride, and a wholesome breaking down of class distinctions, as women of the same neighborhood, but of widely different training and mode of life, are thus brought together for a common cause.

#### PLAN FOR A WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY IN ANY STATE

The following program is offered as an outline of procedure, subject always to such modifications as will enable the Woman Suffrage Party to copy more closely the methods of organization followed by the majority political parties of the State in which it is formed.

##### Program of Work.

**1st Step.**—The appointment of an Organizer for each Assembly District, or whatever may be the name of that geographical division that sends an Assemblyman or Representative to the State Legislature. This Organizer need not be a resident of the District which she is to organize. The personnel of these appointees may well be furnished from among the existing suffrage clubs.

**2d Step.**—The provision of a large amount of "Rainbow Literature," and of enrollment blanks. The money for this purpose may well be supplied by the existing suffrage clubs.

**3d Step.**—The calling by each Organizer of a local convention in the District which she is organizing composed of all the known suffragists, both men and women, who reside in her District. For this purpose, the boundary lines of the District must be studied and all names set into the proper District according to residence. Do not hesitate to call the convention even if not more than a few persons are known to be suffragists. The object is only to make a start. At this convention a District Leader must be chosen who must reside in the District and who will be known as the Leader for the District of the Woman Suffrage Party. Also, an attempt must be made to secure as many persons as possible who will act as Captains of the Election Precincts, serving under the Leader. Further, the best plan of raising money to carry on the Woman Suffrage Party work must or should be determined upon.

**4th Step.**—As soon as possible, the Assembly District Leader should call her Captains together to consult as to the best way in which to proceed to cover the work in hand. This is to enroll every man and woman in the District as a member of the Party by signing of an enrollment blank. She should tell them the exact boundaries of their Precincts, give them a full supply of "Rainbow Literature," enrollment blanks, and if possible, lists of names of residents, voters' lists, church lists, etc., to aid them in their work. She should fill them with enthusiasm, suggesting various methods of getting the registration, such as house-to-house canvass, small parlor meetings, big public assemblages, sociables, suffrage teas, dissemination of literature by hand or by mail, persuasive argument, outdoor speaking, debates, etc. Upon the enthusiasm of the Leader and the diligent work of the Captain depends everything.

**5th Step.**—The Assembly District Leader should endeavor as early as possible to form a District Club, with dues, composed of all those who are willing to pay dues and direct the activities of the District work. The Leader may or may not be the President. The Captains may well belong to this Club, as well as anyone who is desirous of taking a more active part than that of an enrolled member merely. The financial burden of the work must be solved by the

Club, and it should be the center of activity for the District. There should be a Secretary and Treasurer, officers to be elected annually. The Club should meet at least once a month.

**6th Step.**—The extension of the Woman Suffrage Party over the entire State, conventions of Leaders being called to elect a County Committee (if there is more than one District in the County) and a State Committee. These conventions are to be called once a year, with duly elected delegates; and the procedure should follow as closely as possible the political organizations of the men.

**7th Step.**—Put the full force of your membership behind your Assemblyman or Representative in the Legislature, and compel him to favor the Woman Suffrage Bill. Do the same thing in regard to your Senator.

**Remarks.**—Where a State has already existing clubs, they usually take the lead in forming a Woman Suffrage Party; where there are none, a volunteer band of organizers may follow the same general line of procedure. Maps showing the boundaries of the Districts and Precincts may usually be secured from the headquarters of the political parties. Each Election Precinct Captain should keep a copy of the signatures she gets, but should send the enrollments themselves to her Leader. As soon as possible a County Headquarters should be established, and full lists of the enrolled membership kept there. When in doubt how to proceed, follow as closely as possible the methods of organization employed by the political parties in your State.

## THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

For quick reference as a practical guide, the activities of the Woman Suffrage Party are here set forth from five different sides:

1. Political.
2. Legislative.
3. Propaganda.
4. Education for civic life.
5. Reform.

### Political Work

First and foremost, as its form indicates, the work of the Woman Suffrage Party is Political. It endeavors to walk step by step parallel with the political activity of the dominant political parties. At every political meeting, on every political committee; there the **Woman Suffrage Party's** voice must be heard in undeviating demand for the **submission of the woman suffrage amendment to the voters.**

It must be impressed upon the minds of all citizens in political life that the members of the Woman Suffrage Party intend to pursue an unswerving course side by side with the men of the dominant parties from whom their enfranchisement in any State must come. Wherever the men are meeting, wherever they are making platforms, considering candidates for the State Legislature, passing resolutions, holding primaries or conventions, there the Woman Suffrage Party officers and members should be with the insistent and persistent demand that they express themselves in some way upon the suffrage question, that they shall send men to the State Legislature who are pledged to **submit the suffrage amendment to the voters** of the State, whether the Legislator believes in suffrage or not.

It is necessary to follow the political routine from designation meetings and primaries to State Conventions.

1. Party officers should find the headquarters of the County and State committees for dominant parties. A friendly acquaintance, if possible, should be established between



officers and members of these political committees and officers and members of the Woman Suffrage Party.

Much important information can be obtained at these headquarters during the summer. Get from the State headquarters the **political calendar for the year**. This is generally a printed folder. Supply Assembly District Leaders with copies of the political calendar. Also locate the board of elections. There one may get complete lists, names and addresses of all candidates for the Legislature. Leaders get these names, of course, in their own districts, but a complete list should be on hand at headquarters.

2. Party officers should in every possible way acquaint themselves with the State and local political situation.

3. The Woman Suffrage Party Assembly District Leader should become acquainted with the political party leaders of her District. She should know the location and the officers of all political clubs, and get admission to the clubs for suffrage speakers.

4. The Leader should acquaint herself as far as possible with her district politics.

5. The Election District Captain should become acquainted with the political captain of her Election District.

6. Suffrage Leader, Captains and all District officers should become acquainted with their Senator and Assemblyman, follow his legislative activities closely and let him be keenly aware of their activities for suffrage. The suffrage sentiment of his District must be impressed upon him at its highest value. No suffrage influence should be lost to the Legislators and politicians of an Assembly District. They should be fully conscious that it is the most agitated, the most vital question that they will hear from during the legislative session.

7. On the day of the primary or designation meetings, a delegation of two to four women from every Assembly District should seek a hearing, if only for five minutes, asking:

- (a) For the nomination or designation of a candidate who believes in the submission of the Woman Suffrage amendment.
- (b) For the passage of a resolution favoring the submission of the Woman Suffrage amendment.

8. Before nominating conventions the same course should be pursued.

If suffrage representatives cannot get a hearing, they can distribute appeals within the hall. This being denied, they can stand outside and distribute the appeals. (Appendix I.) This applies to the Senatorial conventions. The Leaders of the Districts that make up a Senatorial District should unite on this.

9. The year of the general State elections the Party should follow out the routine for State conventions and a hearing before the Resolutions Committee asking for a suffrage plank in their platform. (See Appendix III.) In a presidential year the same action should be taken with reference to delegates to the State convention asking them to advocate a plank in the National platform as a recommendation from their State. (See Appendix IV.)

10. Immediately after the candidates for Senate and Assembly (or House of Representatives) have been nominated, begin a systematic interviewing and if possible a pledging of the candidates (see Appendix V) on the suffrage question.

11. If the organization decides to campaign against a particularly refractory candidate, they should consider:

- (a) Whether the District is a close one or whether there is a chance of success.
- (b) Whether the opposing candidate is sincerely for the submission of the question.
- (c) The past legislative record of the candidate to be fought.  
(Methods and plans for an aggressive campaign are treated in another leaflet.)

12. The Woman Suffrage Party should **never work for a candidate nor ally itself with any political party or organization.**

13. After elections, one of the first things of which the new Senator and the new Assemblyman or Representatives should hear is the Woman Suffrage question. By simultaneous onslaught upon the conventions of every Assembly District, the undeviating presence of the suffrage advocates at every step in the political routine, he should already have realized that he cannot escape the suffrage demand.

Between election and the convening of the Legislature,

each Legislator for the State should be tabulated as to his position on submitting the amendment.

Nothing should satisfy suffrage workers as a culmination to their political work short of a **Legislature, a majority of whose members** are pledged to the submission of the Woman Suffrage Amendment.

### Legislative Work

In every case, except through a constitutional revision or an initiative petition, an amendment must pass the State Legislature (or sometimes two successive Legislatures), before it can be referred to the voters. Therefore, in nearly every case one of the great fights in our war is to get the bill safely through and out of the Legislature.

1. Form a co-operating legislative committee, composed of heads of all organizations in the State, of which the Woman Suffrage Party Chairman or the State President is Chairman. This committee should meet immediately after election, and thereafter once a week or once in two weeks throughout the winter.

2. Decide upon the form of amendment or suffrage bill.

3. Select a Senator to introduce the bill in the State Senate and an Assemblyman (or Representative) to introduce it into the Assembly or House of Representatives. If necessary, do some work in the man's own District to show him that there is a strong enough sentiment among his constituents to warrant his championship of the bill.

4. Have a legislative agent, some earnest woman, continually at the State Capitol in friendly relations with the introducers of the bill. She should be a student of the political combinations and of the whole legislative procedure, ever pushing the claims of the suffragists, interviewing Assemblymen, sending timely word to Suffrage Party leaders in this and that Assembly District regarding work that needs to be done in a legislative crisis. Here is where the strength of a Woman Suffrage Party organization is shown. Word is sent into a District, "Your Assemblyman says he does not believe there is much demand in his District." Forthwith he receives a list of the enrolled members, he is showered with letters and telegrams **from his own constituents**. Many may come to the State Capitol to see him.

5. Urge an early and timely introduction of the bill.

6. After the first reading of the bill, it is referred to a committee. Since this is, in so many States called the Judiciary Committee, we will use that name here. **This is where in most instances the suffrage bills quietly die.** The Suffrage Party proposes the bill shall not so die, and that if it does, it shall not die quietly. At this step in the legislative routine, there is one clear-cut piece of work: **To get the suffrage bill out of the committee.**

(a) To this end get a hearing before the Judiciary Committees, joint or separate.

(b) Try to get a vote immediately or soon after the hearing.

(c) Demand a report favorable or unfavorable. The latter at least gets it before the House for a discussion and gets that vote, so important to the suffragists of a State, which enables them to see where the Legislators stand.

(d) If the bill is not reported out in reasonable time, interview the members of the Committee.

(e) Begin an aggressive campaign through the press by street meetings, by the rolling up of a petition signed preferably by the voters of the Committeeman's district asking that he vote to report the bill out of Committee. Here, Assembly District organization is invaluable. Canvass the District from the voters' lists obtained from the Board of Elections. Hold mass meetings in the District and always pass resolutions on the submission of the Woman Suffrage amendment and mail them immediately to the Legislator. (See Appendix VI.) Have prominent people in the district write to him. (See Appendix VII.) Men's Leagues for Woman Suffrage and other friendly men's organizations should be asked to bring pressure to bear upon the Legislator. (See Appendix VIII.) The Woman Suffrage Party Leader should keep in touch with the political party leaders of her District during this time. The courtesy of the political headquarters for suffrage meetings may often be obtained at this time and such meetings are very effective.

7. If the Committee remains obdurate, get the introducer of the bill "To move the discharge of the Committee from further consideration of the Woman Suffrage bill." This means a close and careful polling of the members of the Legislature to get votes for the discharge.

8. Where the bill is triumphantly out of Committee, let the Party or Co-operative Committee workers realize that

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty!" See that it is advantageously placed upon the calendar for its **second reading**. Poll the Legislature again. Be as active as possible in the men's districts. This is the height of the season's work. Hold a chain of legislative mass meetings. In many cases have the Legislators themselves speak. When the day comes for the second reading have deputations from throughout the State, ideally from each Assembly District, the Leader, and two or three Captains on the floor of the House or in their gallery. A parade in the Capitol City is a good idea. Demonstrations at this time need be limited by nothing but money and workers. A whirlwind suffrage week in the Capitol City is effective. Never forget work at home in the Assembly Districts of doubtful or adverse men.

9. When the bill has been passed through the second reading, dilatory tactics are often used by those corrupt politicians who are opposing the passage of the Woman Suffrage bill with that desperate eagerness that constitutes the highest tribute to the best argument for Woman Suffrage.

10. The next step is for placing the bill on the calendar for the final reading and successful passage. One trick is to refer the bill at last to a Committee, often the Committee on Rules. Then the suffragists must fight strenuously to the last ditch. Again they must begin the routine, send out circulars, hold meetings, and besiege the members of this Committee. (See Appendix IX) to report the bill out for final passage.

11. In the meanwhile on the eve of success, the Governor and his signature should be assured.

12. In some States this entire program must be carried out in two successive Legislatures.

We do not in this pamphlet attempt to cover the procedure of the final campaign in the State where the amendment has been submitted; but from past experience and by evident deduction any suffrage worker can see that in proportion as the State is covered by a Woman Suffrage Party district organization, in that proportion success is certain.

## Propaganda

All our technical, political and legislative work will profit us little unless we are at the same time preparing the minds of the people for this great reform.

The means by which the Suffrage message can be conveyed are innumerable, from toy "Votes for Women" balloons to magnificent banners; from Suffrage Party enrollment blanks and brown paper grocery bags to artistic booklets; from street meetings to parades. The resourceful worker, the Publicity and Public Demonstration and Entertainment Committees of a district will devise a thousand ways of appealing locally and generally to the heart and mind of the unconvinced, and of **getting the message of equal suffrage to those who would never come to us in a regular suffrage meeting**.

1. The hard but fruitful way is through the work of the Election District Captain in her house to house canvassing. She will speak to and leave literature with all the tradespeople, all the apartment house janitors. She will call, call, call on all the people in her District, convincing them by personal discussion and influence, and enrolling them in the District organization. (See Appendix X.) The Party should furnish her with the "Rainbow Literature" to distribute freely. These may be secured from National Headquarters, price \$1.00 per 1,000; 75 cents per 1,000 in orders of 10,000 or more.

2. The Election District Captains and Party workers should hold parlor and shop neighborhood meetings; they should appear before locals of the unions, men's clubs, political and social groups; they should penetrate into slot machine and moving picture places. They should wear the suffrage button always, that the whole neighborhood will know what they stand for.

3. The Leader should work up a large body of Captains and call Captains' meetings as often as once a month to get their reports and in every way to stimulate the district work.

4. Two or three times during the year there should be a great District mass meeting.

5. Street meetings should be held frequently at the various corners and squares of the District.

6. The politicians, leaders and Legislators of Assembly Districts should be notified of and invited to District activi-

ties. While the propaganda work goes on not one motion the suffragists make should be lost politically. (See Appendix XI.)

7. It is well to have a leaflet on District activities to give to new recruits who want to do home work in their Districts. (See Appendix XII, XIII.)

8. Suffrage plays written and acted by members of the District Dramatic Committee have been a source of revenue and of propaganda.

9. Assembly District headquarters as a center for the District Suffrage Club are a wonderful help in strengthening the work and in gathering in recruits. The working up of the Assembly District Club with a dues-paying basis from the Captains and active workers and the non-dues-paying enrollments, is a department of Party activity that requires a pamphlet by itself.

10. Different Districts lend themselves to various forms of propaganda. A sewing circle where women come with sewing and mending, while a suffrage book is read and District plans discussed, has been utilized in home Districts.

11. District fairs, District dances, District classes of different kinds have been used for conversion and strengthening the District organization.

12. The social settlement for suffrage centers, the suffrage lunch and tea room, the suffrage gift shop, sales of "votes for women" candy and other articles, "votes for women" flower shows, "votes for women" dog shows and cat shows, District sleigh-rides, are all methods which the alert District worker has used to raise money, increase members, and carry on propaganda.

13. The political reception is a valuable feature of District life. The Leader with her District officers and her Captains has given with great success a reception afternoon or evening and invited all the Legislators of her District.

14. Besides all the splendid effective localized activity of the Party which is its basic power, the Central Committee should conceive and carry out plans of an aggressive and dignified character on a larger scale. The great annual city convention of the Party is not only for the adoption of a Party platform and declaring the election of officers, but for presenting to the public a brilliant programme calculated to win converts. (Appendix XIV.)

15. On all special occasions, as in time of rejoicing over a suffrage victory, at a legislative crisis, for protest or for jubilation the Party as a whole should hold great mass meetings.

16. Theatrical benefits are a source of propaganda and revenue. However, for the latter it must be said that not much time and strength should have to go into entertainments for revenue. The Party must always be supported mainly by general contributions and pledges, obtained at big mass meetings.

17. The Party should make the most of all opportunities for unusual demonstrations. In a broad spirit of service for the cause and truth of democracy, suffragists should remember that no time or place can detract from the dignity of the cause as long as the suffragist who represents it is dignified, gracious, tactful and earnest. A wonderful way to reach people is by maintaining a tent during the summer months at some popular resort near a city, a different Assembly District taking charge each week. A lunch wagon can be hired and run by suffragists with great effect. Special holiday celebrations can be utilized, such as the decorating of the patriotic statues of a city. A picturesque parade and speeches Fourth of July are effective. Places on programme of other entertainments; booths at pure food, domestic science, governmental and industrial exhibitions; admission for propaganda work at fairs and benefits; an opportunity to take a place on the programme in a vaudeville house—all these opportunities should be used by the Party.

18. The Party demonstrations should as far as possible emphasize the Party organizations, banners and badges of the Assembly Districts should show in living terms something of the scope and character of the Party.

19. Any unusual occasion, a public celebration or event, a tragedy or a crisis, should be seized upon by suffragists, to drive home the suffrage lesson.

## Education for Civic Life

The whole of the Party activity is a wonderful civic education. By making a Precinct Captain and her workers responsible for the few hundred people in an Election District or Precinct and then connecting her activity up to the great systematic organization of the Woman Suffrage Party, not only is the suffrage cause furthered but the workers are wonderfully trained. This sort of organization for team work and united effort is the genius of modern life. Until women, who from lack of training or experience are impatient of or awed by big combination, are trained up to such standards of work, they cannot be vital factors in the world life of to-day. The patient, careful work which the organization takes is the best training in the world.

1. The Party worker must have some parliamentary knowledge. A class in parliamentary law has been run in some party organizations.

2. The Woman Suffrage Party woman learns to be faithful to political meetings and to be conscientious about coming out to vote. Beginning with her own Assembly District conventions up to the city conventions she learns by practical experience the routine of electing officers and delegates.

3. On its political committees and its legislative committees Woman Suffrage Party workers learn the whole technique of government and of political methods.

4. This great volume of volunteer work develops a spirit of social service that is the basis of good citizenship.

5. Perhaps nothing in the Party movement is more remarkable than the education which the Party woman gets in real, not theoretical **democracy**. Working side by side with Leaders and Captains from every section, color, race, creed and conditions in a big city, she forgets the existence of class distinctions.

6. The speakers' classes, and still better, the experience in drawing rooms, hall, theatre and street corner, develops a large body of woman speakers.

7. Aside from the development of ability, the general ethical development of women who do this well-built, orderly, persistent, often inglorious work, is very remarkable.

8. A flaming demand for reform and readjustment is aroused in the women of the Party as they are called into

close touch with every portion of our great cities, into intimate knowledge of police and political conditions and as they see the degradation and oppression of humanity, especially of childhood and womanhood.

## Reform

It will always be a great question for organized suffragists to decide how far suffrage organizations shall take action upon reform matters. We are more or less solid on the subject of political partisanship. We know that the Woman Suffrage Party must keep free of all political alliances, as we must, as a non-partisan body, take our suffrage demand before committees, legislatures, and bodies of voters of all parties.

But, when it comes to burning social questions, the very form of a Woman Suffrage Party platform (see Appendix XV) shows that we cannot be oblivious of these vital things. It will take tact, courage, judgment, to decide how far to become allied with or to divert our activity toward other great movements. One thing must be remembered—pounds of alleviation will not equal one ounce of the cure which comes with woman's enfranchisement. We are organized for the enfranchisement of women, and we find, because all these other things are of such burning moment to us, because we realize that mistakes are being made which carry tragedy in their train, that we must all the more insist that we be armed with the one weapon known to modern governments, the ballot. However certain recognition the Party must pay to existing struggles:

1. With social and reform bodies, affiliation is possible.

2. Resolutions, endorsements, relative to many social matters are often imperative on the city committee of the Woman Suffrage Party.

3. The primary point at which we must vitally come in contact with reform conditions is in our relation to the labor world. The Party will naturally be in close sympathy with the Woman's Trade Union movement.

4. An important part of Party activity is a Wage-Earners' Suffrage League. (See Appendix XVI.) A labor chairman should be one of the many chairmen of standing committees on the city committee. She may, or may not, be president of the Wage-Earners' League. Besides their cen-

tral activities, labor meetings, etc., the Wage-Earners' League should be distributed and in touch with the District organization.

5. At least once during the year the Party should hold a great labor mass meeting, previous to which the Locals of all the Unions should have been visited with requests to send delegations.

6. The Party should participate in the Labor Day Parade, and other labor demonstrations. Fraternal greetings and fraternal delegates should be sent to great Women's Trade Union and Labor congresses and conventions. Resolutions of sympathy and endorsement are in order in connection with many events in the course of the struggle in the labor world.

7. Adoption of resolutions on various subjects of a social nature are in order to be sent to President, Governor, Mayor, Police Commissioners and other officials.

8. A Leader and her Captains have been known to wait upon the proper city authorities to demand better street conditions, the suppression of factory or smoke nuisances, police protection, etc.

9. Prison reform, **abolition** not regulation of the White Slave traffic, the struggle against child-labor, reform of criminal court procedure—concerning these the party will protest, pass resolutions, speak on the street corners, endorse organizations specially formed to cope with these matters; but no single-minded suffragist will be diverted by the individual instance, by even the most crying social defect, but will ever remember that causes and conditions are the foes that must be routed and that the one effective weapon is the ballot, and that the most effective way to gain the ballot is through Woman Suffrage Party organization.

## APPENDIX

### I

#### FORM APPEAL TO NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

To the Assembly District Nominating Conventions of .....

The Woman Suffrage Party, organized in the Assembly Districts of this State, and numbering more than..... members, hereby appeals to you to nominate for the State Assembly a man who is favorable to the submission to popular vote of a constitutional amendment enfranchising women. We do not ask that your candidate be necessarily an advocate of woman suffrage, but we do ask that he shall be fair-minded enough to stand for a referendum on the question.

To withhold such submission, as the Legislature has repeatedly done, is to arbitrarily usurp authority which clearly belongs to the electorate. Can not the voters of the State be trusted to express themselves on this measure?

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

### II

#### FORM FOR APPEAL TO DELEGATES OF ASSEMBLY DISTRICT CONVENTIONS

To the Delegates of the Assembly District Conventions of .....

The Woman Suffrage Party, of ....., organized in ..... assembly districts and numbering more than ..... members, hereby petitions you to instruct the delegates to your State Convention to use their influence and their votes to secure from that Convention, a declaration in the party platform, in favor of submitting to popular vote a constitutional amendment providing for woman suffrage. The State Legislature, for incomprehensible reasons, refuses, year after year, to submit such an amendment. Having no power to extend the suffrage the Legislature has no

right to ignore the demands of the thousands of women who annually petition for consideration of this question. We appeal from this arbitrary and undemocratic action of the State Legislature to you, the voters who create that Legislature.

We do not ask you or your party to endorse woman suffrage; we do ask you to endorse the principle involved in a referendum of this question to the sovereign voters of the State which is the method of extending the franchise clearly provided by the Constitution.

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

### III

#### FORM FOR APPEAL TO STATE CONVENTIONS

To the Delegates to the Democratic State Convention,

Place ....., Date.....

Gentlemen:

What is this Convention going to do for the WOMEN of this State? ..... thousand women of ..... want an answer to this question. .... thousand women ask you to vote a WOMAN SUFFRAGE PLANK INTO YOUR STATE PLATFORM.

Does the Democratic party stand for the RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL, as once it did?

Does the expressed desire of ..... thousand citizens MEAN ANYTHING AT ALL to the Democratic party?

What is this DEMOCRACY that you seek to establish, which sees nothing wrong in levying Taxes upon AMERICAN WOMEN and then driving them away from the polls?

Our ancient industries have been taken out of the home. Is the Democratic party willing to allow women to go out into the labor market to earn their bread, DEFENCELESS AND HELPLESS WITHOUT THE BALLOT?

Is the Democratic party to keep on denying women a voice in making the laws under which they must live and at the same time continue to prate to the world about DEMOCRACY?

Does success at the polls in November for the Democratic party mean a Legislature that will ROB WOMEN of a HARDEARNED LEGISLATIVE VICTORY?

Does success at the polls in November mean a Legislature

that will deny the MEN of this State their RIGHT to vote upon the freedom of their women?

Does Democratic rule in this State mean FREEDOM FOR MEN and POLITICAL SUBJECTION FOR WOMEN?

Are these the conditions for which the party of Thomas Jefferson will stand during the next two years? To-day is a NEW DAY; and WE WANT TO KNOW WHAT DEMOCRATIC RULE MEANS.

YOUR PLATFORM WILL TELL US; AND WE'RE WAITING.

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

To the Delegates to the Republican State Convention,

Place ....., Date.....

Gentlemen:

The Republican party has learned the meaning of INSURGENCY. You are summoned to attend the most momentous convention in the history of the State organization. To-day is a new day, and new problems confront you. .... thousand women are demanding the elective franchise; WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? WE ask you to vote a WOMAN SUFFRAGE PLANK INTO YOUR STATE PLATFORM.

Will the party that freed the negro longer ignore the political slavery of women?

Will it continue to allow AMERICAN WOMEN to be herded into line at the Tax Office, and then driven away from the polls?

Does the expressed desire of one hundred thousand citizens MEAN ANYTHING to your leaders?

Our ancient industries have been taken out of the home, and women by millions are following the work, going into the shop and the factory. Will the Republican party stand for an unfranchised and helpless LABORING CLASS?

Is a Republican victory at the polls in November to mean the DELIBERATE NON-RECOGNITION of woman's just claim to the ballot?

Will the Republican party continue to deny women any voice in making the laws under which they must live, while boasting of REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS?

Are the MEN OF STATE to be free, while the WOMEN ARE KEPT in political subjection, under a Republican administration?

Are these the conditions for which the Republican party of this STATE will stand during the next two years?

**YOUR PLATFORM WILL TELL US; AND WE'RE WAITING.**

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

#### IV

### FORM FOR APPEAL FOR PLANK IN NATIONAL PLATFORM

To the Delegates of the \_\_\_\_\_ State Convention.

Greetings:

The Woman Suffrage Party of \_\_\_\_\_, organized in \_\_\_\_\_ Assembly Districts, numbering more than \_\_\_\_\_ men and women, hereby appeals to you most earnestly to use your influence as a delegate to the \_\_\_\_\_ Convention to secure a recommendation from the State of \_\_\_\_\_ advocating a plank in the national platform in favor of Woman Suffrage.

In asking this measure of justice to women we call your attention to the fact that in six states women already have the full franchise and that in \_\_\_\_\_ other states the question goes to the voters for decision this Fall.

In view of the worldwide growth of this movement and of its inevitable success we ask you to realize that the great \_\_\_\_\_ Party can no longer remain silent on an issue of such magnitude, and we urge you to realize the wisdom of the statesmanship which dictates national recognition of the question immediately.

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

#### V

### FORM FOR SECURING PLEDGE OF CANDIDATES

Hon. \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Sir:

I have noticed your nomination for a member of the Assembly (or Senate) for the \_\_\_\_\_ District on the \_\_\_\_\_ ticket. Will you kindly tell me, as a resident of your District, whether, if elected, you will favor submission to the voters of the question of woman suffrage as a constitutional amendment?

Your support of such a resolution will not be taken to mean that you favor woman suffrage nor does it in any way bind you to vote for the same. I feel, however, that the question has become one of such general interest that an expression of the popular will should be obtained, and that it is manifestly unfair and un-American that the political liberties of half of our citizens should be denied by the will of an indifferent or adverse Legislature.

I would be deeply grateful if you would advise me of your position in this matter.

Respectfully yours,

(Stamped and addressed envelope enclosed.)

#### VI

### FORM FOR RESOLUTIONS TO BE SENT TO ASSEMBLYMEN

(These resolutions must be varied in form if you send them several consecutive weeks or months to your Legislature.)

**RESOLVED:** That we, the residents of \_\_\_\_\_ Assembly District, in public meeting assembled, on this \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_, 191 \_\_\_\_\_, do hereby request that our Assemblyman, The Hon. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ respect our wishes and exert his utmost influence to have the bill providing for the submission of a suffrage amendment reported out of Committee and to have the question submitted to the voters.

#### VII

### FORM FOR LETTER TO BE SENT TO ASSEMBLYMEN

Honorable Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ (Assemblyman, Senator or Representative).

Dear Sir:

As our Assemblyman (or Senator), we suffragists of the Woman Suffrage Party of the \_\_\_\_\_ Assembly District are looking to you to do justice to our cause this year, by doing everything that you can to see that the Woman Suffrage Amendment is reported out of committee and on the floor of the House voted out to the voters of this State. We feel that there is no other one matter which is occupying the minds of so many people in your Assembly District as this



one great subject, which is being agitated in every nation the world over.

We are sure that we can trust this matter to you.

Yours respectfully,

### VIII

#### FORM FOR LETTER TO BE SENT TO MEN'S LEAGUES, ETC.

My dear Mr. \_\_\_\_\_.

We appeal you as an enrolled member of the Men's League in the \_\_\_\_\_ Assembly District to send signed with your name and address and your Election District some such letter as the enclosed. Will you see Assemblyman \_\_\_\_\_ personally, if possible, and do work through any political situation that may be known to you in the district whereby you may bring influence to bear upon Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ in this matter? This is a very important office that you may perform for your sister suffragists at this time.

Yours cordially,

(Enclose suggested form asking for the report out of committee, or the vote on the floor of the house.)

### IX

#### FORM FOR LETTER TO GET BILL OUT OF COMMITTEE

Co-operating Committee of Woman Suffrage Associations

Dear \_\_\_\_\_.

On the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, in the Assembly, our bill passed by a vote of \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_; a great victory for us. But our bill has now been referred to the Committee on Rules. We must, if possible, get it reported at once. The members of the committee are: (names and addresses).

Please send a letter, or, better still, a telegram, addressed to any member of the committee or to the Rules Committee.

**Do it to-day!** Send it not later than (date). We have a chance to win this year. It depends on you. **Do your part! Do it now!**

Yours for victory,

(Signed by Members of the Committee.)

### X

#### ENROLLMENT BLANK

I, \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ Street, \_\_\_\_\_ City, believing that women as well as men should vote, hereby join the Woman Suffrage Party, with the understanding that it is non-partisan in character, and that this action does not interfere with my regular political affiliations.

Assembly District \_\_\_\_\_ Election District \_\_\_\_\_

### XI

#### FORM FOR AN ORGANIZATION LEAFLET

Things Necessary to do at Every Meeting, Large or Small,  
in the Assembly (or Representative) Districts or the  
Senatorial Districts

1. Give people who attend the meeting the name and address of their Senator and Assemblyman. It is preferable to have a number of typewritten slips bearing the names and addresses, and the appeal "Please help the cause of this district by pledging yourself to write to these two men."
2. Pass a resolution as strongly worded as possible which the Leader or the Secretary will send promptly to the Senator and the Assemblyman.
3. Call attention to the Party organ, if there is one. Urge subscriptions to it. Have copies at the meeting which people can see.
4. Always call attention to the district map, which it would be well to have pinned up back of the table, at which the Leader presides. Many people have vague ideas when they hear talk about Assembly Districts and Election Districts.
5. Always have literature, buttons, pencils and pens at the meeting. You may appoint a committee to attend to these, but it is well for the Leader always to speak of these articles and their price.
6. Always take up a collection. If you only get \$1.00, it will go toward defraying your postage expenses.
7. Always take enrollments.
8. Always speak of the plan of the Party organization. Emphasize its usefulness. Put up to the suffragists present the possibility of its efficiency and make a plea for captains.

9. Always call for reports of captains and give some definite information to captains. (The actual reports from captains refer more to your private business meetings than to your public meetings, although a plea for captains and an outline of the work of the captains should always be spoken of.)

10. At every meeting ask for volunteers for any kind of suffrage activities: Teas, At Homes, Entertainments, etc. People are better suffragists after they have done something—ever so little—for the cause.

## XII

### FORM LEAFLET FOR DISTRICT WORKERS

1. Use the lists of those names that we already have at headquarters of people registered in the district. Call upon people who look as though they might be promising.

2. Get what enrollments you can from casual canvassing in the district shops, apartment houses, places of amusement, etc. Ask anyone who seems to be a hopeful person as a possible officer of the district to call at headquarters for further information.

3. Hold street meetings in the district, at which specially beg for workers. This applies especially to the warmer months in the year.

4. Look out for inexpensive meeting places in the district; vacant shops, club rooms, church houses, school rooms or tea rooms, or any private home that may be offered.

5. Use Dow's Directory or the Elite Directory, the Teacher's Directory or the Voters' list. All these give names consecutively by street and number and it is very easy to map out your district from these lists. (Emphasis should be made upon getting as many voters as possible in the district.)

6. Approach newsstands to see if you can get literature and enrollment blanks sent into houses with newspapers.

7. Find out what you can do in amusement places, slot machine arcades, vaudeville houses, etc. Try to get our stereopticians run on in some variety performance in your district. Visit the shops, large and small in your district.

8. Enroll men and women in department stores.

9. Get in touch with the settlements, working girls' clubs and unions, and the Y. M. C. A.'s in your district.

10. Get lists from the Consumers' League, Trade Union League and the Women's Municipal League.

11. Always send notices of the meetings in the district to the Senator and Assemblyman and leading politicians.

12. SEE THE POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE DOMINANT PARTIES. Get on friendly terms with them and they will in many cases allow you to use their club rooms and will send you invitations to their social gatherings, which some committee from the district should attend.

13. Get in touch with the women's auxiliaries of the Republican and Democratic organizations of your district. This is very important.

14. Get in touch with any particular national group, like the Jewish, the Bohemians, the Norwegians, the Italians or the Germans. If there is a local national paper published, see what the editor will do for you in the way of translating our English into that language.

15. Keep a book of your field work, in which keep not only your figures as to enrollments, people visited, but also interesting and picturesque incidents that might do for the press. Also keep pages of people classified as hopeful and unconverted. A great deal of valuable data will slip out of the mind of the worker unless she has some system for recording these items.

16. Get after any **classes** of people you find.

17. Have an evening for teachers in your district. Look up nurses. Look up wives of doctors, clergymen, etc. Get in touch with all the churches in your district that you can. Attend services, prayer meetings and try to interest them. This will require tact and circumspection.

Many other methods and activities will suggest themselves to people who are resourceful and interested in this structural work, and bent upon filling the District with suffrage sentiment and strengthening the organization of the Party which means so much to the coherent and effective suffrage life of any Assembly District.

### XIII

#### ANOTHER FORM LEAFLET FOR DISTRICT WORKERS

1. List all the clubs, organizations, etc. Try to get hearings before those that are hospitable.
2. The Leaders should get all the people they can in their districts to do systematic handing out of literature.
3. Try to get the suffrage slides presented, in the five-cent theatres.
4. Get lists of foreign newspapers in the city.
5. Get reform and social facts that could be put into the hands of people.
6. Have geographically located meetings in these districts.
7. Get in touch with groups of the district by professions, doctors, lawyers, teachers, clergymen, social workers.
8. Enlist the settlements.
9. Enlist the churches and church clubs.
10. Enlist the mothers' clubs.
11. Get in touch with any lodging houses and homes.
12. Circularize audiences coming from Public School lectures.

### XIV

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR CONVENTIONS

Woman suffrage parties often hold their elections in the fall.

One objection to this is that it interferes with the campaigns in October. A good suggestion is to hold:

1. Assembly District conventions the second week in January. At this convention:
  - A. Leader and district officers are elected.
  - B. City officers nominated.
  - C. Delegates elected to the City Convention.
  - D. District plans made.
2. **City elections** may or may not be held the day of the **City Convention** which may come about the last of January.

Each Party organization may adopt its own constitution or by-laws in which details or procedure may be worked out to suit conditions.

### XV

#### PLATFORM OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

We, the delegates of the Woman Suffrage Party in Convention assembled in ..... (date), do join in the following declaration of principles:

1. The claim that the American Government is a government of the people, by the people, for the people is a pretense and a delusion as long as one-half of the people are deprived of all voice in that government.
2. Food, clothing and shelter are the fundamental needs of the people and they are and always have been the primary concern of women in the home. We therefore denounce a political system which robs the home of adequate representation and makes business and finance the chief interests of politics.
3. We protest against the iniquity of a political system which refuses to grant to the six million working women engaged in industries outside the Suffrage States a share in the making and enforcing of the laws which control every matter which is vital to their health and well-being.
4. Until the enfranchisement of women, we call upon all women to oppose the idea of a uniform divorce law because at the present time such a law would be made by men only and therefore necessarily discriminate against women. We declare that in all public conferences and commissions appointed to consider this subject women should have an equal voice with men.
5. We renew our condemnation of the suicidal policy of permitting child labor and give our support to all humanitarian legislation looking toward the amelioration of race-destroying tendencies.
6. In face of the revelations of the white slave traffic and the demonstrated connection between poverty and prostitution, we declare that the time has come for a complete program of social legislation, including a minimum wage, shorter hours, steady employment, better housing and extensive public recreation.
7. We view with alarm that reactionary educational movement which would restrict the education of women to domestic science and ignore their right to a full and free intellectual life of their own.
8. We congratulate the teachers of New York on their

successful struggle for the principle of equal pay for equal work and urge the extension of the principle to the work of industrial women.

9. We repeat our plea for the appointment of women as judges and magistrates in the courts in order that the interests of women and children may be better safeguarded.

10. We express our deepest appreciation of what our English sisters have done for the woman's movement the world over and urge our own women to exhibit equal self-sacrifice and loyalty as occasions may arise.

### XVI

#### FORM LEAFLET FOR WAGE-EARNERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

### WHY?

- Why are you paid less than a man?
- Why do you work in a fire-trap?
- Why are your hours so long?
- Why are you all strap hangers when you pay for a seat?
- Why do you pay the most rent for the worst houses?
- Why does the cost of living go up while wages go down?
- Why do your children go into factories?
- Why do you eat adulterated food?
- Why don't you get a square deal in the courts?

**Because You are a Woman and Have No Vote**

**Votes Make the Law.**

**Votes Enforce the Law.**

**The Law Controls Conditions.**

**Women Who Want Better Conditions MUST Vote.**

**Join the Wage-Earners' Suffrage League**

**Fees: Ten Cents a Month.**

Fill in the Slip Below and Come to the Next Meeting.

I, .....  
Occupation .....  
Home Address.....Street.....City  
believing in votes for women, hereby agree to join the  
Wage-Earners' Suffrage League and work for it.

### XVII

#### FORM PLEDGE

1. I hereby give assurance, pledge, promise, that if I am on the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly in the State of ....., I will do all in my power to have the bill reported out of Committee and will so vote.

2. That I will vote on the floor of the Assembly for submitting the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the voters of the State of .....

3. That I will honestly endeavor to be present when such vote is taken.

COME TO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS FOR  
**WHAT YOU NEED FOR SUFFRAGE WORK**

---

Facilities for study and research, information, reference library, files of all the suffrage periodicals, suffrage literature and supplies, play and entertainments bureau, picture gallery of eminent suffragists.

SEND FOR CATALOG

**In the Literature Department:**

PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS giving arguments and results, facts, figures, tabulations and statistics at all prices from 10c per 100 to 25c per copy.

BOOKS OF VALUE TO SUFFRAGISTS—A selected list comprising the best literature of the woman movement.

SUFFRAGE PLAYS, POEMS AND SONGS.

RAINBOW, PICTURE AND FLAG FLYERS.

**In the Supplies Department:**

VOTES FOR WOMEN NOVELTIES OF ALL KINDS, including buttons, bannerettes and regalia, note paper, seals, stickers and rubber stamps, tea cups, postcards, place cards, greetings for holidays, calendars, wrapping tape, etc.

---

Suffragists visiting New York are especially urged to call at Headquarters for conferences on methods of work, situations in the various states, new developments and special requirements in the way of literature and supplies.

---

Address

**NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION**

505 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

# Plan of Organizing the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association by Legislative Districts

## PROGRAM OF WORK.

1st STEP.—The appointment of an Organizer or an Organizing Committee for each Legislative District. These appointments may be made from the existing suffrage clubs and need not be of residents of the district.

2nd STEP.—The provision of a large amount of "Rainbow Literature," and of enrollment blanks. The money for this purpose may be supplied by the State Association or existing clubs.

3rd STEP.—The calling by each Organizer, or the Organizing Committee of a local convention in the District which she is organizing composed of all the known suffragists, both men and women, who reside in her District. For this purpose, the boundary lines of the District must be studied and all names set into the proper District according to residence. Do not hesitate to call the convention even if not more than a few persons are known to be suffragists. The object is only to make a start. At this convention a District Leader must be chosen who must reside in the District and who will be known as the Leader for the District. Also, an attempt must be made to secure as many persons as possible who will act as Chairmen of the Election Precincts, serving under the Leader.

4th STEP.—As soon as possible, the District Leader should call her chairmen together to consult as to the best way in which to proceed to cover the work in hand. This is to enroll every man and woman in the District as a member of the association by signing of an enrollment blank. She should tell them the exact boundaries of their Precincts, give them a full supply of "Rainbow Literature," enrollment blanks, and if possible, lists of names of residents, voters' lists, church lists, etc., to aid them in their work. She should fill them with enthusiasm, suggesting various methods of getting the registration, such as house-to-house canvass, small parlor meetings, big public assemblages, sociables, suffrage teas, dissemination of literature by hand or by mail, persuasive argument, outdoor speaking, debates, automobile trips, etc. Upon the enthusiasm of the Leader and the diligent work of the Chairman depends every thing.

5th STEP.—The District Leader may form a District Club, with dues, composed of all those who are willing to pay dues and direct the activities of the District work. The Leader may or may not be the President. The Chairmen may well belong to this Club, as well as anyone who is desirous of taking a more active part than that of an enrolled member merely. The financial burden of the work must be solved by the Club, and it should be the center of activity for the District. There should be a Secretary and Treasurer, officers to be elected annually. Clubs joining the State Association pay dues at the rate of ten cents each member. The Club should meet at least once a month.

6th STEP.—The extension of this plan over the entire State, conventions of Leaders being called to elect a County Committee (if there is more than one District in the County) and a State Committee. These conventions are to be called once a year, with duly elected delegates; and the procedure should follow as closely as possible the political organizations of the men.

7th STEP.—Put the full force of your membership behind your Representative in the Legislature, and compel him to favor the Woman Suffrage Bill. Do the same thing in regard to your Senator.

Remarks.—In those districts in which there are no organizations one woman may volunteer as a Precinct Chairman, or a group of women may form themselves into a volunteer band of organizers, and follow the same general line of procedure. Maps showing boundaries of Districts and Precincts may usually be secured from the headquarters of the political parties. Each Election Precinct Chairman should keep a copy of the signatures she gets, but should send the enrollments themselves to her Leader. As soon as possible a County Headquarters should be established, and full lists of the enrolled membership kept there.

## ENROLLMENT BLANK.

I, ..... of ..... Street .....  
City, believing that women as well as men should vote, hereby join the MINNESOTA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, on a non-dues paying basis and with the understanding that it is non-partisan in character.

Legislative District .....

# WOMEN SHOULD MIND THEIR OWN BUSINESS

BY

EDWARD J. WARD

Adviser of the Civic and Social Center Development of the University of Wisconsin

---

PRICE, Two Copies FIVE CENTS

---

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
505 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

# Women Should Mind Their Own Business.

By EDWARD J. WARD

Adviser of the Civic and Social Center Development of the University of Wisconsin.

**W**OMEN should devote all their energies to the duties of their own sphere. Surely Mrs. Pankhurst and Colonel Roosevelt could agree on this proposition.

Women should not invade the realm of men's activities. That seems axiomatic.

Men should be willing to give up their own work to help bear the burdens which belong to women's realm. What gentleman will dissent from this?

In order to see clearly what the proper respective spheres of men and women are, we must turn back to the simple conditions of primitive living among the American aborigines, for instance. There we see two sorts of work fairly well divided. There we can see woman engaged in her proper sphere, and man busy with his characteristic activities. And we can answer the question: what is woman's sphere? The woman is engaged in grinding corn or other grains, preparing food, plaiting baskets, molding



pottery, preparing wool and weaving blankets, drawing and fetching water, caring for and educating the children, ordering the care of the camp or village, transporting the burdens when the camp is moved—in short, in all the useful industries and arts of the primitive Indian.

And what was man's characteristic sphere? War and killing other animals with some minor avocations such as gambling between times—but mostly war.

Here we have the respective spheres of men and women, easily seen in the simple primitive division.

With the process of invention and discovery there have come great changes in the methods used to carry on the activities of women's sphere. For instance, instead of the little stone hand mortar and pestle with which the primitive woman ground corn, we have the gigantic roller mills; instead of the earthen jar in which she carried water, we have the municipal water system; instead of the primitive method by which she, with or without the aid of a horse, transported the burdens, we have this work of hers done by means of freight and express trains and vans and automobiles, and so on thru practically all of the lines of women's sphere. There has been an equally great enlargement of the work which was hers in caring for, keeping well-ordered, clean and comfortable the camp or village. With the increasing aggregation of people into the modern city and State, this phase of woman's work has grown tremendously.

And great changes have come also in the proper historic sphere of men's activities. Instead of the simple bow and arrow or tomahawk with which the primitive man could hurt people, there have been developed artificial volcanoes and various forms of hardware and fireworks which are very much more harmful, expensive and noisy. Slaughter houses have been substituted for the hunt, except in the case of really dangerous wild beasts like the fly. Not much real improvement has, however, been made in his method of gambling.

Women should remain in their own sphere. They should devote themselves to useful civic, social, educational and industrial activities. For women to participate in carrying on the activities which belong to man's particular province would mean for them to go to war, and when there isn't a war on, to strut around with a band. This, it seems to me, they should not do.

On the other hand, men should continue to devote more and more of their thought and energy to the activities of woman's proper sphere, the useful work of the world, the industries and the arts, the work of preparing food and clothing and shelter, the work of transportation, the cleaning up and making comfortable of the living places. Men must be allowed to do this more and more, for tho we still set apart from this useful service some of our number and support them to carry on the work of destruction and hurting strangers, yet this proper sphere of man's activ-

ities for the majority of us isn't what it used to be. The average male individual has given up wearing feathers and stovelids and tinware, and the average man no longer regards it as a sign of sanity to carry butcher-knives and other violent junk around with him in the hope of chopping his neighbor's head open. That is, men have been turning away from their own particular vocation, and, if they didn't enter women's sphere of constructive service, there wouldn't be much for them to do.

In the old days, when man's sphere amounted to something, when practically all of them spent most of their time in war, government consisted chiefly in devising means and methods of doing harm, in "councils of war." Then government was man's business and for women to participate in it would have been to take up the work of men. But as we have come away from barbarism, as this sphere of man's activity has shrunken and fallen into disrepute, government has become more and more the organization and control of the means of human service, the promotion of human welfare. In other words, government has become more and more the organization of woman's sphere.

Man should have a voice in this, for in spite of the age-old habit of selfishness and hostility, developed through thousands of years of practice in hurting people, which tends to make him carry on even the useful activities which belong to woman's sphere with something of the war

motive and manner, and with a good deal of the old gambling practice mixt in, and which makes it hard for him to think in terms of the common welfare, he is the child of his mother and he has in him a finer element, a latent capacity for constructive united service. Yes, men should have some voice in regulating and controlling the industries, the education of children, and all the matters relating to the welfare of the camp, that is, of society.

But, of course, the fact that man participates does not limit the primary responsibility of woman in this sphere. She started this business of human service. She can no more skirk her share in the ordering and control of society, in the mutual interservice which we call government, without shirking her duty as a woman than in the old days she could shirk the duty of preparing the food and making the camp a pleasant, well-ordered, clean place in which to live.

Women then should mind their own business. That is, women should vote in the modern government, for this is their proper sphere, except in its destructive, anti-social, military expression, which has gone from local and city and State affairs and will be gone from national affairs as soon as we get sense enough to put through a few world bargains such as the neutralization of the Panama Canal, provided an international parliament with an international police force is established at The Hague.

And men ought also to vote in the modern govern-

ment, in spite of the fact that this is women's sphere, because—well, because any number of reasons:—they pay taxes the same as women do and they should have a voice in saying how their money shall be spent; they have to submit to the laws just as women do, and they should have something to say in framing those laws; and anyway, it would not be honest for us to have a government by a sex when we pretend to have a democracy.

Subscribe for **THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL**, official organ of the Association, edited by Alice Stone Blackwell and published weekly. It gives all up-to-date Suffrage news and describes Suffrage work all over the country.

You need it. Price, \$1.00 per year.



*Free*

HENNEPIN COUNTY  
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
403 ESSEX BLDG.,  
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

## WHY WOMEN OUGHT TO DESIRE THE BALLOT.

---

BY JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

---

[This article, first preached as a sermon, was afterward used as a suffrage tract. It is now reprinted, most of it being applicable to the present time.]

I think it is somewhat more than ten years since I last spoke to you in this place in favor of giving suffrage to women. Since that time the movement has been steadily going on. It has been recommended by four of the former Governors of the State. It has gone through the regular stages by which all reforms proceed. It was first a matter of ridicule. It was considered the proper thing to laugh at it as the oddity of a few wild enthusiasts. But that phase has long since gone by. It was then treated with indifference, as a matter of little consequence. Few persons seemed to care much about it, one way or the other. Only those earnest reformers who are capable of devoting themselves to the unselfish pursuit of an idea kept up the agitation and discussion, whether men would hear or whether they would forbear.

The movement has now passed into a third stage, in which it meets a new and active opposition. Its antagonists are alarmed. They feel that the end is approaching, and they speak and write against it and send in remonstrances. Especially we now see, for the first time,

considerable opposition to woman suffrage on the part of women themselves. This temporary check does not alarm its friends. Opposition and hostile argument, even though for the moment successful, are much better than the preceding indifference. It shows that the power of this current of thought is widely and deeply felt, and "the fear of change," which perplexes so many, is startled into self-defence. The friends of woman suffrage are not at all discouraged. Sure that they are in the right, sure that all discussion must help them, that all honest opposition will inevitably end in giving them new converts, they can afford to wait till the public mind is fully prepared, so that, when the last step is taken, it will be made effectual by an intelligent public opinion.

I propose this morning to speak to those women who now oppose the movement, to examine the reasons they offer, and to convince them, if I can, that this measure, so far from being dangerous, is the very one which the times require, and which the good of the nation, the safety and the peace of the people, and the prosperity of coming generations demand at their hands; and that, if they continue to refuse taking their share in public duty, they put themselves in the position of the slothful servant who said to his master, "I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth."

What, then, is woman suffrage? and what will it require of women? It will require of them, first, to go to the polls two or three times a year, deposit a ballot, and come away. That part of their duty will take perhaps four or five hours of their time in the course of the year. This is all that the majority of voters now do. They go to the

polls, find the regular party ticket already prepared for them, and put it into the box. If they are of an independent turn of mind, they scratch out one or two names and insert others, or vote an independent ticket. Having done this, the men return to their farms and their merchandise, and the women would return to their nurseries, their parlors, and their kitchens, their shopping and their visiting, their studies and social enjoyments.

But, if this is all, what is gained by woman suffrage? At first the gain would be little. Probably the first result of woman suffrage would be an increase of the majority already existing. Most women would begin by voting the same ticket which is deposited by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons.

But the secondary and more important results of woman suffrage would follow later. If women are called on to vote, they will feel it their duty to examine public and political questions; they will take a much greater interest in them than they now do. They will study these questions, read about them, talk about them with each other, with their husbands and sons; and thus the feminine element will go much more into public life, and woman will become the companion and fellow-worker with man in this matter also, as she has gradually become his companion in so many other things.

For, as we cannot fail to observe, the progress of the race has been along this line of development,—in making woman and man more and more associates and companions in everything. In the savage state, woman is the servant and man the master. In the second, or Oriental, state she is the plaything of the man. In both these steps of

development she is regarded as an inferior being, incapable of holding equal companionship with her lord and master. But in the third step of human progress, which came from the alliance of Christianity with the Teutonic races, woman rose into companionship. This change has been steadily going on. She shares with man in his education, his amusements, his work, his religion. Her mind, heart, and hand become in all things more and more allied with his. And who can doubt that this co-operation gives us a much higher type of society? All we ask is that another step shall be taken in the same direction, and that woman shall become the companion of man in his political and public duty, as she already is in almost every other.

This would be an argument for woman suffrage in England, France, or Germany. But the reason is much more cogent as regards this country. Where the theory of government is that of an oligarchy or an aristocracy, it is logical and consistent to keep the power in a few hands. But here we proceed on an entirely opposite theory. We say: Government by a few may be better for a time, but it is more dangerous in the long run. An oligarchy or aristocracy is in a state of unstable equilibrium, always liable to topple over in a popular convulsion. But here we confide the power to the whole people; we take in all interests, all convictions; we let these balance, correct, neutralize each other, and thus modify all extreme tendencies; and then we educate the whole people. So we have a governing power which is able to correct its own errors by the force of public opinion, and to restrain its own extravagances. It has the power of automatic self-regulation. That is our system, and we have to stand by

it, whether we like it or not. Our security consists in putting the whole thought, interest, opinion, conscience that there is, into the public service. You may possibly prefer an aristocratic government, but you cannot have it here. What we must do is to take this government of the people, by the people, for the people, and make it as wise and as just as we can by putting into it every element of human nature, and so causing it, in deed and truth, to be a government of the largest majority. This nation is founded on faith in man, on the belief that man, in the long run, means to do right; and if you can have so much of humanity interested and active as to control the influence of local interests, personal and private ambitions, and party prejudices, you will secure to the whole people the greatest prosperity and peace.

And now, we ask, why should one-half of the people be excused from taking part in these great and all-important duties? Why, in a government by the whole, allow one-half to bury this particular talent in the earth, and hide their lord's money? I leave it to others to speak of suffrage as a right or a privilege: I speak of it as a duty. Not every right is a duty, but every duty involves a right. It is sometimes said that whatever is right is also a duty. Not necessarily. I may have the right to many things which I consider inexpedient or unnecessary. But it is always true that, when it is my duty to do a thing, I have the right to do it. I maintain, then, that in a government like ours women have no right to be excused from taking a full share with men in public affairs. And I have not the smallest doubt that their taking part in political action would tend to purify, elevate, and improve our public

life. Not because women are better than men, but because they are different. They would introduce into government a new element, the peculiar element of womanhood. I do not undertake to say what it is or how it would operate. I only know that God made it, and that, when he made woman and man, he made them to be companions. I only know that, so far as society has improved, they have had more and more companionship, and that, as they have had more companionship, society has improved. I only know that the theory of our institutions, which has carried us safely through the strain and shock of a hundred crises, is that the whole people shall take part as a duty in public affairs. And I therefore say, "What God has joined together let not man put asunder." We have a right on these grounds to ask, "Why shall women be allowed to escape the performance of these duties?" The burden of proof rests with those who would continue to make this an exception to the general principle. They must give reasons for denying in this instance the application of the great law of human progress.

I have taken some pains to examine these reasons and consider these arguments against suffrage as they have been brought forward formerly and recently. I think they may be reduced to the following objections:—

1. *The majority of women do not wish to vote, and ought not to be compelled to do so against their will.*

Those, however, who think it wrong to vote or inexpedient to vote, will not be compelled to do so, any more than men are compelled to vote. But the question is not what they wish to do, but what they ought to do. We used to be told that the slaves did not wish to be free, but

we set them free notwithstanding, without consulting them. The good of the nation required that slavery should be abolished, and we abolished it without inquiring as to the opinion of the slaves in the matter. So we gave the freedmen the ballot, not because they asked for it,—for they did not,—but because they ought to have it to prevent the Southern States from falling into the hands of those so lately in rebellion. It was for our good as well as their own that we gave it to them. And, if it is desirable for the public good that women should vote, then they ought to vote, whether they wish to do so or not.

2. *Again, it is said that it would be an injury to the womanly nature, it would injure her feminine character, to take part in politics.*

This objection is based on the Oriental notion of woman's sphere. Why should it make her less womanly to deposit a vote in the ballot-box than to put a letter into the post-office box? Women mingle with men in the streets, in the cars, in the churches, at the theatres, at balls and parties. They nurse men in hospitals, sell to them in shops, work with them on boards of charity. If all this does not make them less feminine, why should voting do it?

3. *But it is said that "the voting places are thronged by a noisy and coarse crowd, and that it would be disagreeable for women to be in such society."*

If such be the behavior of men at the voting places, it is probably because men have been there by themselves. As soon as women go to the polls, the men will behave with propriety, as they always do whenever women are with them. Wherever women meet with men, they are treated with respect, and this would be no exception. The polls

would not degrade women, but the women would cleanse the polls.

4. *It is objected that "woman suffrage would make discord in families, and that husband and wife would quarrel about politics if they disagreed in opinion."*

But they often disagree in opinion about religion, which is a more exciting subject, and yet do not quarrel about it. We do not often hear of a divorce in consequence of difference in religion.

To my mind it would tend to improve family life, as it has already been improved by all common work and common interests. As the husband and wife study public questions together, her views will be enlarged and his improved. It would be a new education to both. Instead of merely voting the party ticket blindly, the husband and son would talk about these questions at home, and have a new ground of common interest there.

In this church, during forty years, women and men have voted together on all subjects, have been put on the committees together, have spoken in our meetings, and have taken part together in the direction of the body. We have not noticed any harm from this, and no one has ever suggested any restriction of this common duty. I recollect as long ago as the Mexican War, when the members of this society signed a protest against it, a man who would not sign it himself brought his wife to the paper, and handed her the pen, saying, "I do not believe in this protest, but my wife does, so she will sign it." Was there less harmony in that household because of this difference of opinion? It seems to me each of them would love the other more. He would love her more for her fidelity to her convictions,

and she him for his respect for her rights and duties. Queen Victoria took a more active and controlling part in the politics of her realm than her immediate predecessors. But the "Life of the Prince Consort" shows how her intercourse with her husband and their consultations on these subjects tended to bind them in closer harmony. No woman had a larger share in public life than Victoria, and no one has shown more of domestic affection and interest in her home.

There is another very important consideration. Among the ignorant classes how many cases do we hear of shocking brutality of husbands towards their wives! This is often because they look on them as their slaves. They take the savage view of woman, and treat her like a savage. She is their chattel, their possession, and, if she offends them, they abuse her, beat her, and sometimes kill her. But give her the vote, let the man see that she has become a person of importance, that his political chiefs and leaders treat her and other women with deference because of their votes, and he will necessarily be led to respect her himself. All this is nothing to women who live in comfort and elegance, who are treated with all courtesy and respect, whose every wish is to those about them a law. But let them remember those other women, burdened with labor, oppressed with a hard lot, treated with brutality, and regarded as having no rights. Are you not willing to cast a vote yourself once or twice a year in order to lift your poor sisters a little out of this bondage and suffering?

5. Another objection is that "*women already have influence,—moral influence, indirect influence; that they are the power behind the throne, and can do more in this silent, secret way than they could do publicly.*"



Unless this means that women influence men to vote as women wish in political matters, it has no bearing on the question. If it means that they do exercise a political influence privately and secretly, then history shows that this is a very dangerous sort of influence. It is a power divorced from responsibility. Under monarchies, women have often exercised such secret influence, but usually it has been disastrous. Having no open responsibility for what they did, they used their powers of persuasion to procure places for their favorites, and to get measures for their own interests and that of their families, with little thought of the public good.

No doubt many women exercise a legitimate influence without voting. No doubt Mrs. Stowe did a good work against slavery. Other women have exercised a good influence in behalf of temperance. But why should they not do all this and vote, too? Because Sumner, Lowell, and others have done good by speech and writing, they did not consider it less their duty to vote. The vote of Charles Sumner or President Grant might be neutralized by that of the most ignorant foreigner. What of that? It was their duty to vote, and they did so.

One of the weakest objections urged against woman suffrage is this,—that women have no right to vote because they would not be able to fight in defence of the country in time of war nor be on the police in time of peace. But there are many ways of defending, aiding, and protecting the country besides fighting. All men over forty-five years of age are exempt from serving in the militia. On this principle they ought to be deprived of their votes. So also all justices and clerks of courts of record, registers

of deeds and of probate, ministers and practising physicians, conductors and engine-drivers, and members of fire departments are exempt. Ought they not to be allowed to vote? Who served the country more nobly in the war than the women who went to the front as nurses, or who worked for the soldiers at home, or those who took care of the homes of those who were in the army? This objection appears futile when we remember that the largest part of the male population are not soldiers and do not serve on the police, and that opinion more than force defends a nation.

Most of the objections to woman suffrage are anachronisms. They should have been urged against teaching girls to read and write, against allowing them to study and think and act for themselves. If these objections have weight, they tell against the position of women in all civilized and Christian countries, and would logically remand them to the seclusion of a Mohammedan harem.

Some women say: "We have not time to do our domestic work and to take care of our children. Do not lay on us this additional burden of public duty." But women have as much time as men. The women whom I know who do the most for the public, in hospitals, in education, in charitable institutions, often do quite as much at home as other women. It is not time that is wanted in this world: it is power. And whatever enlarges, elevates, and educates woman will give her so much more power that she will do her domestic work as easily as now, and public work besides. And what right have you women to leave all of this work of caring for the country with men? Is it not your country as well as theirs? Are not your chil-

dren to live in it after you are gone? And are not you bound to contribute whatever faculty God has given you to make it and keep it a pure, safe, and happy land?

The meaning of this movement is that it shall admit the influence of woman into public life, as it has already been admitted into literature, into society, into the church. Would any one desire that woman should withdraw from these spheres of activity? Would we say to Florence Nightingale and Helen Gilson, "The field of battle is not your sphere: go home, and take care of your family"? Would we say to Mrs. Stowe or to Louisa Alcott, "Do not write any more books: go home, and take care of your household"? Would we say to Rosa Bonheur, "Do not paint pictures: cook the dinner"? Would we say to Jenny Lind, "Do not sing in public: you will lose the charm of womanhood"? Would we shut women out of our schools, out of our churches, and tell them to learn at home, and ask their husbands what the minister said as Paul directed? Every step thus far taken to enlarge the sphere of woman has been a benefit to her, to man, and to society. What good reason can be given for stopping here?

Political questions do not mean merely questions of finance, of currency, of tariffs, of railroads. Moral questions are involved, and deeply involved, in all politics. If women had had a voice in legislation years ago, would slavery have been allowed to grow stronger and stronger, till at last it could only be uprooted by an awful war? Do women wish, is any woman willing, that there should ever be another war? If women in Europe had a political influence and direction, would they allow vast armies to

take away their brothers and sons year after year, for no purpose but to feed the ambition of rulers? Do not women know the evils of intemperance? Would not they, if their tact and intuitions had gone into politics, have devised some better way than man has done to extricate us from this great source of crime and misery?

We cannot overestimate the importance of mothers and wives in their homes or the great work they have to do there. Only I say that they would not do their work less well, but more effectively, by enlarging their sphere, opening their minds, and helping their husbands and sons in public affairs. One can fulfil all lowly duties better by rising sometimes to the highest, as the lark soars and sings in the upper air, and then drops down again into his nest,—

"Type of the wise, who soar, but never roam,  
True to the kindred points of heaven and home."

Therefore, in conclusion, I ask you women who are at present opposed to this movement seriously to reconsider your reasons. But do not oppose woman suffrage merely to escape responsibilities, nor because you fear to be called strong-minded, nor because it seems pretty and feminine to have nothing to do with it. Consider whether it is not just what men and women need for their more perfect education, whether it is not what the nation needs for its security and progress, whether it is not in the direction of all modern civilization and all Christian progress. Consider all this, and decide whether you will be for it or against it.

HENNEPIN COUNTY  
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
408 ESSEX BLDG.,

MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

# "Militant Methods"

By

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

---

PRICE, Two Copies, FIVE CENTS

---

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
505 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

## "MILITANT METHODS"

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

---

The extraordinary situation that led to the militant suffrage tactics in England could not possibly arise here, and can with difficulty be understood by Americans. It cannot be understood at all by those who have read only the garbled and misleading cablegrams in the daily press.

The fundamental grievance of the English women is that the woman suffrage bill has never in forty years been allowed to come to a decisive vote in Parliament. For more than a generation, a majority of the members of the House of Commons have professed themselves willing to give votes to women. The suffrage bill has passed its second reading over and over again—in the early years by small majorities, of late years by very large ones—but it has never once been allowed to come up for third reading and final vote. The cabinet controls the time of the House, and the cabinet has always taken the ground that all the time was wanted for more pressing measures.

About six years ago, some of the women got out of patience and made up their minds to convince the cabinet

ministers that their question was really pressing. When their bill was blocked in Parliament, they protested from the ladies' gallery. The ladies' gallery was closed. Their male sympathizers then protested from the men's gallery. The men's gallery was closed. The women sent delegations to interview the Prime Minister. An old law, obsolete for more than a century, was revived to stop them. It forbade any procession or public meeting within a mile of the Houses of Parliament. Whether the women went in procession or small groups, they were forcibly turned back, and if they tried to push their way through, they were arrested for "obstructing the police." Great numbers of highly respected and respectable women were sent to prison, and were given heavier sentences for a purely technical offence than culprits who were drunk and disorderly.

Still the women tried to get into the Houses of Parliament with their protests, and, as their peaceful deputations had been stopped by force, they resorted to all kinds of strategy. Furniture vans driving past suddenly opened, and let out a band of women who made a dash for the doors. A steam launch crowded with suffragists came up the Thames to the water side of Parliament House and delivered the suffrage message. Thousands of police guarded Parliament on the land side, while police boats patrolled the water; and still in all sorts of ways the members and the public were kept reminded that women

wanted to vote. A monster kite bearing the words "Votes for Women" flew for days over Parliament House. One morning London woke up to find the whole city placarded with invitations to the public to come at a certain hour and help the suffragists "rush" the House of Commons. A huge crowd gathered, and for this Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter, Christabel, were sent to prison, after a memorable trial at which Christabel conducted the defence, and compelled several cabinet ministers to come into court and be questioned as to whether they had not helped to provoke the riot.

Whenever a cabinet minister addressed any public meeting, he was asked what the cabinet was going to do about woman suffrage. At first the women waited till the end of the speech before putting their question; but as the statesman always hurried away without answering, they began to question him in the middle of his address. Men who asked questions on other subjects received a civil answer, but the women were thrown out of the meetings with great violence.

Finally all women were excluded from public meetings where any cabinet minister was to speak. The women showed endless ingenuity in getting in. For days in advance they hid themselves on the roof, in the cellar, or under the platform; and at the psychological moment they emerged and asked their question. If they could not get

in, husbands and brothers in the audience asked the question for them. The cabinet ministers went everywhere under a strong police guard to protect them from women who wanted to question them. The Prime Minister was smuggled out of one meeting with his head under a horse blanket to keep him from being recognized, and on another occasion he had himself shot through the pneumatic tube for parcels in the postoffice, to avoid venturing into the street.

As the leaders of the party in power were responsible for refusing to let the suffrage bill come to a vote, the women fought the candidates of that party at the elections, spoke and electioneered against them, defeated a number of them, and greatly reduced the majority of many others. Mrs. Pankhurst on one occasion was knocked down and brutally kicked by partisans of the defeated candidate, and left in the street half dead. Several times her daughters almost lost their lives.

Upon successive refusals of the cabinet to let the suffrage bill come to a vote, the women smashed the ministers' windows, or the windows of government buildings. This has been the customary way of expressing popular disapproval in England for centuries.

Mr. Asquith refused to receive any deputation of women who wanted to talk to him about suffrage. This led to "the silent siege" of the House of Commons. Women

stood in silence at all the doors of the House, holding suffrage petitions as a sign that they wanted to interview the Prime Minister. Many of the most highly esteemed women in England took part in the siege—women socially prominent, women illustrious for good deeds, working women who could ill spare the time and strength—women of all sorts. They stood there day and night, in all weathers, for a length of time aggregating more than 10,000 hours. Mr. Asquith, with true British obstinacy, still refused. No public man in America would keep the most highly-respected women of this country standing at his gate in sun and rain for 10,000 hours rather than allow a deputation of them to interview him for ten minutes. It was as a protest against this refusal that two of the women finally went and poured a mixture of ink and photographic chemicals (falsely described in the cablegrams as corrosive acid) into the ballot boxes at Bermondsey. It was not a wise way to protest; but it did not compare with the foolishness shown by the Prime Minister.

The women sent to prison for suffrage demonstrations claimed that they ought to be given the food and treatment customary for prisoners guilty of political offences. When they were given instead the food of common criminals, they went on a "hunger strike," submitted to the painful ordeal of forced feeding, and in several cases were brought to death's door.

One of the latest depositions of women attempting to see the Prime Minister was both brutally and indecently handled by the police. They had been ordered not to arrest the women, but to drive them away. As the women refused to go without seeing Mr. Asquith, the police for hours knocked them about, kicked and trampled on them, and took personal liberties with them of the most offensive character. In consequence, the nephew of the Postmaster General of England took a dogwhip to Winston Churchill, the Home Secretary, under whose orders the police were believed to have acted. More than a hundred witnesses testified to the outrages. Members of Parliament demanded an investigation. Mr. Churchill refused it. No public man in America would have dared to refuse an investigation under such circumstances.

All this had made woman suffrage not only a pressing but a burning question. A committee of sixty members of Parliament, made up from all parties, had organized themselves into a Suffrage Association within Parliament itself, to try to get the suffrage bill brought to a vote. They called themselves the Conciliation Committee, because they wanted to conciliate the differences of opinion between the Tory, Liberal and Labor members of Parliament as to the form which the woman suffrage bill should take. The Committee made a careful canvass of the House, and found that the largest support would be given to a bill enfranchising women "householders," who have

had municipal suffrage in England since 1869. There anyone is classed as a householder who occupies a house, or any part of a house—even a single room—over which he or she has full control. The only exception is when the landlord lives on the premises. Then he is classed as the householder. The poor in England immensely outnumber the rich, and an extensive canvass made several years ago by the Independent Labor Party proved that eighty-two per cent of the women having municipal suffrage were women of the working class.

These sixty members of Parliament drew up a manifesto pointing out that every House of Commons which had met since 1870 had had a majority in favor of woman suffrage, and that the reform was long overdue. They urged that the question should be allowed to come to a decisive vote. The anti-suffragists implored that it should not. Mr. Asquith finally promised to grant time next year for the bill to go to third reading and final vote; and in view of this promise the militant tactics were discontinued.\*

Throughout the struggle the trans-Atlantic cablegrams have systematically distorted the facts, and always to the disadvantage of the suffragists. The violence done by them has been grossly exaggerated, the violence done

\*Since this was written they have been resumed by one of the two militant societies, in consequence of action on Mr. Asquith's part which they regard as a breach of faith.

to them passed over without mention, and the nature of their grievance left wholly unexplained.

The most extreme militancy of the women has been nothing to what the men of England have done under far less provocation. The women have neither killed nor seriously hurt anybody. In 1832, when a bill widening the franchise for men was held up in Parliament for a short time, there was widespread rioting and bloodshed. In my father's native city of Bristol alone, the mob burned the custom house, three prisons and forty-two private dwellings. In comparison, as Israel Zangwill truly says, England has reason to be grateful to the women for "the feminine mildness of their methods."

Almost every cablegram on the subject has been distorted and colored. Take as an example the story about Lady Constance Lytton and her "little hatchet." In almost every daily paper in America, she was represented as something like an exaggerated caricature of Mrs. Carrie Nation, and her supposed assault upon her opponents with a hatchet was made the subject of innumerable anti-suffrage editorials. As a matter of fact, she never used a hatchet. The members of the cabinet had refused to let the woman suffrage bill come to a vote. They were questioned upon the subject by women at every public meeting which they addressed. To avoid answering, they adopted a rule that women should be excluded from the

meetings. High wooden barricades were erected and guarded by police to keep the women out. Women who tried to get in were arrested and given severe prison sentences, out of all proportion to the punishments inflicted on men for disorderly political demonstrations.

The women so treated were "commoners." Lady Constance Lytton was indignant against the sentences, which she thought excessive and illegal. She and her friend, Mrs. H. M. Brailsford, resolved to take part in a demonstration themselves, and see if the courts would venture to treat women of high social position in the same way. Lady Constance was the sister of an earl. Mrs. Brailsford was the wife of an influential journalist, was much beloved for her charities, and had distinguished herself in raising a relief fund for the Macedonians, and going out with her husband in person to distribute it. Lady Constance threw a stone at the automobile in which a cabinet minister was riding. She aimed it carefully at the car and not at the inmates, having no wish to injure anyone. Mrs. Brailsford would not throw a stone, because she was doubtful of her aim, and feared she might hurt somebody. Instead, she hid a meat-chopper under a bouquet of chrysanthemums, and made her way through the crowd close up to the wooden barrier that stretched across the street. She chose a spot in full view of the police; then she suddenly dropped her bouquet, made one chop at the barrier, and was immediately arrested. From this mild and



trifling incident grew the Great Hatchet Myth, and the descriptions of Lady Constance running amuck with her dangerous weapon. Many other incidents have likewise "suffered a sea change" in crossing the Atlantic, and have come out fantastically different from the original facts.

In this case the expectation was justified that the drastic sentences imposed on women of the plain people would not be meted out to women of the aristocracy. Lady Constance and Mrs. Brailsford were let off easily, Lady Constance being declared to have a heart trouble which would endanger her life if she were forcibly fed. Later, learning that some suffragist prisoners were being treated with great brutality in the Liverpool jail, Lady Constance cut off her hair, dressed herself in poor clothes, took part in a suffrage demonstration before the same jail, gave her name as Jane Warton, a seamstress, and was promptly sent to prison and subjected, without ceremony, to forcible feeding and other rough usage. The authorities were dismayed when they found out whom they had been abusing, and Lady Constance proved up to the hilt her charge that in dealing with suffrage prisoners there was one law for the rich and another for the poor. This chivalrous lady, represented in the American press as a dangerous and ridiculous virago, is the person to whom Olive Schreiner dedicated her recent book, "Woman and Labor."

"I have inscribed it to my friend, Lady Constance

Lytton; not because I think it worthy of her, nor because of the splendid part she has played in the struggle of the women fighting to-day in England for certain forms of freedom for all women. It is, if I may be allowed without violating the sanctity of a close personal friendship, so to say, because she, with one or two other men and women I have known, has embodied for me the highest ideal of human nature, in which intellectual power and strength of will are combined with an infinite tenderness and wide human sympathy."

Another anti-suffrage myth, telegraphed to the press all through the United States, was that the suffragists kicked Augustine Birrell and seriously hurt his knee. According to Mr. Birrell's own statement, he was not kicked, but accidentally twisted his own knee in making for a cab after he had been surrounded by a bevy of protesting suffragettes. The cruelty of kicking and laming an old man was made the subject of editorials by the score. But no mention was made in the press of the fact that Mr. Alfred Hawkins, an old man with a medal for bravery in the royal navy, was fiercely assaulted and had his leg broken by the anti-suffragists for asking a question at a public meeting. He was confined to the hospital for weeks, and was awarded substantial damages. Other suffragists had arms and ribs broken, and women without number were beaten, kicked and subjected to the grossest ill-usage. The press reports have deceived the American public into the

belief that the suffragettes have been in the habit of kicking, scratching, biting, hurling hatchets and corrosive acid, and generally conducting themselves like furies; whereas the great bulk of the violence committed has been committed on the other side. If the press despatches had told the truth, the sympathy of the American public, irrespective of their views on suffrage, would be strongly with the women.

—The Woman's Journal.



## Send for Catalog of Suffrage Literature and Supplies

### In the Literature Department:

#### PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS

Giving arguments and results, facts, figures, tabulations and statistics.  
At all prices, from 15c. per hundred to 10c. per copy. Reduced rates by the dozen, hundred and thousand.

#### BOOKS OF VALUE TO SUFFRAGISTS

A selected list comprising the best literature of the woman movement.

#### SUFFRAGE PLAYS, POEMS AND SONGS

At prices to fit every purse.

#### RAINBOW FLIERS

At 10c. per hundred.

### In the Supplies Department:

#### VOTES FOR WOMAN NOVELTIES OF ALL KINDS

Including buttons, bannerettes and badges, note paper, seals, stickers and rubber stamps, post cards, calendars and posters, dinner cards, favors and paper napkins, photographs of all the great leaders.

---

### SUBSCRIBE FOR THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

The Only Suffrage Paper of National Scope  
Official Organ of the Association  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Editor

\$1.00 per year

Published weekly

5 cts. per copy

---

Address

**National American Woman Suffrage Association**

505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Send for  
Catalog of Substage Literature and Supplies

In the Literature Department  
PAMPHLETS AND LITERATURE  
Literature, pamphlets, and books of the "New" movement, all in stock.  
At 25 cents, 50 cents, and \$1.00 per copy. Wholesale orders  
in the same proportion.  
BOOKS OF VALUE TO READERS  
In addition to the pamphlets, the following books are in stock:  
BROWNE LEAVE YOUR OLD BOOKS  
As follows: 10 to 20 cents  
HARROW HILLS  
At 100 per copy of

In the Supplies Department  
BOOKS FOR WOMAN WORKERS OF ALL CLASSES  
In this section, literature, pamphlets, and books are in stock, all  
of the "New" movement, and of the "Old" movement, all in stock.  
All prices in the same proportion.

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

The Woman's Journal is published weekly, and is one of the most  
valuable papers of the "New" movement. It is published by  
The Co-operative Press, 15 Spruce St., New York.



The Co-operative Press, 15 Spruce St., New York

# PROBATION AND THE CRIMINAL LAW.

BEN B. LINDSEY,

JUDGE OF THE JUVENILE COURT OF DENVER.

The legislature that just ended gave Colorado a probation law making a new application of the principles of the chancery courts to cases of adult criminals. It is believed to be the first law of its kind. It only applies so far to misdemeanor cases.

Even where adults guilty of crime are subjected to probation, as may be done in many states already, the proceeding is in the criminal courts. In cases of non-support and contributory delinquency by adults, probation has been permitted by law in our own court for the past six years, but under a criminal court proceeding. The departure effected by this law is that the proceeding is in the chancery division of the civil courts much as in the cases of delinquent children in our juvenile courts. For the last nine years the legal proceedings as to children have been in chancery rather than under the common law criminal jurisdiction. Children over seven years of age were tried as criminals before the change first came in Illinois and Colorado by laws first passed in 1899. The new proceeding is also somewhat analogous to cases against lunatics, dipsomaniacs, inebriates, dependents, etc.—a proceeding always to save them, to help them and not to hurt them.

The principle as to adult criminals, though new in application is not new as a principle. It is a power of the State technically known as *parens patriae*—the overparent as it were—dealing considerately and helpfully with certain of its citizens as its wards to be cared for, aided, assisted, helped, etc. Time and again have our Supreme Court upheld statutes invoking this

power in the interest of certain classes of its citizens who, by reason of deficiencies or misfortunes, are regarded as weaklings to be cured, strengthened, helped and saved to society rather than eliminated from it, or their hatred encouraged against it only to make society a worse victim in the end. Under it, the state has established at great expense our institutions for the cure or care of dipsomaniacs, the insane, inebriates and dependents. And because this class of weaklings are known to be such in most cases because of habits that are generally worse and less excusable than many of those habits or circumstances often responsible for crime, has never caused any serious contention that the state meant to or did thereby encourage such evil habits, nor has it dimmed the humanitarian spirit that justified them.

Like such proceedings the case is one concerning the individual rather than the act or thing done by the individual. The act is the incident to set in motion a legal plan of saving the individual through the doing of real justice.

It was thought wise to first apply our new probation law to misdemeanors only. This includes the great majority of cases in which probation is ever granted in any court. It covers such common offenses as drunkenness, non-support of wife or child, vagrancy, petty stealing, violation of city ordinances, most of the laws for the protection of youth, certain forms of assault, neighborhood rows, etc.

A few concrete cases may serve to illustrate the difference between the old and new methods of procedure.

Here is a recorded case of petty larceny by a young woman in a London shop, reported in a book entitled, "Old Bailey Experiences," being a treatise on Criminal Jurisprudence and the Actual Working of the Penal Code of Laws, published by James Fraser in 1833, and for which I am indebted to Mr. Mornay Williams, of New York City. It concerns the then existing law in England to punish with death, stealing in a shop, or lifting anything off a counter with intent to steal.

"Under this act, one Mary Jones was executed. The woman's husband was pressed, their goods seized for some debt of his, and

she, with two small children, turned into the streets a-begging. 'Tis a circumstance not to be forgotten, that she was very young (under nineteen) and most remarkably handsome. She went to a linen-draper's shop, took some coarse linen off the counter, and slipped it under her cloak; the shopman saw her, and she laid it down; for this she was hanged. Her defense was (I have the trial in my pocket) that she had lived in credit and wanted for nothing, till a press-gang came and stole her husband from her; but since then she had no bed to lie on; nothing to give her children to eat, and they were almost naked; and perhaps she might have done something wrong, for she hardly knew what she did. The parish officers testified the truth of this story, but there had been a good deal of shop-lifting about Ludgate—and example was thought necessary, and this woman was hanged for the comfort and satisfaction of some shopkeepers about Ludgate street. When brought to receive sentence, she behaved in such a frantic manner, as proved her mind to be in a distracted and desponding state; and the child was sucking at her breast when she went to Tyburn." The hanging did not stop the stealing. It only increased. The state thought when it choked the woman it choked evil. There was the mistake.

Now under our new probation law in Colorado let us follow a typical case coming to the attention of the writer only recently. A young woman employed in a large department store in Denver was complained of for stealing fifteen dollars. Our proceeding as directed by this new probation law, would be like this:

Case would be carefully investigated in advance. The district attorney, having the assistance and advice of the probation officer, finds the facts about as follows:

Young woman, 22 years old, eldest daughter of mother with six younger children; father bad; frequents gambling house tolerated by police, lost his wages there, took to drink, became worthless; left home two years before in an apparent state of despondency (no doubt feeling his own sin, but too weak to recover from it). The temptation to the young woman to steal was very great. It is perhaps her first offense. The petition is in the civil division of the court having chancery (as distinguished from

criminal common law) jurisdiction. This petition is entitled "The People in the *Interest* of Mary Smith." In the criminal jurisdiction it would be The People *against* Mary Smith for larceny, and before anything could be done, before even probation could be applied, she must be first convicted of the crime of larceny.

Now under this new law, since Mary's salvation is of first importance (rather than the \$15, that being also important, but of secondary instead of first importance, as under the old law) we do not charge her with any crime at all. The petition in chancery proceeds to tell about Mary's home life, her environment, opportunities, her former record, any good thing as well as bad for or against her, and it is recommended that in the interest of the state as well as Mary Smith the court take jurisdiction "that justice may be done." Now, if Mary Smith does not want to submit to this proceeding she does not have to. A summons is issued—not a warrant for arrest—as in criminal cases, to which is attached a copy of this petition. These documents are simple and to the point so any one can understand. She is informed that the proceeding is under the chancery jurisdiction of the court in the probation division thereof; that she may appear and admit the facts or any part thereof or be questioned and required to testify against herself, but in such case she will not be found guilty of any crime or committed to any jail or prison, but will be required to give a personal pledge or bond to refrain from the repetition or commission of any improper or unlawful act, and to consent to such reasonable conditions and terms of probation permitted by law to be imposed by the court, designed to do justice. At any time before, or at the time of hearing she may ask to have the case dismissed and heard as a criminal case in the criminal division of the court with the right to jury trial, the right to refuse to tell the truth about her offense, if any, and such other rights and subject to such other punishments as the criminal law provides for persons who are proceeded against in criminal cases. The right to dismiss ceases if not availed of before the hearing has commenced. After that only the court can dismiss the proceeding and remand it to the criminal court. This would only be done, of course, in extreme cases.

Section 5 provides that "Persons proceeded against by petition under this act, who did not commit the acts alleged in such petition, shall be discharged, and the petition dismissed at the cost of the State, but in all cases, where the petition is sustained the court shall enter its finding and decree and proceed according to the provisions, purposes and intentions of this act. The court may, in its discretion, exact such promises and impose such conditions of probation upon persons proceeded against under this act as shall seem best calculated to do justice, to remove the causes of weakness or disposition to criminality of any such person and his restoration to good citizenship; and among such conditions it shall be considered reasonable to require such persons to report from time to time to the court, or any probation officer or person designated by the court; to return any sum of money or property unlawfully taken as provided in Section 4 hereof, when the parties to the petition have agreed to the justice thereof; to respect and obey all the laws of the State, to perform the ordinary and proper duties toward the family, to refrain from the use of spirituous, malt or intoxicating liquor or attendance at immoral or improper places, or such conduct or habits as would in the opinion of the court, be detrimental to the welfare of such persons. In no case shall any period of probation under this act exceed two years from the entry of the decree of the court and, at the expiration of such time, or at any time prior thereto, when the court shall so order, any person in whose interest proceedings under this act are commenced shall be dismissed from the further jurisdiction of the court in such case."

Section 6 provides that "Any person who shall wilfully violate his pledges or promises to the court, or the terms or conditions of his probation under this act, or refuse to respond to or respect its notices or process, may be dealt with by the court in similar and like manner and form as persons are dealt with for contempt of court, committed in or out of the presence of the court; provided that any penalty imposed shall be not to exceed that which might have been imposed under such criminal law or laws of this State, violated by such person in case the proceed-

ing has been commenced in the criminal, rather than the civil division of the court under the provisions of this act."

Of course details may be somewhat differently arranged, depending a great deal upon the jurisdiction and some of the peculiar problems in different states and cities, in which respect cities are not always altogether similarly situated. Under our jurisdiction we have provided in these proceedings that the petition might be filed by the District Attorney who appears as an officer of the chancery court rather than as a prosecutor. In this way the prosecuting officers become more sympathetic and active in support of such laws. At least we have found it so under our practice in Colorado. It also permits of co-operation between the district attorney's office and the probation officers of the court. In some other jurisdiction this procedure might be entirely unnecessary, in which case the petition might be filed by any probation officer, but in our judgment much more likely to lead to friction and difficulty.

The purpose of the act is perhaps best stated in the title and in Section 1.

"An act concerning persons whose acts constitute offenses against the laws of this State, and providing for their correction and redemption, and defining the powers of courts in such cases."

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado:

"*Definition and Construction*, Section 1. This act shall be construed to be an effort of the State under its police powers and in its character of *parens patriae* to care for and provide for the protection of the morals and well-being of its citizens, and where practicable to avoid proceedings tending to degrade and, under the provisions of this act, to endeavor to redeem to good citizenship persons drifting into crime, thereby adding to the welfare of the State, and to carry out these purposes this act shall be liberally construed. This act shall only apply to cases of persons whose acts or offenses in a criminal proceeding would constitute a misdemeanor. All proceedings under this act shall be

held and construed to be within the chancery jurisdiction of the court and for convenience in all such cases the court may be referred to as the 'Probation Court' or the 'Probation Division' thereof."

Now in the concrete case referred to—or similar cases—it is apparent how a proper lesson could be taught, and in cases of larceny for instance, how readily the offender would agree to repay the money—in instalments perhaps—and absolute justice could then be done very much as has been done in our juvenile courts with children and parents for the last nine years.

Recently a department store detective told me that within a period of two months he had investigated the cases of 28 young men and women who had been stealing from their employers, with the following result. Most of them were discharged for dishonesty, without anything being done, the pilfering being small and the severity of the criminal law so harsh that employers yielded to entreaties of parents and friends, and as this department store detective declared to me, they were injured, in his opinion because they felt they had a sort of "pull" in some cases, had worked on the sympathy of their employer in others, so that they escaped without any lesson in obedience or respect for law, and in several other cases where the young man or woman had no friends or influence and no money to settle the case (as had been done in several other instances) they were hauled into court and prosecuted as common criminals, and knowing the experiences of others who were differently treated, were only convinced that they had been unjustly dealt with; the entire proceedings in these serious cases growing out of the present methods of the criminal law apparently worked injury to all concerned.

The very severity of the criminal law is frequently the chief cause of its lax enforcement. For instance, in Colorado, we have a very severe age of consent law. There is no penalty less than one year in the penitentiary, and for all purposes this might as well be five or ten years. No matter how wanton or vicious a girl under 18 years of age might be, the fact cannot be given in evidence in a prosecution of a man or boy for the violation of this statute. What was the result? Such complete laxity of

enforcement that the law became almost useless except in very extreme cases. Prosecutors would not prosecute, and if they did juries would either disagree or refuse to convict. They reasoned it was unjust to subject a man or young boy to such hopeless degradation as a penitentiary record, except in the most extreme cases. And unless it be such a case, instructions of courts as a rule were futile. I made up my mind that if probation was added there would be more prosecutions and convictions. So in 1903 we secured a probation law giving juvenile courts jurisdiction over all criminal cases—misdemeanors and felonies—where the accused was a minor. (We have since secured this jurisdiction for our juvenile courts in all cases against adults where the offense is against or involves a minor.) Seven or eight young men were prosecuted in the criminal court of Denver for the statutory offense under this age of consent law. The jury disagreed or acquitted in every case. The girls were clearly of bad reputation. The boys no doubt perjured themselves. But there was the penitentiary staring them in the face. Perjury was encouraged. Instead of rebuking it the jury complaisantly accepted it as a matter of course. Since no evidence either way was permitted as to the girl's reputation they assumed they were bad, and as between the testimony of boy and girl salved their conscience by giving the "benefit of the doubt" to the word of the boys. The effect was the law worked against, rather than for the protection of girls, except in the extreme cases, which were not the ones this law was intended to reach; the laws were ample on that subject already. What was the difficulty? Severity of punishment and the falsehood and injustice it promoted.

Proceeding under the law we secured, applying probation to minors in all criminal cases in the juvenile courts of Colorado, created the exact reversal of results in prosecutions under this age of consent law. Out of twenty prosecutions under it before me exactly similar to the seven I have described (prosecuted under the old system) there was a conviction in every single case and less than half of them asked for jury trial. And in each case there was a conviction and in all the other cases the boys (all

18 to 21) pleaded guilty, and in not one of the twenty cases was there added the crime of perjury. All parties involved told the truth. As a rule the cases were tried behind closed doors. All the varying circumstances, temptations, etc., were gone into—and there were hardly any two alike—with the result that every one of those boys served a jail sentence of from ten days to six months, followed by from one to two years' probation. They learned a lesson and I think all of them profited by it. I am sure the law is better enforced now than ever before. I do not recall one single acquittal under the new plan, while I do not recall one conviction in years under the old plan—unless, of course, it was the extreme exception that this law was not designed to reach.

Of course, different cases demand different treatment. But it is clear how readily offenders would submit themselves to this jurisdiction when the State offers it. It effects an entire change in the motive of the State, and therefore in its procedure, rules of evidence, etc.; for example, if the proceedings were in the criminal court the State would have no right to put the offender on the witness stand and ask that he tell the truth about himself or his offense, for that would be against the rule of evidence, which forbids the State to require an offender to incriminate himself. One reason for the rule was that one facing certain punishment was not likely to tell the truth because of fear; another was that it was not fair to make the offender convict himself—put his own head in the noose, as he would have done within a century for petty larceny. Now since the character of the proceeding is different, namely, to help and not to hurt, to uplift and not degrade, to redeem and not drive out, to love and not to hate, the same rules, reasons and results cannot apply. Under the new procedure (as has been demonstrated under the same procedure with children, and recently parents, in our juvenile court for nine years past), one nearly always tells the truth, and thus perjury is avoided even when the offender is required to testify against himself.

Section 3 provides: "Any person in whose interest the proceeding is brought may, by a verbal or written denial put in is-



sue any statement made in the petition, and the hearing shall be conducted as a civil proceeding within the chancery jurisdiction of the court similar to investigations or proceedings for the protection of infants, dependents, persons non compos mentis and other wards of the State."

It should be understood that the method of enforcing the order of the court is similar to that employed in all chancery proceedings where parties fail to obey the order of the court, but there is a limitation placed upon the power of the court in such cases, and the limitation is that no penalty inflicted in enforcing the orders of the court shall exceed that permitted by the criminal law of the State in case the proceedings had been commenced in the criminal rather than the chancery jurisdiction of the court.

The court has rather broad jurisdiction in making and enforcing rules in chancery cases and doing certain things in the interest of justice, the State and at the same time the accused. And all this may now not only be done, but legally done—which was not the case before even under probation laws where they were administered in the common law jurisdiction of the criminal courts. After nearly ten years on the bench dealing with probation in children's cases in the chancery or equity jurisdiction as distinguished from the common law criminal jurisdiction of the courts, and also in probation of adults in cases of parents or others involving the neglect or delinquency of children and the failure to support wife or child, the writer believes that in time all cases where probation is employed will be handled in the chancery rather than the criminal division of the courts, and because they have not been many inconsistencies, incongruities and difficulties have arisen which under this plan may be avoided.

In the State of Illinois under the juvenile law establishing the Juvenile Court of Chicago, June 1, 1899, and in Colorado under a somewhat similar law approved April 12, 1899 (though our court was not then referred to as a juvenile court) we were permitted for the first time in this country by specific direction of the legislature to proceed under the jurisdiction of the chancery court in dealing with children offenders. These so-called

juvenile court laws merely permitted us to legally do the work for the children which has been done in the juvenile courts of America. Judge Hurd, of Illinois, who wrote the juvenile court law of that State, had the legislature declare: that the child should be corrected as it would be by a wise parent. And our Colorado law as redrafted by the writer in 1902 explicitly declared that the child shall be treated, "not as a criminal, but as one needing aid, help, assistance and encouragement." These were the first positive commands of legislatures in this country that we should do justice, or as some prefer to call it, equity, in the trial of children's cases, that is, being concerned first with the redemption of the child rather than the thing the child stole. Thus we were for the first time empowered to disregard the procedure of the common law in the criminal courts in such trials. Of course, such principles of equity were applied in certain classes of children's cases, such as dependents and others, under the laws on our statute books in various states, including Illinois and Colorado, long before the juvenile courts in Illinois and Colorado applied it in cases of children proceeded against for acts designated as crime. Since the juvenile court was first established in Chicago and Denver under this chancery court principle it has been established in some form in practically every state in the Union with reference to children only, and now for the first time in the history of jurisprudence, in Colorado, it is extended to adults whose acts constitute crime.

Already in two States only have all cases pertaining to the correction of children and parents or other persons who contribute to dependency and delinquency of children been placed in the chancery rather than the criminal jurisdiction of the common law courts. These two States are Colorado and Kentucky.

It has not until after some contests that the courts finally permitted us to apply the chancery practice in dealing with children's cases, and there may follow a similar contest in dealing with those who contribute to the delinquency of children in the chancery jurisdiction rather than the common law criminal jurisdiction. But surely if this jurisdiction is recognized in cases like those in probate courts where the child's interest is pro-

tected by the State as a ward, rather than as a responsible adult and the parent held to strict accountability for its material welfare, surely the same rules may be applied in exacting of natural and legal guardians legal responsibility for its moral welfare. If, for instance, a probate judge can require the parent, as guardian of the property of the child, to file reports and otherwise account for a faithful administration of the property of the child, surely the chancery courts may invoke the same jurisdiction in requiring an account from parents and others burdened with responsibilities for children—whether they be through natural ties or those specifically imposed by law—an account of their stewardship with reference to the moral welfare of the child.

Colorado has gone one step farther—in which it stands alone so far—and that is in passing a law permitting the courts in all cases concerning dependent or delinquent children or persons who cause, encourage, or contribute thereto, to appoint a master of discipline, corresponding to a master, or referee, in chancery, to hear evidence and make findings (somewhat analogous to divorce proceedings where the welfare or custody of a child is often involved). Since our experience proves that not one child's case in a hundred is appealed it is believed a similar condition would hold good when it came to asking for a review before the judge (a right reserved, of course) of a juvenile case disposed of by a master of discipline. Our purpose was to enable our county judges (who are the juvenile judges in Colorado) to appoint someone—perhaps a lawyer or discreet school teacher, in towns remote from the county seat to hear such cases. It insures a better and more certain enforcement of the law and at the same time no extra expense to those involved—as comes from traveling long distances to court, etc. It also insures a wider opportunity than now to get those fitted by temperament and disposition with the time at their disposal to do such work as was not always the case with judges in busy courts, especially in our large cities even where there is a separate juvenile court or division of a regular court—which is the same thing.

It is apparent that when the proceedings in all children's

cases and in all cases against adults for contributing to their dependency or delinquency are in the chancery rather than the common law criminal jurisdiction of courts, masters of discipline could be appointed by the judge of the court, relieving overcrowded courts of much work, without the creation of new courts. Either the law itself or some rule of the court could fix the qualification of such masters of discipline. Such limitations could require some legal training or be entirely limited to lawyers, who, of course, could be elected from those temperamentally or specially qualified for this sort of work. In only one jurisdiction has there been a provision permitting persons other than lawyers to be appointed judge of a juvenile court. This was in a juvenile court law passed in Utah in 1905, about five years after this work had been commenced in Chicago, Denver, Indianapolis and other cities. But it would appear from the case of *Mills v. Brawn*, decided in 1907, reported 88 Pacific, report 609, that the experiment with a layman judge was not very encouraging.

It will be readily seen what a help the master of discipline idea would be to large cities like New York, Philadelphia and other cities where we hear it frequently complained that the judges have not sufficient time or do not care for the work, which is not against them, since legal training alone does not necessarily fit one for such work. You might as well require that the judge be a good superintendent of a state industrial school. As matters are now in many of these cities the judges are compelled to rotate in service, so that they are so limited in time, and otherwise handicapped, as to be little encouraged to take any special interest in the work. This condition is not helpful to the judge, the probation officer or the children.

As the writer understands it, the laws in New York governing young offenders in the children's courts are fundamentally different from those existing in Illinois, Colorado and other Western States. Practically all the Western States have placed these proceedings in the chancery jurisdiction of the court, rather than under the common law criminal procedure. As I understand it the latter is the procedure in New York in dealing with children's cases, and certainly with parents' cases and

those of adults contributing to the delinquency of children. While the judges try to apply the principles of equity and justice very much as we do through the system of probation, and separate trials for children (long existing in those courts) it is nevertheless in the judgment of the writer, not legally recognized until the entire procedure is placed in the chancery division of the civil courts, as was done in Colorado and in Illinois ten years ago, and until that is done the difficulties attending the procedure in the courts in these large cities will largely continue.

When States like New York have legally adopted our forms of procedure in the chancery court, i. e., that the child shall be treated, as far as practicable, "not as a criminal, but as a wise parent would correct it—as one needing aid, help, assistance, encouragement, education, etc.," it may then more liberally apply the principles of equity, with a right to appoint masters of discipline exactly as they would appoint masters or referees in chancery proceedings.

Under this new plan every neighborhood in New York, where there was a settlement house for example, could have its own juvenile court and one carefully selected by the judges of the supreme court, who would be equipped by temperament, training and disposition for just such work as they ought to be, for until material changes come in our social, political and industrial conditions, the number of children dealt with by courts are bound to increase rather than decrease, and it behooves us now to put all such work in the chancery jurisdiction of the courts, with the power in reserve, of course, to resort to the criminal jurisdiction as at common law in exceptional and necessary cases.

Courts are not cure-alls. They are only struggling against the conditions that created them. These conditions they can in a measure alleviate with the better dispensation of justice through a little love in the law.

The purpose, under the criminal law, in bringing one to court for stealing was to protect members of society, and the one despoiled, in the lawful possession of property. It con-

cerned the salvation of things rather than human beings. This was supposed to be accomplished by punishment designed to set an example to the offender and all others tempted to steal. Through the fear inspired they would be deterred from such conduct. Until comparatively recent times these punishments were very severe. For what is now petty larceny men and women, and even boys under fourteen years of age, were sentenced to be hanged by English courts within less than a century. It is generally conceded the severity of these penalties was not a success in preventing crime. But whether effective or ineffective the procedure itself was as inadequate as it was harsh. If followed it admitted of little or no distinctions that in the interest of justice should be made. The first offender was classed with the hardened criminal. There was no just consideration of the opportunities, temptations, varying motives, situations, past records, good or evil environment, etc., of the malefactor. The protection of property was generally the only purpose of the proceeding. The reformation of the individual was no part of it. Iron bars, chains, stripes, degradation, imprisonment, punishment were the sole instrumentalities of the state—not that they are not necessary in proper cases—but they were the *only* instrumentalities employed. Under our new probation law much of this absurdity is legally eliminated. The state perhaps for the first time in the history of jurisprudence in certain criminal cases against adults, now legalizes the application of love and justice. It directs that we also work through the heart, seeking reform from within. This does not mean that it is ready to give up or can give up its work through jails and prisons—nor is it asked or expected—but it is a great gain to know it now legalizes *both* methods in our *procedure* where probation is applied. While not excusing or permitting any offender to escape without responsibility to the law, it not only permits, but directs the application of divine qualities, which, when wisely used, need never be confused with justification of evil. When Christ went to the house of Zaccheus, the sinner, and there by divine sympathy brought him back to righteousness, He did not mean to condone his sins. But His

act resulted in better protection to society, respect for law and at the same time saved the individual who jeopardized society. When imperfect creatures attempt such work, to say that it is accompanied by some dangers, many difficulties and not a few mistakes is only saying what can be said against any scheme of salvation, and could be said and has been even more substantiated against the old methods of violence and degradation—which only in a small measure as yet new laws have come to displace.

Of course, dangers and abuses attend upon the administration of any law however just or wise, as they do any work, however educational or philanthropic. The best laws, like the noblest truths, have been abused and in cases made to serve ignoble ends. While that may be urged against administration, it can not be against a principle, if it is right. In the end it must prevail. The spiritual awakening of the age, as Dr. Lyman Abbott has observed, is not emphasized in what we can do for ourselves, but how can we best serve others; how can we save our erring brothers; and no legislation has ever so completely wrought this spirit in the law as that founded on the principle of *parens patriae*—the State, not as a grim visaged avenger, but rather as a wise, kind and yet firm father trying to help its weak citizens to be strong, to lead honest lives for their own sake and the state's sake. Is it a good thing? To say it is a bad thing to put love in the law is to acknowledge the inapplicability of the doctrine of brotherhood in dealing with criminals and consequently the failure of Christ's teachings in our struggle against evil. We have two great Hebrew lawgivers—Moses and Christ. The former justified vengeance—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. The latter said: "Overcome evil with good." We hold to the latter doctrine. Our ultimate goal in the salvation of men can never be through force, violence and vengeance. Yet is not that the final result of jails, stripes, iron bars and degradation? Consistent with the concession therefore—and we must concede it—that the days of force have not passed and the necessity for jails and prisons is still very acute—we must nevertheless keep constantly in mind that men

eventually must be saved through love. It is not inconsistent with a faithful adherence to Christian ideals, to concede that in the administration of the law the race has not yet risen to a plane where insistence upon complete application of Christian truths in practice in every case is wise or even safe for the ultimate attainment of the very ideals we stand for. We must therefore move forward cautiously planning a system of administration of the criminal law that will as much as possible avoid the dangers of either leniency or brutality. Any system would fail to apply or sustain christian virtues if it resulted either in contempt for law through leniency and mere sentimentality or hate for law through brutality or mere vengeance. Of the two dangers more harm has come through the latter than the former; both may be largely avoided by a system of efficiency that contemplates character building—formation, soul strengthening through teaching or personal work wisely applying the divine force and power of sympathy, patience, kindness, fellowship—persuading men in the end to do right for their own sake, for right's sake, because it is right and not as now to teach a hideous lesson often taught by our criminal system—to do right to keep out of jail—in a word to cheat and steal so long as you don't get caught. After all, divine qualities, christian qualities, when wisely and successfully applied, constitute the highest form of firmness, gaining as they do for the law and the state respect, obedience, loyalty and love. And if in any case we can gain obedience and respect through love, is it not better than to gain it through force and violence? We learn from the child. Does not its obedience and respect come rather through its love than its fear? If it comes through fear—as it often does—is it real, is it genuine, can it be relied upon, is it lasting? Obedience thus gained is more akin to hypocrisy. If it comes through punishment—through physical hurt—unless the child is convinced that the punishment is really applied to help and not to hurt it, it is sure to do more harm than good. The laws of nature teach the child not to cut its finger, but the certain hurt that follows is to protect the child, because nature loves it, nature would thus protect it for its own good.

Right here is the secret of our success in committing alone on

trust and honor over five hundred prisoners to various city, county and state institutions and prisons during the past eight years. Only five even attempted to escape, and they were not the dangerous ones at all. Not one was lost. In the same period the police department lost over forty in escapes where violence alone was employed. All of my prisoners who served time behind iron bars and in stone cells went alone (some as far as 250 miles, trusted with \$12 each to buy their own transportation). I simply used sympathy, patience and time to convince them "it was just," and that I loved them and did not hate them. They are all my friends as is that boy the friend of the father who chastised him, but was wise enough to do it without anger and with great patience and sympathy, to convince the boy it was done for his own good, because the father was kind and did not hate him.

Obedience and respect must be had in the home, the school and the state even if it has to come through hurts, through force or fear. By no means does it follow that because it is not the most admirable, it is not a necessary plan in some cases. The big stick is necessary. It is justifiable in proper cases like the use of one poison as the antidote to another. Were people normal and free of poisons, poisons would cease to be useful. But as it is, in exceptional cases, they are useful and necessary. So if all men from childhood were ideally reared by ideal parents—in a word if we were perfect or anywhere approaching it, we could dispense with the big stick. We could rid ourselves of jails and prisons, but since we are still very human, very imperfect, we must hold on to our jails and prisons a long time yet. But in the meantime let us learn more and more—as the race is prepared for it—in our administration of the criminal law to employ as a first consideration, and as far as practicable, the real basis of all our work there, the divine instruments of brotherhood and love—wisely and sanely applied. In the long, painful struggle of the race, love alone can finally conquer evil.

But I can not agree with those who insist that in the administration of homes this conviction is inconsistent with a reprimand or even a spanking in a proper case in dealing with rebellious children, or in the administration of the law, a jail or

prison sentence in dealing with lawless and rebellious mankind, or in ethics the denunciation that righteous indignation justifies for certain evil doers. It was the same Christ who with anger and the lash drove the money changers from the temple who also redeemed sinners through sympathy and mercy. I believe in punishment in proper cases and holding fast to the doctrine that the way of the transgressor is hard. This is a law not to be ignored. The admitted difficulties involved as to the proper case, as to who is to judge, and where to use and not to use force and violence is only an admission of our common imperfections, but does not alter the truth of their necessity at the present stage of civilization. It serves to again emphasize our imperfections and the necessity for more education and understanding. It also emphasizes the necessity for the employment of skilled people to deal with the subject of crime and criminals, just as we so often see the necessity of more education and understanding among parents and others rearing and teaching children, since criminals are only spoiled children grown up. Obedience to law then is vital to society and the state; and our great problem is how through wisdom to get the most obedience through love and the least through violence.

It seems to me that this is the wise stand for those trusted by society to execute its advances in dealing with one of its most serious problems. Through this course we can avoid the rock of sentimentalism on which emotionalists would wreck us or that of vengeance and barbarism where the reactionary would prepare for us a similar fate.

It is not the purpose of those who advocate the new probationary methods to give any encouragement to that maudlin and disgusting sentimentality that we sometimes find displayed in courts, especially by women, whose foolish attitude towards certain criminals is so deserving of the disgust and contempt of sensible people. Because the delicate instruments of the surgeon may become dangerous in the hands of the butcher or the unskilled, is no reason why they should be discarded, and because sympathy may become maudlin or perverted by the unthinking and the foolish, is no reason for discarding its wise application in dealing with the criminal.

Again, we must not be discouraged by the difficulties we must meet, the mistakes we must make and the failures that must result under any system however wisely we strive to avoid the dangers of extremes. But we must go forward in the administration of criminal laws and in institutions for the care and cure of criminals, as well as in other departments of society and government. And back of this forward movement must be primarily the law of love and not the law of vengeance. Our precedents are in line with this policy. We have long passed the extremes of vengeance. "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" is no longer tolerated as it was originally or even in very recent times. We already have eminent precedent in the criminal law for fundamental changes where it is consistent alike with the reformation and redemption of the offender and the protection of society.

Our criminal law as it came down to us through feudalism, tainted with its extreme respect for property that only equaled its corresponding disrespect for human life and feeling, was an instrumentality of government far from perfect even for the purposes for which it was intended. It was perhaps the best that the then conditions of civilization permitted, and it did much good and necessarily much harm, as any such system must do. And admitting it was necessary and justifiable as a system in that period of social development—as we must—yet we must equally admit it must do more harm than good so long as it rests alone on force, violence, vengeance and punishment. The time may come, however far in the future it may be, or unprepared we are for it now, when the state will not only come to deal with, but the popular mind conceive of, a criminal much as we do now the insane. And like the insane, where chronically so, to be confined for life instead of a period of years, as is often the case now with men known to be hopeless criminals. But this confinement and treatment of the criminal will be as unlike the extreme methods in vogue of stripes, iron cells and other reminders of degradation as it is in the treatment of the insane, who within a century were as completely brutalized and degraded as convicts are now.

# WHAT THE BALLOT WILL DO FOR WOMEN AND FOR MEN

BY

FREDERIC C. HOWE

---

Reprinted from *Colliers'*  
by courtesy of the Editor

---

**National American Woman Suffrage Association**  
505 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY

## What The Ballot Will Do For Women And For Men

By  
FREDERIC C. HOWE

I WANT woman suffrage for what it will do for women, for what it will do for men, for what it will do for the muddle we have made of politics.

I also want woman suffrage for selfish reasons. I cannot myself be happy in a world where there is so much poverty, so much hunger, so much suffering that can so easily be cured.

For poverty, hunger, suffering are unnecessary in this land of abundance of ours; as unnecessary as typhoid, yellow fever, or smallpox that science has almost exterminated. These diseases came from unsanitary environments, from bad sewers, poisoned milk, polluted water. So poverty comes from unsanitary legal environment. For poverty is made by law or the absence of law.

God never intended that a few men should control all the anthracite coal in America, upon which





one-third of the country depends for its light, heat and power. God never intended that the food, clothes and necessities of a whole people should be thrown on the gambler's table and be made the croupier's ball of the stock speculator and price manipulator.

Monopoly is the product of law. It can be cured by law.

I cannot believe that one million people in New York should live in one, two and three room tenements, or that nightly bread lines should gather on our streets, when thousands of acres of vacant land within the city's limits invite men to build homes and work upon them. I do not believe that hunger, homelessness, worklessness, and prostitution are necessary in this land of ours, or that any one of our 90,000,000 people should go hungry in a country that can easily feed ten times that number.

I do not believe that 30,000 men should be killed, and at least 500,000 more seriously injured, in mine or factory each year; that a few months after the Triangle fire death traps should still be inviting disaster like that which brought sorrow to the homes of 148 families.

I do not believe it is necessary for bread to be baked in damp and dirty cellars. Nor do I believe it is necessary for women bearing children to work

in the fetid factory, close up to the hour of childbirth, and take up their labor again a few days after.

It is not necessary that men, women and children should be poisoned by adulterated food or fed on cold-storage meat and fish at famine prices with an ocean and the whole continent close by the city.

Men made the laws which make these conditions possible; men made the tariff laws behind which the sugar, steel, wool, cotton, lumber, rubber, and a score of other monopolies extort famine prices for everything we need; men made the laws which enabled the natural resources of the country, the railroads and the water fronts, to be merged into the hands of a few score men. Men made the laws which permit the express, street railway, gas and electric lighting companies to extort such charges as the greed of a political and business alliance suggests.

Men do not think of these things as will women.

Many men are too weary to think of any other suffering than their own. Long hours in the mine and by the furnace, in the mill and the sweatshop, leave little room for thought of social sorrows. Other men dare not think of them. Some are paid not to do so. Others still, who have time to think, merely repeat the thoughts of their grandfathers or

their employers, of those who find it profitable that men should not think of these things. And they say, and many of us acquiesce in what they say, that poverty is due to the fact that the other fellow is not as clever as we are.

Long habit has made men think in terms of dollars. Long habit has made women think in terms of husbands, children and unborn babes. Men vote the terms they think in. Women will vote the terms they think in. That is what the women did in Colorado. They voted in terms of the home.

I want a civilization in which one-half the people will vote in terms of humanity rather than in terms of property.

I want to live in a world that is free from the law-made privileges that beget the poverty from which we all suffer; free from the terror of hard times, of lost jobs, of periods of sickness and accident almost as fearful as death.

I want to live in a world where one hundred warships, costing \$200,000,000, will not be proudly paraded before a city too poor to feed its hungry school children; to live in a world where the opinions of long-dead grandfathers inscribed in constitutions will be of less consequence than the mangled arms and limbs and the destitute women and children of our factory workers; where breaker

boys will not be permitted in coal mines, where it will be criminal to place little children in canneries, chemical vats, glass mills, or phosphorus factories.

I want to live in a city where the daily wages of women and girls will support life; where the lost job means something other than the street or starvation. I want to live in a country where prostitution will not be the price we pay for our bargain-counter economies; in a country where the doors of the prison will open outward for those who have become tangled in the machinery of the modern industrial world.

I want to live in a world that hates these things; hates them so thoroughly that it will abolish them.

I want to live in a world that thinks of its people rather than of business; of consumers rather than producers; of users rather than makers; of tenants rather than owners; in a world where life is more important than property, and human labor more valuable than privilege.

As women are consumers, users and tenants rather than producers, makers and owners, I have hopes for a society in which women have and use the ballot.

I want woman suffrage because I believe women will correct many of these law-made wrongs that

man has made. For women will vote in terms of human life rather than in terms of special privilege.

Men might continue to vote for the hunger taxes on all that goes on to the table. Men do not know how many dollars are taken from the weekly pay envelope, because of the tariff. Woman will know. And when she learns that the price of sugar behind the tariff wall in New York is twice what it is in Hamburg and London, she will want to save her share of the \$150,000,000 that experts say the tariff exacts from all of us for the benefit of the Sugar Trust and planters and beet sugar growers.

Women with babies will think more about the prohibitive cost of woolen blankets, underwear and clothes than men do. She knows what it is to pay monopoly prices for woolen goods which turn out to be shoddy or cotton; knows the cost of sickness and industrial accidents to those she holds dearer than her life. Women will have to be shown that wages at \$7 to \$9 a week for a man and \$3 to \$6 a week for a woman, with from 20 to 100 per cent. dividends for stockholders of textile mills, is really protection to American labor.

Woman does not know the meaning of "bulls" and "bears," of "long" and "short," of stocks and bonds. She will not tremble when Wall Street threatens to close the banks and the factories if its

privileges are disturbed. She may get hysterical over dirty streets, inadequate schools, crowded street cars and monopoly prices, but she will not be terrorized by the scare headlines of a subsidized press.

Women read the foolish gossip of the fashion page, but they do not read the foolish gossip of the stock market page. They may vote in ignorance, but, at least, they won't think themselves wise when they merely vote the opinions of those who control the agencies for making false public opinion.

Women will have to be shown.

In an earlier age woman could protect herself and her brood by the same weapons that man employed. She had the same rude club. In a later age of domestic industry she worked by the side of her husband in the home or the field.

Woman is still the guardian of the brood. But she is assailed to-day by ten thousand lurking foes that strike at her man, her home, at the lives of those she holds most dear. Machines more deadly than bullets surround her; disease more sanguinary than any foreign invader assails her. Sickness may come with the butcher and the grocer, death with the fire trap and the machine.

Woman still bears the burdens of an earlier age. She is still the child-bearer, the home-maker. But

she has been robbed of her weapons of defense. Danger is no longer in the open. Assailants are social, industrial, legal. They are the product of laws or the absence of laws. They can only be averted and corrected at the ballot box, in legislative halls, and by political, not personal, action.

For modern civilization is no longer isolated. It is social. The dangers that beset us are industrial. They spring from the interdependence of life. They are the product of the division of labor, the complexity of society and the competitive struggle which leaves man at the mercy of the most avaricious member of the pack.

Society must put an end to these conditions if it would live; it must check the chaos, cruelties and human waste that industrial life involves. It can only do this by law, by statute law, by laws bearing the seal of the government. Men may—I believe they will—correct these wrongs. They will correct them with the ballot. But their correction will be hastened, it will come more surely, more wisely, by the co-operation of those who suffer most from the costs of the present system—by the votes of women.—From “Why I Want Woman Suffrage,” in Collier’s.

## Come to National Headquarters for What You Need for Suffrage Work

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

SEND FOR CATALOG

---

## SUBSCRIBE FOR THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

The only suffrage paper of National scope.  
It keeps you in touch with the entire movement all over the country

Official organ of the Association, Alice Stone Blackwell, Editor

\$1.00 per year      Published weekly      5c per copy

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION OF FOUR MONTHS 25 CENTS

---

ADDRESS:

National American Woman Suffrage Association  
505 Fifth Avenue      New York City

[post - April 7, 1914]

20

MINNESOTA  
 WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
 ESSEX BUILDING  
 MINNEAPOLIS

# VOTES AND ATHLETICS

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Equal suffrage increases women's power to bring about better conditions. When the General Federation of Women's Clubs endorsed the principle at its recent Biennial in Chicago, all accounts agree that the overwhelming vote for woman suffrage was due not to zeal for the ballot as an abstract right, but to the conviction that it was a thing of great practical use. The Illinois club women have been uncommonly successful in gaining improvements in the past by indirect influence; but they testified that one year of suffrage had shown them the vastly increased power for good which came to them with "the little mechanism of the ballot," as Jane Addams calls it. Women from all the enfranchised States say the same.

Against this almost unanimous verdict of experience, Eastern opponents of equal rights have nothing to offer except the statement that the laws of some non-suffrage States are better in some respects than the laws of some suffrage States. This is quite true, but it is nothing to the purpose. It is not claimed that the laws of every suffrage State are better in every respect than the laws of every non-suffrage State; but in every suffrage State the laws are better than they would be in that particular State if women had not the right to vote.

Suppose some anti wished to deny the well-known fact that athletic training strengthens the muscles; and suppose she defended her opinion by saying that some people who have never taken such training are stronger than some people who have. Such an argument would be a childish absurdity; but it is exactly the argument that the anti-suffragists make in these comparisons between the suffrage and non-suffrage States. If a mother wants to find out whether athletic training is increasing her son's strength, she does not compare his muscle with that of some other boy; she measures his own muscle

[1]

Alice Stone Blackwell  
 Agnes E. Ryan

before he took the training and after. If she finds that he has gained, it would be idle to say to her, "Athletic exercises cannot possibly be of any use, for the boy who sits next your son at school never took any such training, and yet he is stronger today than your Johnny." If she were a woman of sense, she would answer that the lad occupying the next seat might be older, or bigger, or might be naturally of a more athletic build than her son; but that systematic training in athletics would add to the strength of any boy, and that all who had tried it had found it so—her son among the rest.

The different States of the Union are like a group of 48 boys, of all ages, sizes and degrees of muscular development. Nine of the younger ones have taken a course of athletic training, in accord with the advice of the best experts. All these have increased their muscle. Since taking the training, all have succeeded in doing some stunts which they were never able to do before. A large proportion of these younger boys have even done some stunts which the great majority of the older boys have not been able to do. Yet the opponents of athletic training insist that it cannot be of any use, because some of the older boys, without such training, have done some things which some of the younger boys have not yet accomplished!

Since granting equal suffrage, every one of the enfranchised States has made improvements which it had been unable to make before; and the men and women who took the lead in securing those improvements, from Judge Lindsey down, all testify that equal suffrage strengthened their hands.

#### Some Specific Cases

In California, the equal guardianship bill had been defeated year after year, until women got the ballot. Then the very next Legislature passed it. In the State of Washington, the advocates of shorter hours had been trying for eight years to secure an eight-hour law for women, without success. When the women were enfranchised, the very next Legislature passed the law. The same was the case with a whole series of other bills.

In Wyoming and Idaho, the repeal of the laws that formerly

licensed gambling is generally credited to the enfranchised women; likewise in California, Utah and Colorado the defeat of recent attempts to legalize racetrack gambling. We are scornfully told that Massachusetts has been able to keep such laws off the statute book without woman suffrage. Massachusetts could, but those Western States could not. In all five of them, the anti-gambling laws are better than they would have been without woman suffrage. Here again the anti-suffragist is trying to prove the uselessness of athletics by measuring the muscles of two different boys, instead of measuring those of the same boy before and after.

The anti-suffragists tell us that a number of the non-suffrage States have State-wide prohibition, while in all the suffrage States except Kansas liquor can be sold. But in every suffrage State less liquor is sold than would be sold in that State if women did not vote. We had a striking illustration of this very lately. In Illinois, on April 7, 1914, the official returns showed that 96 townships went dry by the women's vote when they would otherwise have gone wet. Yet, because West Virginia has no licensed saloons, while Illinois and Colorado have many, the anti-suffragists insist that woman suffrage does nothing to promote temperance! Could there be a more transparent fallacy? And this is the type of the whole reasoning of the anti-suffragists in these comparisons.

Many of the claims made by the anti-suffragists in this connection are wholly baseless. They say that no law for the benefit of women and children was ever passed where women vote till after it had been passed in some place where women do not vote. This would be unimportant, even if true; but it is not true. The first children's court and the first widows' pension act originated in Australia. Colorado was the first State to establish the advanced principle of "contributory delinquency," i. e., to provide that when a child breaks the law, if it can be shown that any grown person contributed to the child's delinquency by neglect or otherwise, that person shall be punished as well as the child. This Colorado law has since been copied by a long list of other States. Colorado was also the first State to estab-

lish a minimum wage of \$50 per month for teachers. (In the rich city of Newton, Mass., one kindergarten teacher gets only \$100 a year, and the maximum for the assistant teachers in the public kindergartens there is \$300.) Other examples might be given, but these will suffice.

#### Prof. Fisher on Mrs. George

Mrs. A. J. George lectured not long ago in New Haven, Conn., and drew a number of these misleading comparisons between the laws of the suffrage and non-suffrage States. Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, though only "a very mild suffragist," was so revolted by what he considered the unfairness of her method of reasoning that he wrote to the New Haven Journal-Courier a long letter in criticism of it. He pointed out, first, that it was unfair to pick out the best legislation to be found anywhere among the many non-suffrage States, and compare it with the legislation of the few suffrage States. Prof. Fisher says:

"The fallacy here committed is the fallacy of statistical selection. If one wanted honestly to compare the height of people in Connecticut with the height of people in other parts of the United States, it obviously would be quite unfair to compare the average height of citizens of Connecticut with the height of the tallest person in the United States outside of Connecticut."

Prof. Fisher adds that among all the 47 other States, some taller man could probably be found than the tallest man in Connecticut; and that the only fair way would be to take averages. He continues:

"Not only has Mrs. George taken advantage of the wider range of place in the non-suffrage area, but she has also taken advantage of the wider range in time. All the suffrage States have had relatively little opportunity in time to achieve such reforms as have been achieved in Massachusetts, which has been legislating for nearly 300 years. We cannot expect as much reform in suffrage States in which the only opportunities for legislation have been some dozen or score of meetings of the Legislature as has been achieved in States existing for a century or more.

"Finally, the comparison on which Mrs. George laid so much stress is vitiated by the fact that the suffrage States are pioneer States. We can scarcely compare the character of the laws which result from such a population with the character of the laws which result from a Puritan population, such as is found in Massachusetts. The origin and traditions of Massachusetts are law-abiding. Those of Colorado are lawless. A fairer comparison would be between conditions in the suffrage States and conditions in the other pioneer and Rocky Mountain States, such as Montana, Nevada, etc. A still fairer comparison would be between conditions which existed in the suffrage States before suffrage was introduced and conditions which exist there now. . . . As a truth-seeker, I cannot avoid making a protest against such statistical fallacies as it seemed to me were employed last night by Mrs. George."

#### A Series of Fallacies

The arguments of the opponents of equal suffrage bristle with all the fallacies which Prof. Fisher criticises. They point out that Massachusetts and two or three others among the 39 non-suffrage States forbid night-work for women, while the suffrage States do not. In this particular, those few States have done better for working women than the suffrage States. But this is picking out the tallest man in all the States outside Connecticut—the very peaks of legislation on that subject. Taking the averages, the result is strongly in favor of the suffrage States. More important than the question of night work is the length of the working day. Out of the 39 non-suffrage States and the District of Columbia, only a minority limit women's work to nine hours, and only the District limits it to eight. Of the suffrage States more than two thirds—seven out of the nine—limit it to nine hours or less; and four make it eight hours. In six of the seven States, the law limiting women's hours was passed after women got the ballot. In the seventh, California, it was passed by the same Legislature which voted overwhelmingly for the woman suffrage amendment; and in both California and the District of Columbia, the law was carried by the exertions of suffragists. (Gov. Johnson of California mentions the eight-

hour law among those which the suffragists took the lead in securing; and the official organ of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in its issue of December, 1913, describes the California eight-hour law as "a law urged by suffragists," and publishes a severe attack upon it, and upon the whole principle of limiting women's hours. It says, "No more stupid law was ever enacted. A healthy woman can work with impunity as many hours as a healthy man in work suitable for women to perform," etc.) The legislators in the majority of suffrage States have shown more desire to protect women from overwork than the legislators in the majority of non-suffrage States. This is beyond dispute.

Moreover, they passed these laws before the need for them became pressing. Massachusetts did not pass her 54-hour-a-week law till after thousands of women had suffered for many years for lack of it. None of the suffrage States are industrial States. Those who predict that suffrage would "take women out of the home" should note the fact that in the full suffrage States comparatively few women are in industry. All the States where enormous numbers of women are working for wages outside their homes happen to be non-suffrage States.

Men had voted in Massachusetts for almost three hundred years before Massachusetts abolished night work for women, or gave them equal guardianship, or equal property rights. After men and women have voted together for three hundred years in the suffrage States, if any of those States are found to be lacking in the most advanced legislation, we may fairly conclude that equal suffrage is no quicker a tool for bringing about justice to women than is an exclusively male suffrage.

*Published by The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.*

*For news of the suffrage movement all over the world, read the national suffrage newspaper, The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. \$1.00 per year.*

E. L. GRIMES CO., PRINTERS, 122 PEARL ST., BOSTON.



# DISFRANCHISEMENT

BY

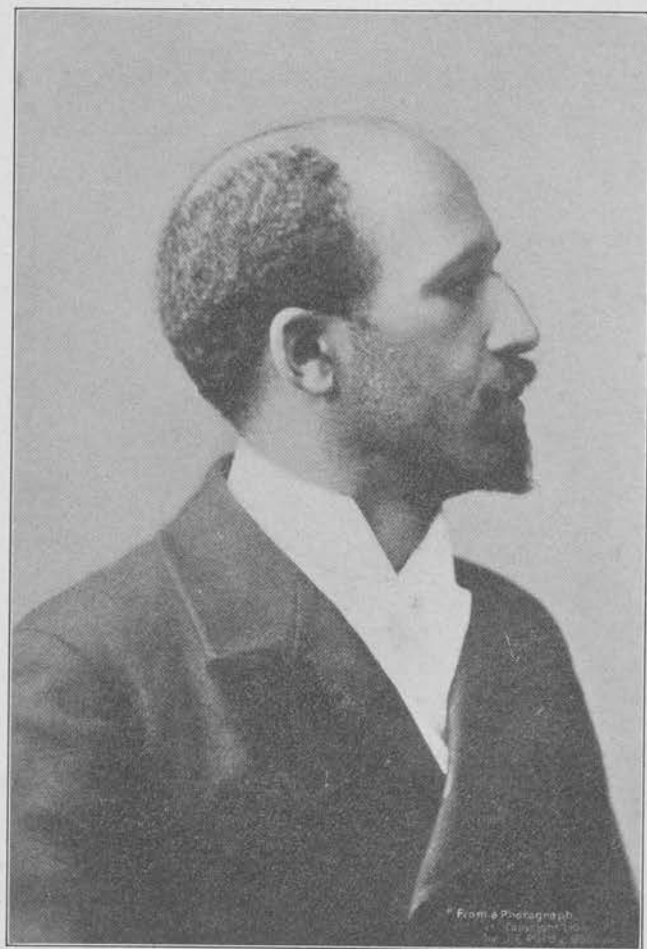
DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS



Published by the  
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

Price 5 cents





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 essentially 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 exploitation. 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

hereditary 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 exigencies 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.

IF THIS ARTICLE HAS INTERESTED YOU

Subscribe Now

to

## THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

The American Weekly Suffrage Paper

If you are a suffragist you cannot  
afford to do without it; if you are  
not a suffragist, all the more you  
need it.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK.

# Breaking Into the Human Race

BY

RHETA CHILDE DORR

*Author of "What 8,000,000 Women Want," etc.*

Reprinted from HAMPTON'S MAGAZINE

---

PRICE, FIVE CENTS A COPY

---

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
505 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK



grown up in his laboratory. They found some one else to wash the bottles and gave the girl a special table and full facilities for work.

Pierre Curie, a young man student of unusual promise, became her inseparable companion, and in time her husband. The two Curies, as all the world knows, working together, discovered and isolated radium, thereby opening up an absolutely new world of scientific possibilities. Their great discovery was no accident. They toiled and experimented through years of poverty and depression. Few who knew them believed in their theories. The Curies were, in fact, a sort of joke in scientific circles.

Pierre Curie, it is known, suffered periods of complete discouragement. He often doubted his conclusions. But Marie Curie never doubted. She never lost faith. Night and day she worked in her little laboratory at home. When at last the discovery of radium was announced, and the name of Curie sprang into world-wide fame, Professor Curie publicly declared that more than half the credit belonged to his wife. The research work was begun before her marriage, and it was through her that Professor Curie became interested in radio-activity. But for Madame Curie's patience and obstinate persistence the end would never have been achieved.

After his sudden death, which occurred as a result of a street accident, there was no other scientist in the world except this woman to take Professor Curie's place as special lecturer in the Sorbonne. The most conservative of universities was obliged to break all its rules and invite a woman to a full professorship. Monarchs go to the Sorbonne to listen to her. The greatest scientists in Europe are among her students.

At a congress of radio-activity and electricity recently held in Brussels, the matter of a standard measurement of radium was discussed. The congress unanimously agreed that Madame Curie was the only person living who was capable of establishing that standard, and she was therefore formally appointed to the task. The unit of measuring emanations of radium will be known as a *curie*, and the word will take its place beside ohm, volt, ampère, and the few others which perpetuate the names of great geniuses of the world of pure science.

Now in France, more than in other countries, genius is extolled above wealth, above

might, above conquest. They adore genius in France; they crown it, applaud it, pension it. As a last tribute, they elect it to the Academy.

About a year ago there was a vacancy among the immortals of the French Academy, Department of Science. On every lip there trembled the name of Madame Curie. Surely—but no.

The immortals admitted that Madame Curie was the foremost scientist in France, perhaps in the world, but as a candidate for the French Academy she did not even exist. It was true, they said, the Academy was established for the advancement of learning, and Madame Curie's achievement was a long step in the progress of learning. But it was against tradition that learning was advanced by women and, therefore, Madame Curie could not be acknowledged by the Academy to have advanced it. It was possible for scientists to listen to a woman lecture on radio-activity. It was impossible for them to associate her with their after discussions of it. So they elected to the Academy a man whose name one forgets, so little is it known outside his university.

Public prints in Europe and America made a good deal of the incident at the time. Some of them said that France had something to be ashamed of in its Academy.

I think I have a better understanding of the point of view of those French savants. They were right in their decision. They were right, that is to say, from their point of view. Madame Curie could not have been made a member of the Academy for the simple reason that *she is not a human being. A woman, whatever her intellectual qualifications, can no more become a member of an academy than the educated monkeys Consul or Miss Susie can become members of a church, and for the same reason. Neither is human.*

The point of view is by no means peculiar to France. Several years ago, an American woman physician took her husband, ill with tuberculosis, from their home in Massachusetts to Florida, where they hoped he might improve. The husband's illness had seriously impaired the fortunes of the two, and the wife planned to enter at once on the practice of her profession. When they were comfortably settled she applied for a state license, only to learn that Florida barred women from the practice of medicine.

In the proud state of Georgia, at the pres-

ent time, there lives a young woman who possesses more than average intelligence, unusual industry, great seriousness of mind and tenacity of purpose. She proved all this by choosing, instead of a life of social gayety and economic dependence, a life of professional labor. Miss Minnie Anderson Hale is the young woman's name, and the profession she chose was the law.

Miss Hale completed her studies at the Atlanta Law School, making a brilliant record in all her classes. A few weeks ago she appeared, with her fellow graduates, before the proper authorities to be admitted to practice. But disappointment was her lot. She found herself facing the disagreeable alternative of abandoning either her profession or her home. In Georgia, a woman can no more be admitted to practice law than in France she can be admitted to the Academy. And for the same reason.

*The right of being human is entirely monopolized by men. Women possess only sex. They used to be alluded to as "the sex." That has gone out of fashion, but women continue to exist as a sex, a mere auxiliary to a world of men. Until recently, no large class of women objected to the*

arrangement, or questioned its propriety. Their supine acceptance of a limited right to exist almost tempts one to believe in it as a fact. But let us examine the genesis of the theory.

There was once a mighty monarch who abashed his ministers in council with the assertion: "The State! I am the State."

Of course he was not the State. But he said he was, and the assertion was so colossally audacious that the ministers were silenced. No one of them was in a position to dispute the claim, and it required another generation before people could organize to dispute it.

In exactly the same manner one half the population has maintained the position:

"The human race—that's us."

Of course they are not the human race. But they have always said they were, and the colossal audacity of the claim simply silences the other half. No one woman has ever been in a position successfully to

dispute the claim of the male half of society. So woman generally has meekly taken her place as a member of the Ladies' Aid



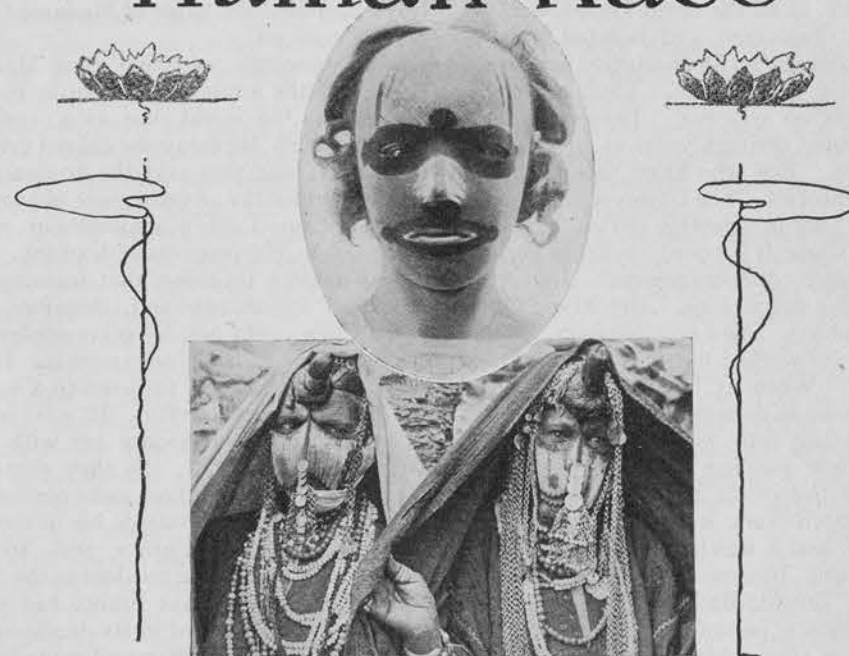
MADAME MARIE CURIE, CODISCOVERER WITH HER HUSBAND OF RADIUM, DENIED ADMISSION TO THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF SCIENCE ALTHOUGH ONE OF THE GREATEST SCIENTISTS OF THE DAY.

THE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS



15 SPRUCE ST., NEW YORK

# Breaking Into the Human Race



by Rheta Childe Dorr  
*Author of "What 8,000,000 Women Want," etc.*

**S**OMETHING over a dozen years ago there arrived in Paris a young Polish woman, Marie Sklowdovska by name. Forced to leave her native country on account of political intrigues which involved members of her family, the young woman turned her way toward republican France. She had no resources other than immense courage, about fifty francs in money and an extraordinary knowledge of chemistry.

In an obscure quarter of the city she found a bare garret, furnished with a cot bed and a chair. Her food was black bread and blue milk. She lived on this diet for so long that, as she has confessed, she had afterwards to cultivate a taste for meat and wine.

The one ambition of this girl's life was to gain admission to a laboratory as a student assistant. After long persistence, a period which must have been filled with bitterness and despair, the doors of a great laboratory were opened grudgingly to her. She was admitted because they were in need of a cheap assistant to prepare furnaces and to clean bottles for chemical experiments. It was, in fact, a kind of expert janitress service.

The young Polish woman had not been in the laboratory a week before Professor Lipmann, who was at its head, discovered that she possessed a knowledge of science and an originality of mind far above the average. Rather tardily it became known that she was the daughter of a scientist of note in his own country, and that she had

Society to the Human Race, and there she has remained.

↪ The difference between belonging to the human race and being a member of the Ladies' Aid is merely the difference between walking in ordinary shoes and toddling painfully in Chinese boots. In the one case the shoe is fitted to the foot; in the other, the foot is squeezed and cramped and artificially deformed to fit the boot. The natural foot is large or small, wide or narrow, as the case may be. The artificial foot lacks variation. It has a conventional size and shape. Otherwise its owner is a scandal and a disgrace to the family.

Men, being human, are expected to differ from one another. It might almost be said that men are respected in proportion to the degree of their individuality. The most interesting man is he who possesses the strongest personality, the largest number of traits peculiar to himself.

#### WHAT WOMEN MUST DO TO CONFORM

Women, being a sex, are expected to conform to a type, and they are admired and respected in proportion to their ability to conform. The type, of course, is that which arouses the amorous emotions of men. What must women be in order to approximate the feminine type?

First of all, they must be young. This is absolutely essential. The word "young" has had various interpretations in different generations. Juliet Capulet, a perfect example of the type, was fourteen. In her time and, in fact, almost to the beginning of the



nineteenth century, a woman of twenty-one was on the verge of old.

"Come and kiss me, sweet and twenty,  
Youth's the stuff will not endure,"

sang the Bard of Avon, realizing the brevity of woman's career.

Balzac moved the permissible age to thirty, and there or thereabouts it has remained. A woman must not be over thirty years of age. If she is, she becomes ridiculous, a subject for jest and merriment. The comic journals would go out of existence if it were not for old maids and mothers-in-law. Even in the states where women vote and hold office, they are still under the obligation to remain young. They are never asked to record their age on the registration

THIS YEAR ALL WOMEN MUST RESEMBLE STOVE-PIPES: A FEW YEARS AGO, AGONIES WERE ENDURED TO EMULATE THE HOUR GLASS.

books, as men are. The oldest grandmother in Colorado is registered in the poll books as twenty-one years old.

Besides being young, women must be beautiful. "A female," said an early Victorian poet, "should be an exquisite flower blooming in the pathway of men." Lovely advice, although the phrasing does give one an impression of a large, masculine boot about to come



down on something small and fragile and defenseless.

So universal is the demand for the decorative quality in women that chivalry assumes that all women possess it. In the newspapers women are invariably described as beautiful, or at least pretty. It is an editorial rule from which no reporter ventures to depart. A girl who graduates, elopes, marries in church, gets into an automobile accident, gives a tea, wins a ribbon at a dog show, does anything she might be expected to do, is called beautiful. Beautiful heiress, beautiful actress, beautiful suicide, beautiful murderess; the day's news is a permanent beauty show.

When, however, woman does anything eccentric, when she ventures to trespass the smallest inch on man's preserves, the newspapers make a point of commenting adversely on her looks.

Something like this old clipping from a newspaper of the late eighties:

Susan B. floated into our town yesterday, looking, as usual, like Methuselah's oldest daughter.

Perhaps Susan B. Anthony did look unbeautiful to the men of her day. Perhaps women who think, who possess individuality and original ideas, who act from conviction instead of conventional theory, still seem unbeautiful to men. It is true that they vary widely from the accepted type.

#### WOMEN MUST BE "BEAUTIFUL"

To fulfill the conventional ideal of beauty is simple, whether it is easy or not. Just as nearly as nature, in collaboration with art,

can manage it, the type approximates to the soft, smooth, unemotional, unintelligent, pink and white wax dolls, used to display millinery and frocks in shop windows.

Beauty changes its details from season to season. One year Beauty has curves, another year angles. Beauty's waist line was formed on the hour-glass model a few years ago. Just now her waist line melts into the general scheme of stovepipe construction from shoulders to heels.

Some years Beauty has very little hair, and she subdues it until it lies on her head like feathers on the canary or the black-bird. Other years, witness 1910-11, Beauty possesses an incredible head of hair. Her hair, if let hang down, if it could hang down, would sweep her feet, as Miss Mary Garden's hair does in *Mélisande*.

But whatever aspect Beauty wears, women must copy it.

The thing is painful for many women, and it is expensive for most, but the duty remains. Plainness, especially the plainness of advancing years, is absolutely interdicted. Men, as they grow in years and experience, develop lines expressive of character, records of emotion, struggle, defeat, victory. The face of a man of many experiences is like a book of fascinating tales. One never tires of reading it. But a woman's lines are just wrinkles, and the first one is a life tragedy.

When the powder and the rouge and the dotted veil are at last powerless to conceal her wrinkles, woman may as well give up—cloister herself in "science," the new thought, or some other modern substitute for religion. If anyone notices



THE YEARS OF EFFORT AND STRUGGLE FOR HER IDEALS HAVE STAMPED THE AGED FACE OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY WITH A SPIRITUAL BEAUTY.



WHATEVER ASPECT BEAUTY WEARS FROM YEAR TO YEAR  
—AS EXHIBITED BY THE DRESSMAKERS' MODELS—  
WOMEN OF ALL TYPES MUST CONFORM TO IT.

her at all henceforth, it will be to think of her as a "wreck of her former self."

Imagine thinking of Chief Justice White, or John Bigelow, or Uncle Joe Cannon, or any active old man as a wreck of his former self!

Turn to the exquisite figure of Elizabeth Gerritt Miller, daughter of the famous abolitionist, Miller, herself the heroine of many an adventure in the thrilling days when fugitive slaves were making escape to Canada via the secret ways of the "underground." Look at the placid features of Julia Ward Howe, "seventy years young" after a life spent, not in the easy ways of peace, but in the struggle and stress of war-time and reconstruction. Scan the majestic features of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, crowned with white hair and eighty years of strenuous experiences. If it were not for

the conventional ideals of beauty to which we are bound, we might find these faces attractive. They are attractive, and after women have given up the fight to be young, and therefore alluring to men, they might be willing to look like these pioneers. But not before.

Young and beautiful must women be, and that is about all, except that they must be good, very, very good. And here men have been oddly generous to women. They have allowed them a moral handicap, so to speak. A long list of misdemeanors which, theoretically, at least, are forbidden to men are indulgently permitted to women. Without losing any special caste women may trifle with the truth, they may break a promise, they may betray a confidence, they may neglect to pay their debts, they may smash at least nine of the commandments.

A housemaid, arrested for theft, tearfully confessed her guilt in open court. "But, your honor," she declared, "I am an *honest* woman."

"I believe you," said the judge, "and shall make your sentence lighter on that account."

The women's code of honor, laid down for them by the men, contains only one commandment. If they remember to keep it holy they are good. If they break it they are bad, permanently, irrevocably bad. To err is human, but it certainly is not womanly.

Men could hardly have sustained their

contention that they are the race and that women are a sex, had they not gained the willing coöperation of the women themselves.

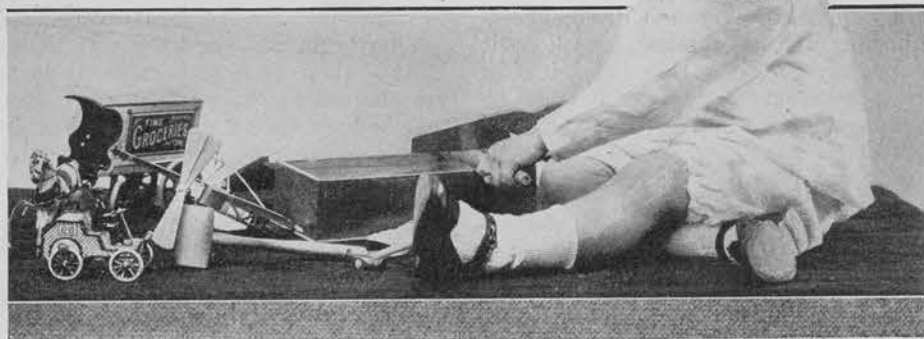
Women are creatures of habit and once they adopt a course they like to keep right on. See how amiably they work to keep their half of the population in its place, and to train the other half for its place.

They begin with the baby. If the baby is a boy they can hardly wait until he is six months old to determine what kind of a man he is going to be. Will he be an intellectual giant, like his great-grandfather on



THE VERY COMFORTABLE AND ESSENTIALLY MODEST HAREM SKIRT WAS DECRIED  
BECAUSE IT WAS BIFURCATED.

TO THE BABY BOY ARE GIVEN TOYS TO STIMULATE CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITY AND THEREFORE MENTAL INDEPENDENCE.



her side, who was president of a college in Indiana before the war? Or will he inherit the inventive tendency in his family? As the baby boy progresses, it is as good as a play to watch his type develop. His playthings are of great importance, and to take him into a toyshop and observe what he shows interest in is a matter of deep significance. His choice, of course, indicates the bent of his mind.

If the baby is a girl, the only thing they worry about is her looks. Will she, by any chance, have that unfortunate Smith nose? What if her hair should not curl? Be careful when you lay her down that her ears are flat on the pillow, and do not let her stare at the light that way, you might make her squint. There is nothing thrilling about choosing toys for the girl child. They do not recognize that there is any choice. The girl child gets a doll, and that is all there is to it.

The theory that all girl children love dolls as they love their lives is so old and so respectable that one hesitates to attack it.

Yet I can testify out of a personal experience that some girl children loathe dolls. I, for one, never wanted to be a little mother. I wanted to run and romp and roll on the grass with a terrier dog we had. I liked to jump rope and walk the fence and hop scotch and take things to pieces to see how they were made. And so do all normal, healthy children, girls as well as boys.

The reason most girls play with dolls and

seem to prefer them to other toys is because no other toys are given them. Along with the doll they have implanted in their infant minds the strongest kind of a doll suggestion. They are told that all little girls love dolls; that dolls are little girls' babies. A little girl who does not love her baby is not a nice little girl at all. It takes a child of character to stand out against all this psychological suggestion.

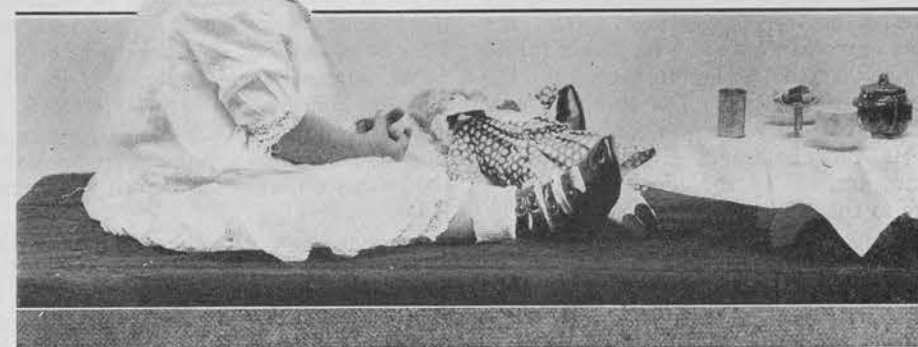
With the same shrewdness, mother and grandmother and nurse plant mental suggestions in the young masculine nature. "You mustn't cry—little girls cry." "Richard, you should not have allowed your sister to help build that bonfire. That's not little girls' play."

I heard a proud mother tell a visitor, in the presence of three daughters and a son: "We are Presbyterians, but I am bringing up my girls with the idea that they should adopt their husbands' church, whatever it may be. Separate churches divide husband and wife so unpleasantly." Boys have permanent ideals; girls flexible ones.

By the time the girl child reaches school age she has pretty firmly rooted in her mind the idea that she belongs in a special class, not admittedly inferior to boys, but different, widely, essentially different. Many things which boys do, say, or think, the girl child knows would be improper for her to do, say, or think. A different interpretation is given, for example, to the word play.

This prepares the girl's mind to encounter

TO THE BABY GIRL ARE GIVEN TOYS WHOSE PSYCHOLOGICAL SUGGESTION IS MAINLY OF HOUSEKEEPING AND MATERNITY.



in school a different interpretation of work, of destiny, of life itself. The public school curriculum is based on the theory that the male child tends to variation. That his destiny may be commerce, law, medicine, engineering, or merely manual labor. The female child is held to be destined for one position only—housekeeper to a man.

#### SCHOOLS DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE NEW STATUS OF WOMEN

The census of 1900 reported in the United States approximately 6,000,000 women engaged in gainful occupations outside the home. The census noted the momentous fact that the number of women in all but three or four of the one hundred and three occupations listed was increasing faster than the number of men in those occupations.

Some one should have called the attention of the school authorities to that census report. Because, so far as shown in the average school curriculum, few of the school authorities know that any women are working for wages, unless it be in domestic service. In place of the manual training, almost universally now included in school work for boys, the girls are given cooking and sewing. The object of the manual training is to develop industry, ambition, coordination of hand and brain, individuality and self-control. You might think that these fine qualities ought to belong to women as well as men. Well, say the school

authorities, so they ought, but still more essential to women is domesticity.

When you point out to the school authorities that, the country over, one in seven of the girls will leave school to enter industry, where ambition, individuality, coordination of hand and brain, et cetera, come in handily, they reply: "Oh, yes, but the girls don't stay in industry. In seven years or ten years or possibly fifteen years, the girls will all be married. Then they will cook and sew."

They may, if they have not forgotten how, or if the trend of industry out of the home and into the factory has somehow been stayed. In a sewing class of seventh grade girls, one child had progressed in her lesson of shirt making to the point where her teacher remarked: "Well, Dora, you have done this very nicely. Soon you will be able to make your father's shirts."

"Not on your life," chirped the child, disrespectful of her teacher's ignorance. "My father buys all his shirts. He wouldn't wear a homemade one."

The object of the cooking and the sewing lessons, when analyzed, is, like so much of the school work, psychological. It succeeds in its object, too. It clinches in the girls' minds the idea that they are different from boys, but exactly like each other. It gives them a contempt for manual labor, and a desire for a life of supported ease. It helps to make them discontented, inefficient, unskilled trade workers, who toil at dull,

unintelligent tasks, ruining themselves for maternity and for the home making which is supposed to be their universal destiny.

Above all, it helps to swell the list of the helpless ones, we all know them, women left to their own feeble resources by the death or disability of their masculine protectors. By all the rules of the romancers and the successful novelists, marriage settles the destiny of woman, provides for all her future emergencies, relieves her forever from the responsibilities of life. The stubborn way in which real life refuses to conform to the rules is very baffling. Every day some woman, trained to the ideal of idleness, secure in the belief that she was born to be taken care of, finds herself tossed out into the main current, left to sink or swim as fortune wills.

#### PITIALE PLIGHT OF DEPENDENT WOMEN

As a matter of fact, she cannot swim and she is strongly averse to sinking. There is nothing left to do but cling, with a stranglehold of grim death, on the first strong person who comes her way. If there is anything sadder than the spectacle of these reduced "gentlewomen," playing at earning a living, camping in the dooryards of relatives, forced into all sorts of unlovely subterfuges and compromises with honor in order to exist, I do not know of it. This poor parasite is the visible image of the false theory which excludes women from their rightful heritage of humanity.

If there is any visible force at work which does not reiterate and emphasize and insist that women are in the human race but not of it, I have not encountered it. Consider the reading matter thrust at women. "The Woman's Page." "The Home Page." "Of Interest to Women." "What Milady Reads." "The Gentler Sex." They are all built after one pattern, the general style of which is indicated in an ultimatum laid down to me by an editor of a popular magazine.

"I've been in this business for twenty years," said he. "I've built up the circulation of half a dozen magazines, and I know that women are interested in just two subjects: love and pin money."

Love and pin money—and the clothes and the beauty stunts and all the other nets and traps warranted to catch the love and the pin money, do indeed, if the "woman's" page is to be trusted, engage the whole at-

tention of women. Love sentimentalized beyond recognition in most cases, so overlain with sex suggestion in others as to be positively obscene, is the sort of thing the unmarried woman yearns to read about. Perhaps the married woman retains a reminiscent interest in love, but pin money, how to get it and how to spend it for husband's comfort and enjoyment, is her real need. How to economize in a hundred petty, ignoble, unbeautiful and soul-destroying ways; this also concerns the married woman.

But is not the chief interest of women getting and keeping a home? Are not these the proper objects of a women's magazine? Home making!

Do you know what to do with a rolling-pin? Consult one of these magazines, then gild the rolling-pin, tie pink ribbons on the ends, stick a row of gilt hooks along one side and give it to husband for a Christmas key rack.

Do you know what to do with an extra length of stovepipe? Paint a neat bunch of red roses on it and use it for an umbrella stand.

Do you know what to do with a wooden snow shovel in the summer time? Paint a nice cool snow scene on the shovel end, gild the handle—be sure always to gild the handle—and set it up in the corner of the country home.

Do you know what to do with a rusty flat-iron? Cover it with peacock blue plush, gild the handle and use it to keep the door open.

Do you know what to do with a dover egg-beater? Gild the handle—I am afraid I have forgotten the rest, but I remember that it was beautiful when completed.

#### WHY NOT A "MAN'S PAGE"

They are not all as bad as that. Usually the better class of women's magazines reserve these art hints for a department called "Discoveries," or "Suggestions from our Readers," "Contributors' Corner," or "Answers to Correspondents." This leaves space for fashions, beauty talks, advice to young wives as to retaining their husbands' affection, to prospective brides as to novelties in weddings, cookery and needlework.

We have a national weekly which three weeks out of four is presumably addressed solely to men, since the fourth issue is called the "Woman's Number," and contains two pages of extremely light matter, capable of assimilation by the boudoir mind.

Why should not the women's magazines

issue an occasional "Man's Number"? Surely there are thousands of men who would learn with delight how to take three old walking sticks, tie them together at one end with pale blue ribbon, extend the other ends, tripod fashion, hang a hand-painted lard pail in the middle and put it in "the den" to hold pipes.

Would not a man thrill to read a paragraph like this?

Mr. John Robinson Jones, of Boulder, Colorado, makes a handsome amount of pin money every year by umpiring the baseball games at the State Lunatic Asylum. Mr. Jones's charming personality and unflinching tact have won the confidence of the inmates to such an extent that the post has been completely relieved of certain hazardous features it formerly possessed.

Or this:

A correspondent writes us that he is about to give a collar and tie shower to a bridegroom-to-be, and wishes to know whether etiquette demands that he invite the guest's relatives, who have never called. We would advise, et cetera.

Then the society columns. Have they no room for bachelor functions?

Mr. James Ticker, the well-known cotton broker, received at tea at four o'clock on Friday at his handsome apartment on Lake Drive. He was becomingly dressed in neat gray trousers, a black frock coat, white waistcoat, a scarf in one of the new wistaria shades, and a diamond stick pin. He carried a bouquet of water lilies and purple orchids. Mr. Harry Budd presided at the tea table, and the Hungarian orchestra furnished the music.

The fact is, although it may not be professional for me to let the secret out, all magazines are made to please the women readers; they are all, in effect, women's magazines. How much of the breakfast food, toilet soap, jewelry, piano, automobile, typewriter *advertising* would a man's magazine get, do you suppose? The manufacturers know who disburses the income.

Editors know that they must make the magazine interesting to women, and they do it, the most successful ones, by pretending to publish for men. In other words, they refrain from reminding the women readers that they belong to the Ladies' Aid Society. They leave that to the women's magazines.

There is one new, great, vital, important, history-making fact to be recorded in women's pages and women's magazines—if we must have them—but that one great fact is stolidly and consistently ignored by the editors. This is the fact: women, all over the world, during the past twenty years,

have been busy organizing. They have organized in clubs, in leagues, in trade unions, in alumnae associations, in societies for this and that, in all sorts of ways, for all kinds of objects. But deeper and stiller, and more momentous than the expressed desire, has been the underlying object of women's organization—a splendid ambition to Break Into the Human Race.

#### THE REAL MEANING OF THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

Do not make any mistake about it. Do not close your eyes to the truth. The whole woman movement, so-called, the achieving of higher education, the demand for recognition in all trades and professions, equal pay for equal work, the rise of the women's trade union, the development of women's clubs, even the agitation for woman suffrage, all these are attacks from different directions. All are part and parcel of the mighty effort of women to break into the human race.

The effort is not exactly a new thing. In every generation there have been a few isolated women who declined to accept membership in the Ladies' Aid Society, and went down their lives clamoring for admittance into the human family. In what courage, what conviction, what divine fire these lonely figures are clothed, as we see them in history, dauntlessly facing the coarse and brutal ridicule of men, the cold disapproval and dislike of women!

Gentle, brave, ill-fated Mary Wollstonecraft, mother of all the women's colleges, politely described by Prime Minister Walpole as "that hyena in petticoats"; Mary Somerville, hiding her mathematical books and her astronomical calculations under the mattresses of her bed, her family having demanded that she turn from astronomy to more womanly avocations; Charlotte Brontë and her sister romancers, writing in secret, publishing under pseudonyms, because no gentlewoman might write for vulgar money; Elizabeth Blackwell, enduring daily insult from gentlemen students, turned out of boarding houses, shunned by her friends, all for the crime of studying medicine; that immortal trio, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton—what a price they paid to buy the freedom of a world of women!

How grudgingly society has yielded that freedom; how obstinately the men have re-

sisted every advance, how ostrichlike the petted and protected women have ignored every victory, will seem strange to future generations. Already people are beginning to ask why, since it is conceded that women may be educated, a Harvard degree is denied Radcliffe students; why, since women have qualified in medicine, it is practically impossible for a woman to get an internship in a large hospital; why, since women practice law in all except two states, the state bar associations refuse to admit them to membership; why, since women are taxed, the right to vote is denied them.

#### WHEN IS A GIRL NOT A GIRL

A possible answer to these questions was indicated in a conversation I had several years ago with a young scion of chivalry, an undergraduate of the University of South Carolina. The young women of South Carolina had within a few years been admitted to the university, much to the anger and disapproval of the men students.

"At first," my young friend declared, "the fellows were pretty rude to the girls, but after a while they settled down to ignoring them altogether. No fellow has anything to do, in a social way, with a girl student. We never ask them to our dances, and few of us ever speak to them. We just don't know that the girls are in college."

"How do the girls stand in scholarship?" I asked.

"Very well, I believe," was the candid reply. "For the past two years a girl has taken first honors. But we get around that, too. When anybody asks us who was first we just mention the fellow who stood highest. You see, in our eyes, a girl who goes to college is not a girl at all."

That is logical, and explains why men have been able to protest against every advance of women as an unwomanly proceeding. Every effort of women to simplify their dress is called unwomanly. Years ago, when the tailored gown appeared the caricaturists and the newspaper humorists made it a subject of coarse jest; ministers denounced it from the pulpit; dressmakers predicted for it the briefest popularity. Not until the Princess of Wales adopted it did the conservative admit that it was, after all, a convenient and sensible dress. In our own day witness the mobbing of women who attempted to introduce the so-called harem skirt, a perfectly modest, rational

garment, especially adapted for wind and storm, a garment infinitely more beautiful and more decorous than the hobble skirt. But the harem skirt was a bifurcation, hence masculine. A woman who ventured to wear it was no woman.

In England, owing to an entire absence of a sense of humor, they are able to carry the theory to the extreme limit. They are able to behold a procession of fifty thousand women bearing banners demanding the right to vote for members of Parliament—the women already have municipal suffrage—and yet assure themselves the *women* do not want to vote.

In England, when a man interrupts a political meeting, when he flings a stone at a cabinet minister, or smashes a window, or does anything else as a protest against what he considers a political injustice, he is arrested, but his punishment is mild. He is a political offender.

When identically the same offenses are committed by women they are arrested, beaten, kicked, thrown out of doors, knocked down, vilely insulted. They are punished, not as political offenders, but as brawlers, disturbers of the peace. With admirable logic, the English courts have ruled that women, having only limited political rights, cannot commit political offenses. When they attempt, by time-honored British methods, to extend their political rights, they cease to be women and become hooligans.

In January, 1907, the English suffragettes succeeded in defeating a Liberal candidate for Parliament in a Mid-Devon district. After the result of the polling had been declared, a party of Liberal men set on Mrs. Pankhurst and her companion, Mrs. Martel, the only suffrage women remaining in the town, pelted them with rotten eggs, beat and kicked them, and would probably have murdered Mrs. Pankhurst but for the tardy arrival of the police. She was unconscious on the ground when they arrived, and was so badly injured that she was unable to walk for some months. Not a man was arrested for this outrage.

Nor were any arrests made when, at this same election, a body of Liberals marched on the Conservative Club, smashed all the windows and kept the members besieged within all night. For calling at Mr. Asquith's house, and on being refused an interview, decorating his area railings with

"Votes for Women" banners, and using his doorstep to make a suffrage speech, four women were arrested and sent to prison for one month.

In this country we have, if not a keener sense of justice, at least a more highly developed sense of fun, and a quicker recognition of facts.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SUFFRAGE PARADE

On a spring day of the present year, the women in New York City held a suffrage parade. They marched, three thousand of them, to the music of half a dozen bands, down Fifth Avenue, from Fifty-ninth to Seventeenth Street. One hundred and fifty thousand New York people turned out to view the procession. Every window along the way held a cheering, laughing group.

There were some in the crowd who neither cheered nor laughed. In this class was a fashionably dressed young man accompanied by two young women. As they stood waiting for the procession, the young man repeatedly assured his companions that he did not believe those women were going to march. They would not dare do such an unwomanly thing. Then, when the first paraders appeared in sight, he said: "Oh, well, perhaps a few—"

Down the avenue swung the women, hundreds and hundreds of them, factory women, office workers, writers, artists, actresses, musicians, nurses, physicians, lawyers, housekeepers, all under their own banners.

The bewildered young man changed his predictions to abuse. He denounced those women. He was appalled—disgusted—Suddenly he turned from the sight to address his

women companions, only to find that he had been talking to himself; his women companions were two blocks down the avenue, in the procession!

Now that young man, being an American, was able to perceive that his two women friends were actually marching in the procession. He acknowledged that they were not with him. It is this ability on the part of American men to see plain facts which is the hope of the American woman. She will not have to clamor indefinitely for the right to be a human being instead of a sex. Soon the masculine half of the population will see for itself that women not only have a right to belong to the human race, but that they do belong, and that no laws, no policies of exclusion, no selfish discriminations can alter the fact.

Then will life become a simpler, saner process. Then will the tons of energy now devoted by women to necessary agitation be turned into useful, productive work. Then will the relation between men and women assume a beauty, a harmony it knows now only in exceptional cases. Then will marriage become a comradeship in the truest sense of the word. Just as a nation cannot exist half slave, half free, so the race, half human, half auxiliary, cannot develop to its highest point. Women are coming to a sharp realization of this fact. In greater and greater numbers they are leaving the sidewalk where they have stood spectators for so long, and are joining the procession of protest.

It is worthy of note that the New York suffrage parade was participated in by a Men's League of nearly two hundred members.

"It was a joke," said one newspaper.

"It was a prophecy," declared another.



A SOUTH SEA ISLAND BIRD OF PARADISE.



If Mrs. Dorr's article has interested you in the  
Woman movement and in Votes for Women,

**SUBSCRIBE NOW**  
TO  
**THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL**  
THE AMERICAN WEEKLY SUFFRAGE PAPER

If you are a suffragist you cannot afford to do  
without it. If you are not a suffragist, all the more  
you need it.



SUBSCRIPTION ORDER

**The Woman's Journal**

585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

SUBSCRIPTION		
DOMESTIC		
1 Year	-	\$1.00
6 Months	-	.50
4 Months on Trial	-	.25
Single Copies	-	.05
CANADIAN		
1 Year	-	\$1.50
FOREIGN		
1 Year	-	\$1.50

Date.....

Please enter.....subscription to **THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL**

for.....year from..... to.....

Name.....

Address.....

Paid \$..... Due \$.....



The average man is not tyrannical, he is only prejudiced. This is a contest of the women and men who are ruled by reason against the women and men who are ruled by custom.

I want to place this discussion on a basis of facts and facts only. For many years I have been collecting evidence on both sides from the fourteen states, colonies, provinces, or nations where they have complete woman suffrage and the thirty-six where they have partial suffrage. I have talked repeatedly with men and women from those states and have questioned students who have been born and reared in equal suffrage homes. I have tried to reach sane and just conclusions. It is my opinion that equal suffrage has disappointed two classes of people. The first are those ultra-enthusiastic suffragists who expected it to bring in the millenium. It has not caused any overwhelming moral revolution, but has aided moral evolution in a number of quiet but effective ways. Here is a fair-minded testimonial from a trustworthy man, a personal friend of mine, Dr. Calvin Brown, who was formerly Professor of English in the University of Colorado:—

“As to woman suffrage in Colorado, I am pleased with its results in every way, and have been ever since my residence here seven years ago. The influence of the woman's vote is good for politics and it is good for the woman herself. Of course, as you well know, Colorado has not been converted into a Paradise. It would be idle to expect great, sudden changes of a spectacular nature. Still it is good.”

The second class who are disappointed by the practical workings of women suffrage are the anti-suffragists. It has left their position pitifully weak. It has ruined all their favorite arguments, which are made up of prophecies in the potential mood telling the evils which *would* be produced if women suffrage *should* be adopted somewhere in the world. You can't talk with an anti-suffragist three minutes without hearing this phrase: “Women suffrage would do so and so.” I propose to tell you what it *has* done. I shall use the present perfect tense of the indicative mood, and base my arguments on historical facts. In one state there is one fact which half-way favors the anti-suffragists. Equal suffrage has been only half-way successful in conquering political corruption

in Colorado, where conditions are exceptional. But the majority of the women there have shown themselves more willing than the majority of the men to abolish corruption and have certainly diminished it, especially by checking those forms of graft which injure children and the home. This will be proved later. Counting this beneficial influence on politics as only half of a benefit, it can truly be said that woman suffrage has resulted in at least sixteen and a half benefits in the equal suffrage states, including Colorado. Let us first consider the least tangible benefits.

(1) Equal suffrage has benefited the cause of justice by abolishing taxation without representation. I won't waste time arguing this axiom. We should at least give to the tax-paying women of Baltimore the right to vote on questions which directly affect the rate of taxation. Even New Orleans has done that much. Let us deny that Baltimore is slow and let us deny it by our deeds.

(2) It has benefitted democracy by abolishing an aristocracy of sex. In the eastern states the government is a government of half the people by half the people, and too often for half the people. It violates the fundamental principle of democracy, which is this: What concerns all should be decided by all who have sense enough to decide. We ought to have an educational qualification which would enfranchise the capable and disfranchise the incapable of both sexes impartially.

(3) It has increased woman's self-respect by removing her from the class of mental and moral incompetents composed of children, idiots, lunatics, and criminals. Children are disfranchised because they have not yet acquired sense, idiots because they can never acquire sense, lunatics because they have lost what they had acquired, criminals because they put their sense to a bad use, and women — why? Echo answers — “Why?” It is not because they lack sense. I have taught both men and women in colleges and have had ample opportunities to compare their abilities, and I assure you that the man who thinks that woman's brain is inferior has a weak spot in his own. There is no reason for disfranchising women except custom. Custom says: “You are too pure and exalted and ethereal to drop a piece of paper in a glass box.” And many a woman replies: “I am content. If you will flatter us like

# WHY EQUAL SUFFRAGE HAS BEEN A SUCCESS

---

Part of an address delivered to the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore by Thaddeus P. Thomas, Ph. D., Professor of Economics and Sociology in the Woman's College of Baltimore, and printed by authority of the League.

---

Published by National American Woman Suffrage Association,  
505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

---

I address especially those who doubt the value of woman suffrage. I promise to deal honestly with you, falsifying nothing and exaggerating nothing. And I appeal to you to deal honestly with yourselves and unload prejudice from your scales before you weigh the evidence. Custom silently loads all our scales with prejudice and decides nine-tenths of our beliefs. I asked a Maryland girl twelve years old if women should vote, and she was shocked and said, "No! It is not woman's place to vote. I have never seen any women voting." She thought that was her own opinion, but it was only an echo of an echo, for she was imitating Mrs. Grundy and Mrs. Grundy was following a bad custom. I asked a graduate of the Woman's College, who lives in Wyoming (where they have had the good custom of equal suffrage for forty years), if she was not shocked when she saw her father and mother going to the polls together, and she replied that it seemed just as natural as to see them go to church together. She was shocked when she came to Maryland and found that in this state woman's opinions are not considered worth counting. And that is the whole question in a nutshell. Shall we count the opinions of women in regard to the laws which affect their pocket-books, their health, their homes and their children? Custom in Maryland says, "No! Praise them like angels and disfranchise them like idiots." Women are prisoners of prejudice as well as men. This is no contest of women against tyrannical men.

goddesses you may ignore us like lunatics." But there's one blessed consolation about people who volunteer to be lunatics — they are capable of recovering their reason with surprising suddenness. They are doing just that thing at the present time. They are being converted to woman suffrage by thousands. If this marvelous change in sentiment continues, victory is ours.

(6) It has improved the mind of woman by broadening her environment, stimulating her intellect and training her judgment. The minds of men and women differ only slightly by nature. Their chief differences are due to training. The training of men, for instance, tends to make the average man conceited, and the training of women tends to make the average woman narrow-minded. I don't want to be misunderstood: I said the average man and the average woman; I am talking about majorities, not minorities. The training of boys tends to develop conceit. It shows itself at the Jack Horner stage of life.

He stuck in his thumb  
And he pulled out a plum  
And he said, "What a great boy am I!"

The name of the plum is consciousness of future sovereignty. The growing boy learns that he belongs to the sovereign sex and that his mother and sisters belong to the subject sex, and while it doesn't diminish his love for them it does diminish his respect. He realizes that he is to be a civic unit while they will remain civic ciphers. He says to himself, in effect, "Mama is good but inexperienced. She knows practically nothing of the broad, real life that is found outside of the home, except what papa tells her. She knows enough to train my sisters but not enough to train me." In that hour the theory that "the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world" gives place in his mind to the theory that the hand that casts the ballot is the hand that rules the world. The young lord and master smiles complacently at the thought. It fosters his conceit and his domineering tendencies. It makes life harder for his sisters. As he grows to manhood he learns to render lip-homage to what he calls the "superior sex" in order to console them for occupying a really inferior position.

He says he places women on a pedestal, but he himself does not wish to occupy the pedestal along with those who are political know-nothings and do-nothings. He modestly prefers freedom, power, intellectual stimulus, and a chance to train his judgment by deciding questions too large for his wife to grapple with. The average man loves his wife and makes her his companion, but not his comrade. He regards her as the eldest child in his family, usually the one who is the greatest comfort to him, and in whom he takes the greatest pride, certainly the shrewdest of all children, the hardest to manage and the most expensive. He may be kind to her, but kindness is no substitute for justice. How I wish that men could realize the moral grandeur of a life where men and women are equal partners in the family and in the state! If men were not blinded by prejudice they would see that domination is morally bad even for the dominant sex.

And it is bad for the subject sex, for it tends to keep them narrow-minded. Development is conditioned by environment. Restrict women to child-like experiences and they will have child-like minds. Contract their mental horizon and they will learn to think that little things are large and great things small. The new city charter, the national income tax and international arbitration will seem trifling compared with fancy work, the latest novel, bridge whist, and spring bonnets. One man has confessed frankly that, while he loves his wife, most women bore him with the petty personalities of their conversation and their exaggeration of the importance of dress. But a wise American woman, referring to feminine follies, asks: "Who dares blame us for the childish curiosity which keeps us all a-shiver and a-shake along with a mob of other women that we may see a few yards of tulle whisked from church-door to carriage-steps? Who dares blame us if we are ever ready to run down a bit of gossip or chase after a startling costume? Critics say it is woman's way. I say in all fairness that it is because of our limited opportunities for development."

Here is a bit of evidence from a student in the Woman's College who has lived in Colorado since she was six years old. It shows the broadening influence of suffrage: —

"There was a contrast between two afternoon teas which I attended at the ages of fifteen and sixteen respectively. When I was fifteen I spent a few months in Ohio with relatives and while there attended the aforementioned tea. Being of an exceedingly impressionable age, the conversation of the afternoon thoroughly disgusted me, as it was one continual chatter about fashions, functions and foolishness, spiced with the usual gossip. It was a gathering of the best women in the town. The other tea which I attended about six months later in Colorado was similar to the former as far as external circumstances went. I was still of an impressionable age and it was at this time that my first fervent zeal for equal suffrage was noticeably felt. It is true that the conversation glided around and touched the fringes of the usual Ladies' Aid gossiping-bee, but the main drift was so very far above the trend of the other tea that it was an eye-opener in itself. Women do not gossip if they have bigger things to think about, and in the most natural way the conversation turned from a threatened discussion of Mrs. Jones' latest summer boarder to an interesting review of current events and matters of national concern and I was proud of the women of Colorado."

It was said of a certain woman in an eastern state that she was nice but limited. She was bounded on the north by her servants, on the east by her children, on the south by her ailments and on the west by her wardrobe. That cannot be said of the enfranchised woman. Her husband is pleased at having a broad-minded wife, and her sons respect her as they never could have respected a political nobody. One splendid result of equal suffrage is that it checks that mental alienation which otherwise develops between mothers and their boys. Another is the new comradeship that springs up between husband and wife when the husband ceases to be an omniscient political oracle and the wife ceases to be a Dora Copperfield. There has been a change in the men of the equal suffrage states which reminds one suffragist of the remark of an English scrub-woman who said: "My man is that good to me he's more like a friend than a 'usband."

(5) It has improved the character of woman by developing justice, tolerance, the co-operative virtues and socialization. These things can be learned only by practice in a community of one's equals. They cannot be learned in the home because

it is too small. The home is the dearest spot on earth, and its work is of fundamental importance; but it cannot socialize us. The average man has a better chance for socialization than the average woman because he is an active member of that great educational institution called the state, where each learns such lessons as he is capable of learning. Woman cannot learn these lessons in the home. The lessons learned there are holy lessons and make her sympathies deep and personal. But her sympathies need also to be broad and social. It is said that "women would long ago have worn off their eye-lids looking up to men if they had not restored the balance somewhat by looking down to their children." But what most women lack is the opportunity to look out on their equals and to learn to supplement the domestic virtues by the civic virtues which come only to those who have learned how to co-operate with others in a large common cause. It is true that thousands of exceptional women become highly socialized without the ballot, but in all I say I am speaking of the average woman, not the exceptional ones.

I know how dangerous a theme I am handling. If I mention woman's virtues, it is called flattery; if I mention her faults, it is called slander. I shall mention them both, for it is the chief purpose of my professional life to try to see social truth clearly and state it candidly. I shall now try to condense what seems to me the most important truth in regard to woman into one sentence so plain that any misrepresentation of it must be wilful. Woman's intellectual capacity equals man's and her moral capacity, on account of the instincts of motherhood, service, and sacrifice, is superior; but her opportunity for developing these capacities is inferior, and the result is a restricted development. What makes me indignant is the harsh injustice of sneering at the average woman's unsocialized views and then refusing her opportunity for socialization. Some men have declared that woman is unfit for the ballot because she is so unjust and intensely personal. These men forget that practice in deciding broad, impersonal questions develops justice. They forget that the way to learn to do things is to do them. They argue in this circle: "Her unfitness for the ballot necessitates her continuance in a narrow environment, which necessitates the continuance of her unfitness, which necessi-

tates her continuance in a narrow environment." Here is another circle just like the first one: "Woman's inability to play golf when she has never been on the links necessitates her absence from the links, which necessitates continued inability, which necessitates continued absence." It reminds me of the negro who was asked why he didn't seek religion. He said: "Boss, I ain't fit." "Well, why don't you get fit?" His reply was, "Ah, boss, I ain't fit to get fit." Woman's condition is low indeed if she is not fit to get fit for the ballot. The facts in equal suffrage states refute the accusation.

I have dwelt longer on these subjective benefits than I shall dwell on any of the others because the subjective benefits by themselves are enough to win the case for equal suffrage. But, by way of good measure, I shall mention its objective benefits also.

(6) It has increased civic patriotism, because children are taught by mothers and teachers who have developed civic conscience. It is said that one cause of our lack of civic patriotism is the excess of women teachers in the schools. The remedy is not to dismiss the teachers but to change their idiotic political classification.

(7) It has benefitted the home by giving the home-maker equal power with the bread-winner to elect the law-makers whose laws affect the home as well as business. Men have used the ballot to advance their business interests, women to protect the home. The women of the equal suffrage states have protected the health of the home by improved civic house-keeping, for which they have great aptitude. Some women are frightened at the word politics, but municipal politics is largely municipal house-keeping, and men are notoriously bad house-keepers, with an appalling indifference to dirt. Women, when once aroused, take a deep interest in such things as street-cleaning, garbage-removal, and sanitation. Bad sanitation means dead children. In our cemeteries there are thousands of graves of children slain by typhoid fever and other preventable diseases, and each little tombstone is a mute argument for giving the ballot to women, the natural defenders of childhood.

(8) It has benefitted public forms of charity and philanthropy whose interests politicians of the eastern states have

subordinated to business interests because business men have ballots. In the equal suffrage states the women have made proper provision for the mistreated inmates of charitable institutions who were suffering from man's neglect. Give us woman suffrage in Baltimore and not only will the disgraceful management of Bay View Almshouse be ended, but preventive and constructive forms of philanthropy will flourish more than ever before.

(9) It has improved the laws for the protection of children, because it has given mothers and teachers power in addition to influence. In Maryland and the other eastern states the child-labor laws and other laws for the protection of children are not so well enforced as in the equal suffrage states. Colorado is the most advanced state in the Union in its protection of children, because the various laws are not only good in themselves but are well enforced. This is because women have the power to punish those who disregard the law. Let me ask you never again to make the statement that influence is worth more than power. It is not only contrary to the facts but indicates careless thinking. The privilege of trying to persuade a politician is never worth as much as the power to command him.

(10) It has checked the growth of gambling and saloons, without abolishing either. I make no claim that law can by itself conquer immorality. It takes two things to do that — law and personal education. Either alone is only partly successful. What I do claim is that equal suffrage helps to check the spread of vice, though some eastern newspapers fail to record the fact. For instance the *Boston Post* published an interview with a distinguished citizen of Denver who said equal suffrage had ruined Denver. This distinguished citizen was a prize-fighter and murderer whose gambling establishment had been closed by woman suffrage, which he therefore pronounced a failure. It all depends on the point of view. The saloon power has also been checked. In a section where conditions are specially unfavorable to local option it has greatly increased on account of the votes of women.

(11) It has protected girls by checking the white slave traffic and raising the age of consent. It seems to me that the most infamous thing on this earth is an organization which

are afraid to nominate men of bad character for fear of the votes of women.

We now reach benefit number sixteen and a half. It has half way purified politics, especially in those departments which affect children and the home. This is strikingly illustrated by the re-election of Judge Lindsey because he was a protector of the children. He angered the telegraph companies by refusing to let little messenger boys be sent with telegrams to houses of ill-fame, he angered the liquor interests by punishing the keepers of wine-rooms who allowed children to enter, he angered some influential Democrats and Republicans by putting them in jail; and the bosses of both parties refused to re-nominate him. But he was nominated on an independent ticket, and the women rallied to his support with amazing earnestness, and, with the aid of the good men of Denver, they triumphantly re-elected him by giving him more votes than both the regular nominees combined, and thirteen thousand more than his nearest rival. Rely on it that women will defend children invariably if you give them the power to defend children. They may not be able to purify politics completely, but they will quickly sweep out of power those corrupt politicians who make money by selling the bodies and souls of children.

Because politics first invaded the realm of woman, woman has invaded the realm of politics. She has realized that her sphere includes everything necessary for the protection of children. The relation of woman to politics is illustrated by the story of a woman who lived on a high hill. She looked out of her window one day and saw a vicious goat which had climbed the hill and was attacking the children. She hurried out and rushed at that goat with such vigor that she knocked him head-over-heels and he didn't stop rolling till he reached the bottom of the hill. He was crippled but not killed. He got up and looked reproachfully at her and said "Ba-a." She shook her fist at him and said "Ba-a yourself, you began it!"

Woman suffrage has crippled several persistent enemies of the children. And this brings us to the most convincing argument of all. It is based on a famous dictum of Napoleon: "Find out what your enemy wants you to do and don't do it."

What do the corrupt politicians, the gamblers, the keepers of immoral resorts and the saloon-keepers want you to do about woman Suffrage? They want you to oppose it. In the equal suffrage states they are unanimous in cursing it. They desire that it shall never be victorious in another state. They helped to defeat it in Oregon. The machines of both parties in that state fought it. The Liquor Dealers' Association spent a quarter of a million dollars to defeat it. The anti-suffragists hired a Chicago man named F. E. Reed to conduct their campaign. He was a professional agent for brothel-keepers, a wicked man engaged in a home-destroying industry. But he cried, "God bless the home!" and argued that it would be ruined if women had a chance to vote — if they had a chance once a year to punish the enemies of the home and keep its friends in office. How absurd an argument! The enemies of the home say, "Down with woman suffrage!" What do you say? There's no doubt as to where the gamblers, libertines and liquor-sellers stand. Where do you stand — with them or against them? Those who think equal suffrage hurts the home are morally cross-eyed. A cross-eyed man once collided with another man on the street and became angry and said, "Why don't you look where you are going?" The other man smiled and said, "Why don't you go where you are looking?" The anti-suffragist is looking towards the protection of the home, but is not stepping that way. He is going in the direction which pleases the enemies of the home. O you mistaken anti-suffragists, why can't you see that woman suffrage does not mean the destruction of the home but the expansion of the home idea, so as to make our larger home, the community, more home-like, cleaner, healthier, a safer and more virtuous place in which to rear boys and girls. The fierce antagonism of the enemies of the home to woman suffrage ought to convince you of its solid benefits.

Now, finally, if you are convinced, let me urge you to speak your convictions. Defenceless children and mistreated women are calling to you to champion their cause. Whoever sees that a cause is just and is afraid to say so proves in that hour a traitor to conscience and humanity and sinks to the level of a slave.

exists for the purpose of capturing girls against their will and imprisoning them for life in houses of ill-fame. Listen to this strong appeal of a New York minister: —

“Why do not New York mothers arouse to the horrible seriousness of the crisis? They have an indefinite idea of what is going on; why do they not get a definite idea? I once said to a lady in this city: ‘Why do you not study into the case and do something?’ She commenced studying into the case, but gave it up after a little, saying: ‘It is too horrible, I can’t.’ If the situation is a little too horrible to study into, isn’t it a good deal too horrible for young souls to wade into and rot in? Mothers, why not move in the matter, and find out just what the perils are? Why not associate yourselves with other mothers, whose children are hanging between heaven and the pit, and come to the front and fling your concerted challenge to the official vultures that are growing fat on the bodies and souls of the boys and girls that have just as much natural right to be found at last in the company of the redeemed as you have.”

This is a noble appeal, but it sounds very much like asking a woman to help you when her right hand is tied behind her back. The right hand represents power, the left hand represents influence. The women of New York have only one, the women of Denver both. So the women of Denver give power to such men as Judge Lindsey and Judge Hudson, who, when they learned that a branch of this infamous organization had been established in Denver, pronounced upon some of its members the heaviest penalties of the law, while the rest fled from Denver or went into hiding. Again, in Colorado, Idaho and Utah the age of consent is eighteen years and in Wyoming twenty-one years, and the testimony is that male offenders are landed in jail. We all know that in Baltimore conditions are not what they would be if we had equal suffrage. How true is that saying of Frances Willard: “We need the mother heart in legislation.”

(12) It has benefitted working-women. One great curse of our civilization is the exploitation of their lives. In ancient Greece it was found profitable to work the quarry slaves to death quickly, for the supply was abundant. The same method is used unconsciously by many American employers,

whose high-speed machinery, combined with long hours of labor, is sapping the vitality of working girls and women and sending them in ever increasing numbers to the brothel or the graveyard. But in all four of the woman suffrage states there are eight hour laws and other special laws for the protection of women workers, and the laws are enforced. I wish that every one would read Florence Kelley’s excellent book, dealing with this and other such subjects in their relation to the ballot. It is entitled, *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation*. But the best book on equal suffrage is Higginson’s *Common Sense About Woman*. Common sense about any subject is none too common, but common sense about women is as rare as radium.

(13) It has benefitted the legal condition of mothers by giving both parents equal guardianship over their children. “It took influence fifty-five years to secure equal guardianship in Massachusetts, but the power of the ballot secured it in Colorado at the next meeting of the legislature after woman suffrage was granted.” There is no equal guardianship in Maryland.

(14) It has benefitted education in various ways, particularly by the vigorous enforcement of compulsory education laws and the provision of enough seats for all pupils. Colorado is unexcelled in these respects while Baltimore lacks school accommodations. Our ultra-masculine municipal governments cry, “Millions for docks, but not one cent more than is absolutely necessary for education!”

(15) It has benefitted the quality of the electorate by decreasing the proportion of ignorant, criminal and vicious voters. It has decreased the proportion of ignorant voters because it happens that the average man of this country is more illiterate than the average woman. Illiterate foreign immigrants are chiefly men, and moreover the girls and women of America are being educated more abundantly than the boys and men. Equal suffrage has decreased the proportion of criminal and vicious voters because women constitute about one-thirteenth of the convicts and two-thirds of the church members.

(16) It has benefitted the quality of officials because women vote more independently than men and put moral considerations above all others. Everywhere in the equal suffrage states from Wyoming to New Zealand the politicians

"They are slaves who fear to speak  
For the fallen and the weak.  
They are slaves who dare not choose  
Hatred, scoffing and abuse  
Rather than in silence shrink  
From the truth they needs must think.  
They are slaves who dare not be  
In the right with two or three!"

But it is no longer a question of two or three, for already three million women have the right of suffrage and millions more are rapidly approaching enfranchisement. It is not in your power to stop this world-wide movement, it is only in your power to decide whether you will join the procession now or postpone acting till it is disgracefully late and come creeping along at the rear after every wise, brave, progressive person has passed ahead of you. Why not break the bonds of custom today and become a leader instead of a laggard in the cause of truth and justice?



AN ANTI-SUFFRAGE MONOLOGUE

BY

MARIE JENNEY HOWE



National American Woman Suffrage Association  
505 Fifth Avenue New York City

## An Anti-Suffrage Monologue

By  
MARIE JENNEY HOWE

**P**LEASE do not think of me as old-fashioned. I pride myself on being a modern up-to-date woman. I believe in all kinds of broad-mindedness, only I do not believe in woman suffrage because to do that would be to deny my sex.

Woman suffrage is the reform against nature. Look at these ladies sitting on the platform. Observe their physical inability, their mental disability, their spiritual instability and general debility! Could they walk up to the ballot box, mark a ballot and drop it in? Obviously not. Let us grant for the sake of argument that they could mark a ballot. But could they drop it in? Ah, no. All nature is against it. The laws of man cry out against it. The voice of God cries out against it—and so do I.

Enfranchisement is what makes man man. Disfranchisement is what makes woman woman. If women were enfranchised every man would be just like every woman and every woman would be just like every man. There would be no difference between them. And don't you think this would rob life of just a little of its poetry and romance?

Man must remain man. Woman must remain woman. If man goes over and tries to be like woman, if woman goes over and tries to be like man, it will become so very confusing and so dif-



*This is a monologue*

ficult to explain to our children. Let us take a practical example. If a woman puts on a man's coat and trousers, takes a man's cane and hat and cigar and goes out on the street, what will happen to her? She will be arrested and thrown into jail. Then why not stay at home?

I know you begin to see how strongly I *feel* on this subject, but I have some reasons as well. These reasons are based on logic. Of course I am not logical. I am a creature of impulse, instinct and intuition,—and I glory in it. But I know that these reasons are based on logic because I have culled them from the men whom it is my privilege to know.

My first argument against suffrage is that the women would not use it if they had it. You couldn't drive them to the polls. My second argument is, if the women were enfranchised they would neglect their homes, desert their families and spend all their time at the polls. You may tell me that the polls are only open once a year. But I know women. They are creatures of habit. If you let them go to the polls once a year, they will hang round the polls all the rest of the time.

I have arranged these arguments in couplets. They go together in such a way that if you don't like one you can take the other. This is my second anti-suffrage couplet. If the women were enfranchised they would vote exactly as their husbands do and only double the existing vote. Do you like that argument? If not, take this one. If the women were enfranchised they would vote against their own husbands, thus creating dissension, family quarrels, and divorce.

My third anti-suffrage couplet is,—women are angels. Many men call me an angel and I have a strong instinct which tells me it is true; that is why

I am an anti, because "I want to be an angel and with the angels stand." And if you don't like that argument take this one. Women are depraved. They would introduce into politics a vicious element which would ruin our national life.

Fourth anti-suffrage couplet. Women cannot understand politics. Therefore there would be no use in giving women political power, because they would not know what to do with it. On the other hand, if the women were enfranchised, they would mount rapidly into power, take all the offices from all the men, and soon we would have women governors of all our states and dozens of women acting as President of the United States.

Fifth anti-suffrage couplet. Women cannot band together. They are incapable of organization. No two women can even be friends. Women are cats. On the other hand, if women were enfranchised, we would have all the women banded together on one side and all the men banded together on the other side, and there would follow a sex war which might end in bloody revolution.

Just one more of my little couplets. The ballot is greatly over-estimated. It has never done anything for anybody. Lots of men tell me this. And the corresponding argument is,—the ballot is what makes man man. It is what gives him all his dignity and all of his superiority to women. Therefore if we allow women to share this privilege, how could a woman look up to her own husband? Why, there would be nothing to look up to.

I have talked to many women suffragists and I find them very unreasonable. I say to them, here I am, convince me. I ask for proof. Then they proceed to to tell me of Australia and Colorado and other places where women have passed excellent laws to improve the condition of working

women and children. But I say, what of it? These are facts—I don't care about facts. I ask for proof.

Then they quote the eight million women of the United States who are now supporting themselves, and the twenty-five thousand married women in the City of New York who are self-supporting. But I say again, what of it? These are statistics. I don't believe in statistics. Facts and statistics are things which no truly womanly woman would ever use.

I wish to prove anti-suffrage in a womanly way. That is, by personal example. This is my method of persuasion. Once I saw a woman driving a horse, and the horse ran away with her. Isn't that just like a woman? Once I read in the newspapers about a woman whose house caught on fire, and she threw the children out of the window and carried the pillows downstairs. Does that show political acumen, or does it not? Besides, look at the hats that women wear! And have you ever known a successful woman governor of a state? Or have you ever known a really truly successful woman president of the United States? Well, if they could they would, wouldn't they? Then, if they haven't doesn't that show they couldn't? As for the militant suffragettes, they are all hyenas in petticoats. Now do you want to be a hyena and wear petticoats?

Now, I think I have proved anti-suffrage; and I have done it in a womanly way; that is, without stooping to the use of a single fact or argument or a single statistic.

I am the prophet of a new idea. No one has ever thought of it or heard of it before. I well remember when this great idea first came to me. It waked me in the middle of the night with a shock

that gave me a headache. This is it. Woman's place is in the home. Is it not beautiful as it is new, new as it is true? Take this idea away with you. You will find it very helpful in your daily lives. You may not grasp it just at first, but you will gradually grow into understanding of it.

I know the suffragists reply that all our activities have been taken out of the home. The baking, the washing, the weaving, the spinning are all long since taken out of the home. But I say, all the more reason that something should stay in the home. Let it be woman. Besides, think of the great modern invention, the telephone. That has been put into the home. Let woman stay at home and answer the telephone.

We antis have so much imagination! Sometimes it seems to us that we can hear the little babies in the slums crying to us. We can see the children in factories and mines reaching out their little hands to us, and the working women in the sweated industries, the underpaid, underfed women, reaching out their arms to us—all, all crying as with one voice, "Save us, save us, from Woman Suffrage." Well may they make this appeal to us, for who knows what woman suffrage might not do for such as these. It might even alter the conditions under which they live.

We antis do not believe that any conditions should be altered. We want everything to remain just as it is. All is for the best. Whatever is, is right. If misery is in the world, God has put it there, let it remain. If this misery presses harder on some women than others, it is because they need discipline. Now, I have always been comfortable and well cared for. But then I never needed discipline. Of course I am only a weak, ignorant woman. But there is one thing I do understand

from the ground up, and that is the divine intention toward woman. I *know* that the divine intention toward woman is, let her remain at home.

The great trouble with the suffragists is this; they interfere too much. They are always interfering. Let me take a practical example.

There is in the City of New York a Nurses' Settlement, where sixty trained nurses go forth to care for sick babies and give them pure milk. Last summer only two or three babies died in this slum district around the Nurses' Settlement, whereas formerly hundreds of babies have died there every summer. Now what are these women doing? Interfering, interfering with the death rate! And what is their motive in so doing? They seek notoriety. They want to be noticed. They are trying to show off. And if sixty women who merely believe in suffrage behave in this way, what may we expect when all women are enfranchised?

What ought these women to do with their lives? Each one ought to be devoting herself to the comfort of some man. You may say, they are not married. But I answer, let them try a little harder and they might find some kind of a man to devote themselves to. What does the Bible say on this subject? It says, "Seek and ye shall find." Besides, when I look around me at the men I feel that God never meant us women to be too particular.

Let me speak one word to my sister women who are here to-day. Women, we don't need to vote in order to get our own way. Don't misunderstand me. Of course I want you to get your own way. That's what we're here for. But do it indirectly. If you want a thing, tease. If that doesn't work, nag. If that doesn't do, cry—crying always brings them around. Get what you

want. Pound pillows. Make a scene. Make home a hell on earth, but do it in a womanly way. That is so much more dignified and refined than walking up to a ballot box and dropping in a piece of paper. Can't you see that?

Let us consider for a moment the effect of woman's enfranchisement on man. I think some one ought to consider the men. What makes husbands faithful and loving? The ballot, and the monopoly of that privilege. If women vote, what will become of men? They will all slink off drunk and disorderly. We antis understand men. If women were enfranchised, men would revert to their natural instincts such as regicide, matricide, patricide and race-suicide. Do you believe in race-suicide or do you not? Then, isn't it our duty to refrain from a thing that would lure men to destruction?

It comes down to this. Some one must wash the dishes. Now, would you expect man, man made in the image of God, to roll up his sleeves and wash the dishes? Why, it would be blasphemy. I know that I am but a rib and so I wash the dishes. Or I hire another rib to do it for me, which amounts to the same thing.

Let us consider the argument from the standpoint of religion. The Bible says, "Let the women keep silent in the churches." Paul says, "Let them keep their hats on for fear of the angels." My minister says, "Wives, obey your husbands." And by husband says that woman suffrage would rob the rose of its fragrance and the peach of its bloom. I think that is so sweet.

Besides did George Washington ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Did the Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Did Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Hezekiah,

Obadiah and Jeremiah ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Then that settles it.

I don't want to be misunderstood in my reference to woman's inability to vote. Of course she could get herself to the polls and lift a piece of paper. I don't doubt that. What I refer to is the pressure on the brain, the effect of this mental strain on woman's delicate nervous organization and on her highly wrought sensitive nature. Have you ever pictured to yourself Election Day with women voting? Can you imagine how women, having undergone this terrible ordeal, with their delicate systems all upset, will come out for the voting booths and be led away by policemen, and put into ambulances, while they are fainting and weeping, half laughing, half crying, and having fits upon the public highway? Don't you think that if a woman is going to have a fit, it is far better for her to have it in the privacy of her own home?

And how shall I picture to you the terrors of the day after election? Divorce and death will rage unchecked, crime and contagious disease will stalk unbridled through the land. Oh, friends, on this subject I feel—I feel, so strongly that I cannot think!

## Send for Catalog

### LITERATURE:

PAMPHLETS and LEAFLETS giving arguments and results, facts, figures, tabulations and statistics, at all prices, from 15c. per 100 to 10c. per copy. Reduced rates by the dozen, hundred and thousand.

BOOKS OF VALUE TO SUFFRAGISTS—A selected list comprising the best literature of the woman movement.

SUFFRAGE PLAYS, POEMS and SONGS, at prices to fit every purse.

RAINBOW FLIERS, at 10c. per hundred.

### SUPPLIES:

VOTES FOR WOMEN NOVELTIES of all kinds including buttons, bannerettes and badges, note paper, seals, stickers and rubber stamps, post cards, calendars and posters, dinner cards, favors and paper napkins, photographs of all the great leaders.

SUBSCRIBE FOR

## THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

The only suffrage paper of national scope  
Official Organ of the Association

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Editor

\$1.00 per year    Published weekly    5 cents per copy

Address

National American Woman  
Suffrage Association

505 FIFTH AVENUE,    NEW YORK CITY

Never find any justifiable  
reason women should  
should not vote.

Not make them any  
worse even because  
taken part in govt  
never find it would  
disqualify or make her  
in any way inferior.

Going to take something  
going this about and not  
solve my problem in a  
few years. Very few years  
that comes up for legislative  
not affect here.

Leaders in movements to  
clean up city affairs, for  
the city a few years in  
all states. You + I can't  
help it. Women who love  
home.

I want no better even  
to assist in enacting

MINNESOTA  
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
ESSEX BUILDING  
MINNEAPOLIS

*On hand*  
*for Mr. Pilsbry*

57

# AN ANTI- SUFFRAGE MONOLOGUE

BY  
MARIE JENNEY HOWE

---

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.  
Publishers for the  
National American Woman Suffrage Association  
505 Fifth Avenue New York City



## An Anti-Suffrage Monologue

By

MARIE JENNEY HOWE

**P**LEASE do not think of me as old-fashioned. I pride myself on being a modern up-to-date woman. I believe in all kinds of broad-mindedness, only I do not believe in woman suffrage because to do that would be to deny my sex.

Woman suffrage is the reform against nature. Look at these ladies sitting on the platform. Observe their physical inability, their mental disability, their spiritual instability and general debility! Could they walk up to the ballot box, mark a ballot and drop it in? Obviously not. Let us grant for the sake of argument that they could mark a ballot. But could they drop it in? Ah, no. All nature is against it. The laws of man cry out against it. The voice of God cries out against it—and so do I.

Enfranchisement is what makes man man. Disfranchisement is what makes woman woman. If women were enfranchised every man would be just like every woman and every woman would be just like every man. There would be no difference between them. And don't you think this would rob life of just a little of its poetry and romance?

Man must remain man. Woman must remain woman. If man goes over and tries to be like woman, if woman goes over and tries to be like man, it will become so very confusing and so difficult to explain to our children. Let us take a practical example. If a woman puts on a man's coat and trousers, takes a man's cane and hat and cigar and goes out on the street, what will happen to her? She will be arrested and thrown into jail. Then why not stay at home?

I know you begin to see how strongly I *feel* on this subject, but I have some reasons as well. These reasons are based on logic. Of course, I am not logical. I am a creature of impulse, instinct and intuition—and I glory in it. But I know that these reasons are based on logic because I have culled them from the men whom it is my privilege to know.

My first argument against suffrage is that the women would not use it if they had it. You couldn't drive them to the polls. My second argument is, if the women were enfranchised they would neglect their homes, desert their families and spend all their time at the polls. You may tell me that the polls are only open once a year. But I know women. They are creatures of habit. If you let them go to the polls once a year, they will hang round the polls all the rest of the time.

I have arranged these arguments in couplets. They go together in such a way that if you don't like one you can take the other. This is my second anti-suffrage couplet. If the women were enfranchised they would vote exactly as their husbands do and only double the existing vote. Do you like that argument? If not, take this one. If the women were enfranchised they would vote against their own husbands, thus creating dissension, family quarrels, and divorce.

My third anti-suffrage couplet is—women are angels. Many men call me an angel and I have a strong instinct which tells me it is true; that is why I am an anti, because "I want to be an angel and with the angels stand." And if you don't like that argument take this one. Women are depraved. They would introduce into politics a vicious element which would ruin our national life.

Fourth anti-suffrage couplet: women cannot understand politics. Therefore there would be no use in giving women political power, because they would not know what to do with it. On the other hand, if the women were enfranchised, they would mount rapidly into power, take all the offices from all the men, and soon we would have women governors of all our states and dozens of women acting as President of the United States.

Fifth anti-suffrage couplet: women cannot band together. They are incapable of organization. No two women can even be friends. Women are cats. On the other hand, if women were enfranchised, we would have all the women banded together on one side and all the men banded together on the other side, and there would follow a sex war which might end in bloody revolution.

Just one more of my little couplets: the ballot is greatly over-estimated. It has never done anything for anybody. Lots of men tell me this. And the corresponding argument is—the

ballot is what makes man man. It is what gives him all his dignity and all of his superiority to women. Therefore if we allow women to share this privilege, how could a woman look up to her own husband? Why, there would be nothing to look up to.

I have talked to many woman suffragists and I find them very unreasonable. I say to them: "Here I am, convince me." I ask for proof. Then they proceed to tell me of Australia and Colorado and other places where women have passed excellent laws to improve the condition of working women and children. But I say, "What of it?" These are facts. I don't care about facts. I ask for proof.

Then they quote the eight million women of the United States who are now supporting themselves, and the twenty-five thousand married women in the City of New York who are self-supporting. But I say again, what of it? These are statistics. I don't believe in statistics. Facts and statistics are things which no truly womanly woman would ever use.

I wish to prove anti-suffrage in a womanly way—that is, by personal example. This is my method of persuasion. Once I saw a woman driving a horse, and the horse ran away with her. Isn't that just like a woman? Once I read in the newspapers about a woman whose house caught on fire, and she threw the children out of the window and carried the pillows downstairs. Does that show political acumen, or does it not? Besides, look at the hats that women wear! And have you ever known a successful woman governor of a state? Or have you ever known a really truly successful woman President of the United States? Well, if they could they would, wouldn't they? Then, if they haven't, doesn't that show that couldn't? As for the militant suffragettes, they are all hyenas in petticoats. Now do you want to be a hyena and wear petticoats?

Now, I think I have proved anti-suffrage; and I have done it in a womanly way—that is, without stooping to the use of a single fact or argument or a single statistic.

I am the prophet of a new idea. No one has ever thought of it or heard of it before. I well remember when this great idea first came to me. It waked me in the middle of the night with a shock that gave me a headache. This is it: woman's place is in the home. Is it not beautiful as it is new, new as it is

true? Take this idea away with you. You will find it very helpful in your daily lives. You may not grasp it just at first, but you will gradually grow into understanding of it.

I know the suffragists reply that all our activities have been taken out of the home. The baking, the washing, the weaving, the spinning are all long since taken out of the home. But I say, all the more reason that something should stay in the home. Let it be woman. Besides, think of the great modern invention, the telephone. That has been put into the home. Let woman stay at home and answer the telephone.

We antis have so much imagination! Sometimes it seems to us that we can hear the little babies in the slums crying to us. We can see the children in factories and mines reaching out their little hands to us, and the working women in the sweated industries, the underpaid, underfed women, reaching out their arms to us—all, all crying as with one voice, "Save us, save us, from Woman Suffrage." Well may they make this appeal to us, for who knows what woman suffrage might not do for such as these. It might even alter the conditions under which they live.

We antis do not believe that any conditions should be altered. We want everything to remain just as it is. All is for the best. Whatever is, is right. If misery is in the world, God has put it there; let it remain. If this misery presses harder on some women than others, it is because they need discipline. Now, I have always been comfortable and well cared for. But then I never needed discipline. Of course I am only a weak, ignorant woman. But there is one thing I do understand from the ground up, and that is the divine intention toward woman. I *know* that the divine intention toward woman is, let her remain at home.

The great trouble with the suffragists is this; they interfere too much. They are always interfering. Let me take a practical example.

There is in the City of New York a Nurses' Settlement, where sixty trained nurses go forth to care for sick babies and give them pure milk. Last summer only two or three babies died in this slum district around the Nurses' Settlement, whereas formerly hundreds of babies have died there every summer. Now what are these women doing? Interfering, interfering with the death rate! And what is their motive in so doing?

They seek notoriety. They want to be noticed. They are trying to show off. And if sixty women who merely believe in suffrage behave in this way, what may we expect when all women are enfranchised?

What ought these women to do with their lives? Each one ought to be devoting herself to the comfort of some man. You may say, they are not married. But I answer, let them try a little harder and they might find some kind of a man to devote themselves to. What does the Bible say on this subject? It says, "Seek and ye shall find." Besides, when I look around me at the men; I feel that God never meant us women to be too particular.

Let me speak one word to my sister women who are here to-day. Women, we don't need to vote in order to get our own way. Don't misunderstand me. Of course I want you to get your own way. That's what we're here for. But do it indirectly. If you want a thing, tease. If that doesn't work, nag. If that doesn't do, cry—crying always brings them around. Get what you want. Pound pillows. Make a scene. Make home a hell on earth, but do it in a womanly way. That is so much more dignified and refined than walking up to a ballot box and dropping in a piece of paper. Can't you see that?

Let us consider for a moment the effect of woman's enfranchisement on man. I think some one ought to consider the men. What makes husbands faithful and loving? The ballot, and the monopoly of that privilege. If women vote, what will become of men? They will all slink off drunk and disorderly. We antis understand men. If women were enfranchised, men would revert to their natural instincts such as regicide, matricide, patricide and race-suicide. Do you believe in race-suicide or do you not? Then, isn't it our duty to refrain from a thing that would lure men to destruction?

It comes down to this. Some one must wash the dishes. Now, would you expect man, man made in the image of God, to roll up his sleeves and wash the dishes? Why it would be blasphemy. I know that I am but a rib and so I wash the dishes. Or I hire another rib to do it for me, which amounts to the same thing.

Let us consider the argument from the standpoint of religion. The Bible says, "Let the women keep silent in the churches." Paul says, "Let them keep their hats on for fear of the angels,"

My minister says, "Wives, obey your husbands." And my husband says that woman suffrage would rob the rose of its fragrance and the peach of its bloom. I think that is so sweet.

Besides did George Washington ever say, "votes for women?" No. Did the Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Did Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Hezekiah, Obadiah and Jeremiah ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Then that settles it.

I don't want to be misunderstood in my reference to woman's inability to vote. Of course she could get herself to the polls and lift a piece of paper. I don't doubt that. What I refer to is the pressure on the brain, the effect of this mental strain on woman's delicate nervous organization and on her highly wrought sensitive nature. Have you ever pictured to yourself Election Day with women voting? Can you imagine how women, having undergone this terrible ordeal, with their delicate systems all upset, will come out of the voting booths and be led away by policemen, and put into ambulances, while they are fainting and weeping, half laughing, half crying, and having fits upon the public highway? Don't you think that if a woman is going to have a fit, it is far better for her to have it in the privacy of her own home?

And how shall I picture to you the terrors of the day after election? Divorce and death will rage unchecked, crime and contagious disease will stalk unbridled through the land. Oh, friends, on this subject I feel—I feel, so strongly that I cannot think!

PARTIAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO  
THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY



The Civics Society  
CHICAGO

## PARTIAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY



SHAILER MATHEWS, D.D.  
Editor-in-Chief

FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER



DEAN W. T. SUMNER

MARGARET D. ROBINS



WM. W. WILLOUGHBY

LOUISE DE KOVEN BOWEN



MAUD P. BOYES  
(Left)

BERTHA REMBAUGH  
(Right)



FLORENCE KELLEY  
(Left)

BELLE SQUIRE  
(Right)



## The Birth of a New Idea

### A Story of Absorbing Interest

THE FAMOUS New York and Chicago Child Welfare Exhibits marked a new epoch, for never before had the close relation between the home and the city been brought so forcibly to the attention of thinking people.

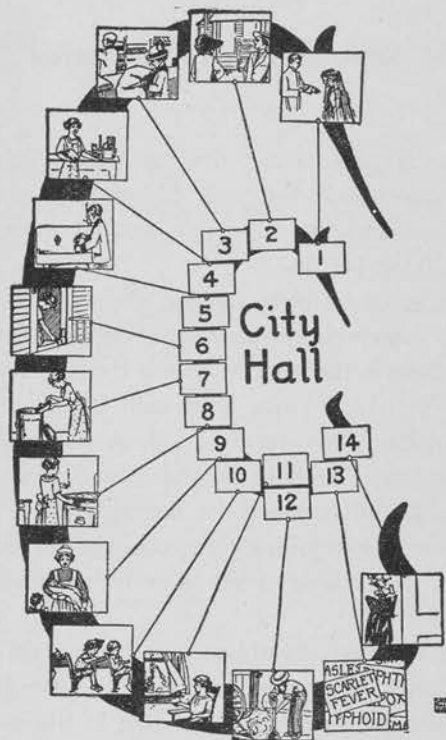
These remarkable exhibits opened the eyes of women particularly, to the wonderful opportunities before them, in helping to better conditions in the interest of the rising generation. Similar exhibits, which have since been held in many of the large cities of the country, have served to show the real condition of affairs. They turned the light on the dark places; they showed up the sore spots, and revealed the necessity for woman to take an active interest in everything that concerns the great civic and social questions of our time, if she is to do her whole duty to her home and children.

The idea that woman should restrict her activities to the four walls of her home was exploded forever and everywhere progressive, home-loving mothers realize that in justice to their own boys and girls they must take a hand in improving conditions in their own community and their own city, that have to do with influences that help to build up or that help to tear down—to safeguard our youth from threatening perils and sustain the things that tend to develop high ideals.

The following chart, prepared by the Woman's City Club of Chicago, which has been so active in the interest of child welfare, well illustrates the dependence of home and family on the politics of the City Hall.

*From the Cradle to the Grave*

## Our Lives are Controlled by the Politics of the City Hall



1. The Start. Permission to wed issued by Marriage License Bureau. 2. The Home. Permit to build issued by Building Department. 3. Furnishings. Production supervised by Health Department and Factory Inspector. 4. Marketing. Protected only by Bureau of Weights and Measures. 5. Plumbing and Water. Controlled by Commissioner of Public Works. 6. Pure Milk. Dependent on Milk Inspector and Health Department. 7. Disposal of Garbage. Left to Department of Streets and Alleys. 8. Gas and Light. Also controlled by Commissioner of Public Works. 9. Births. Must be registered with County Clerk. 10. Your Children's Education. Subject to the ignorance of the politicians who run the Board of Education. 11. The Smoke Nuisance. Subject to the activity of the Smoke Inspector. 12. Dirty Streets. Can be kept clean only through proper efforts of Department of Streets and Alleys. 13. Public Health. Spread of contagious diseases preventable by Health Department. 14. The Finish. Burial permit obtained at City Hall.

## Practical Information Greatly Needed

The leaders in the woman's club movement of the United States have turned their attention to these problems almost exclusively. The need was so great that at the last Bi-ennial Meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs a committee was appointed to outline a course of reading in civics and government and all those live social questions, a knowledge of which will enable progressive women to intelligently utilize their tremendous power for good. A careful investigation developed that there was absolutely nothing on these subjects written from the viewpoint of women, that it was all prepared for men, and mostly for lawyers at that. Now, the busiest person on earth, if she does her work well, is the wife and mother, who has to manage the thousand and one things in her home and look after the all-important work of the proper training of her children at the same time — the woman who needs to be well posted yet who has not time for extensive reading.

So, THE CIVICS SOCIETY was organized to supply the information needed, and the first thing done was to write a letter to *one-hundred of the most prominent women who are actually doing things to-day* for civic and social betterment. The object of this letter, in a nutshell, was to ask them how they thought the work should be done, and just what should be included to make it practical and helpful.

The idea met with an enthusiastic reception everywhere and the replies came thick and fast. What one did not think of another did. The following are just a few of the suggestions received:

**Mrs. Philip N. Moore**, Former President, General Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote: "We have recently added in the General Federation a committee for the study of Political Science and a discussion of this subject will be most advantageous."

**Miss Jane Addams** wrote: "I think your plan of preparing women for citizenship is excellent."

**Miss Anna E. Nicholes**, Supt. Woman's City Club, Chicago, wrote: "Present a course on the relation of the home woman to the city . . . what the Health Department means to the home . . . how the home can co-operate for cleanliness . . . that will arouse women to a sense of their responsibilities."

**Mrs. Elizabeth L. Watson**, Former President, California Woman Suffrage Association, wrote: "Information should be condensed and should cover child-culture and the care of the helpless and unfortunate."

**Miss M. Louise Armstrong**, Chairman, Committee on Education, Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote: "I approve of plan most heartily, but do not get far from your main idea—preparation of women for citizenship."

**Mrs. E. M. Shepard**, President, Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote: "Include the Peace Movement."

**Mrs. Frances Squire Potter**, Chairman, General Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote: "Treat the Public School and the laws of the states with respect to the rights and duties of women."

**Mrs. Howard C. Warren**, President, New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote: "What women especially need to know is how to hold Budget Exhibits showing where the money comes from and how it is spent for Public Education, Public Recreation, Public Health. They should also understand housing conditions, city planning, etc. I have been a suffragist for years, but my experience is that it is more important for women to be able to advise the men how to vote wisely than to exercise the franchise themselves, before they are ready to do so intelligently."

**Mrs. George W. Herron**, District Chairman, California State Federation of Women's Clubs, Los Angeles, Cal., wrote: "Make it as 'meaty' as possible. Women are busy and want practical information that can be applied to to-day's problems. I have been compelled to do so much unnecessary reading myself to acquire the desired information that perhaps I feel too keenly on the subject."

**The Child Welfare League of America** wrote: "Women almost instinctively take the right side of moral questions but what they should possess is information touching the well-spring of civic action to achieve 'Better things for our boys and girls.' Issue it in a time-saving form and at a price within the easy reach of women everywhere."

## The Need Supplied

Steps were immediately taken to put these plans and ideas into effect. Dr. Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School, The University of Chicago, and President Western Economic Society, a man of broad conceptions of the public needs, was appointed Editor-in-Chief, and over Forty experts were engaged as instructors. After months of work the result is an original Course of Reading filled with live, necessary information, prepared by contributors who are recognized authorities in their chosen departments.

The aim has been not only to furnish scientifically sound instruction on present conditions but *to show how to organize* and *what to do* to secure needed reforms.

On the following pages will be found a complete outline of the Course decided upon, with the names of the contributors to the different sections.

## Woman and the Larger Citizenship

THREE SECTIONS

### 1. City Housekeeping

*I*F the city government is responsible to the city for the same work which is relegated to women in the home, it is poor policy to give men in a larger sphere what they profess they are not fitted for on a smaller scale. Questions pertaining to health, cleanliness and education; inspection of foods, milk and water; plans for safety from the spread of disease and vice; efforts in the interests of public recreation, are as naturally a part of woman's work for the city as for the home, and when women have a part in the administration of the city, the health and comfort of the individuals of a community will be better conserved.

The management of a city is, after all, a sort of housekeeping on a large scale. Wherever a community lives together, whether it be as small as a family or as large as a metropolis, there has to be system. Especially is this true of a city. Money has to be collected and appropriated, various activities like keeping order have to be placed in proper departments; the poor and the sick and the children have to be cared for; means of recreation have to be provided. These are things which a city does on a large scale which are done in a home on a small scale.

Citizenship is thus nothing so very different from housekeeping, only it is hard for men to feel the truth of such a statement. When women come to realize the simplicity of what politics really is and that honesty, common sense, and patience are the chief qualities which good citizenship like good housekeeping demands, they will be the better able to help a community to regulate its affairs sensibly and effectively. For there is no better manager than a good mother.

### SUBJECTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

- WHY WOMEN ARE CONCERNED WITH THE LARGER CITIZENSHIP  
By **Miss Jane Addams, A.B., A.M., LL.D.**, Hull House, Chicago
- HOW WOMEN CAN HELP THE ADMINISTRATION OF A CITY  
By **Miss Anna E. Nicholes**, Former Superintendent, Woman's City Club, Member, Civil Service Commission, Chicago.
- THE IDEAL ADMINISTRATION OF A CITY  
By **Mrs. Imogen B. Oakley**, Director, The Civic Club, Philadelphia; and **Mrs. L. L. Blankenburg**, Vice President, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Philadelphia.
- THE PUBLIC HEALTH  
By **S. M. Gunn**, Assistant Professor Biology and Health, Mass. Institute of Technology; Editor, "American Journal of Health"; Secretary, American Public Health Association.
- BUDGET MAKING—HOW REVENUES ARE DERIVED AND HOW THEY SHOULD BE EXPENDED  
By **Mrs. Howard C. Warren**, President, New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs, Princeton, N. J.



## 2. The Prevention of Social Waste

*WHAT should be, and is being done to counteract the negative factors in our modern life—the things that tend to nullify the mother's best efforts in the home—to tear down and destroy her good work.*

Our social order is not yet able to prevent the waste of much of its most valuable human material. There are thousands of children who ought to grow into strong men and women who, because of the surroundings in which they are placed or because of their lack of opportunity, will be worse than useless for their day and generation. There are thousands of grown men and women who yearly become criminals or insane from causes which are entirely preventable. It is a part of good citizenship to see to it that these losses to society are reduced to the minimum. Poverty has yet to be prevented by better adjustments in the individual world and, this too, farsighted citizens are already undertaking.

The part which women are to play in all these efforts to preserve the splendid material coming into the nation from childhood and immigration, grows ever more important. They are to be partners in the larger economy of the national housekeeping. To realize how preventable this waste is, as well as to understand the agencies by which it can be prevented, are among the most pressing duties of that larger citizenship into which women are now entering.

### SUBJECTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

#### WHAT IS MEANT BY SOCIAL WASTE

By **Shailer Mathews, D.D.**, Editor

#### CHILD LABOR

By **Owen R. Lovejoy, A.B., A.M.**, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York

#### JUVENILE PROTECTION

By **Mrs. Louise de Koven Bowen**, President, Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago

#### OBLIGATION OF CITY TO ITS YOUTH

By **Allen Hoben**, The University of Chicago, Former Field Secretary, Juvenile Protective Association

#### THE PREVENTION OF VICE

By **The Very Rev. Dean Walter T. Sumner**, Chairman, Chicago Municipal Vice Commission

#### SAFEGUARDING THE WOMAN IMMIGRANT

By **Miss Frances A. Kellor, LL.B.**, Chief Investigator, Bureau of Industries and Immigration, State of New York; Director, North American Civic League for Immigrants, New York

#### STATE CARE OF THE UNFORTUNATE

By **Thomas J. Riley**, General Secretary, Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.

#### PEACE AND ARBITRATION

By **Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead**, Author and Lecturer, Boston, Mass.

## 3. The Training of Future Citizens

*WHAT should be, and is being done, in the light of modern knowledge, to support the home's endeavors—to help the mother to train her boys and girls according to her ideals and her husband's ambitions.*

As the nineteenth century, the Age of Invention, was characterized by man's effort to substitute mechanical devices for the service of man, so the twentieth century, already known as the Children's Age emphasizes the saving of human energy. We are using the best genius of the country in providing for the highest development of the child. It is gratifying indeed, to note the efforts put forth in our day, to protect the weak and to reclaim the erring, but vastly more important are the constructive measures we are putting into operation, to rear each child aright.

Our magnificent school system, the growing movement for playgrounds, the study of Eugenics, are bringing a new and wider significance into the effort for individual progress and for community uplift. And in these fields, woman's duty is clear,—she must assume the leadership. The Child Welfare Exhibits have once and for all demonstrated that, in order to do her whole duty by her own children, the mother must take an interest in everything that concerns the civic and social welfare of her community. This requires authoritative information such as this Section in particular, is designed to furnish.

To "rescue the fallen" has been the cry through the ages, but the new slogan of "train for the future," should inspire us to build so well that the probability of falling will be removed.

### SUBJECTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

#### THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

By **Mrs. Frances Squire Potter, A.B., A.M.**, Chairman, Literature Committee, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Chicago

#### PUBLIC RECREATION

By **Miss Charlotte Rumbold**, Secretary, Public Recreation Commission, Park Department, St. Louis, Mo.

#### PRINCIPLES OF EUGENICS

By **Mrs. Anna E. Blount, M.D.**, Chicago

#### FACTORY INSPECTION

By **Mrs. Florence Kelley**, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York

#### TRADE-UNIONISM FOR WOMEN

By **Mrs. Raymond Robins**, President, The National Women's Trade Union League of America, Chicago

#### LEGAL AID SOCIETIES

By **Mrs. William E. Boyes**, Superintendent, Legal Aid Society, Chicago.

## Woman and the Law

### ONE SECTION

*EVEN as every father should carry insurance for the protection of his family, even so every mother owes it to her children to understand the laws under which she lives, which have a most important bearing on her own happiness and her children's success.*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the legal position of women generally, was one of patient submission. Among the better class of people this was not realized, but where poverty, greed, or brutishness existed, women have been most painfully conscious of their position before the law.

The proportion of the women of the country who are engaged in gainful occupations has increased enormously in the last decade. Late statistics report over seven million women in the industrial world. More girls are trained to some possible means of livelihood than ever before. The woman who settled down to a dependent existence, looking to some male relative for whole or partial support, is a creature of the past.

While we have gloried in the independence of the American woman, we have not been sufficiently alert to provide for her protection in the world of industry, and undue advantage has been taken of her helplessness. Since the influence of women's organizations has been brought to bear, some legislation favorable to women workers has been enacted.

It is impossible for women to appreciate the reluctance of our state legislatures to change the laws governing women. In the majority of our states today, the mother is not a legal parent, and the father has complete authority over the children. What these laws are, particularly those relating to personal and property rights, the guardianship of children, etc., are of the greatest importance to every woman.

### SUBJECTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

#### THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

By **William W. Willoughby, A.B., Ph.D.**, Professor of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

#### THE LEGAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

By **Mrs. Jennie L. Wilson, LL.B.**, Author of "The Legal and Political Status of Women in the United States," Cedar Rapids, Iowa

#### LAWS AFFECTING WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

By **Mrs. John B. Andrews**, Assistant Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation, New York

#### HOW TO AID LEGISLATION

By **Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright**, President, Colorado Equal Suffrage Association, Former Member of Colorado Legislature, Denver

#### THE NO VOTE, NO TAX MOVEMENT

By **Miss Belle Squire**, President, "No Vote, No Tax" League. Author "The Woman Movement in America," Chicago

## Woman Suffrage

### ONE SECTION

*EVERY intelligent woman wants to be well posted on this subject, of course, regardless of whether she is enthusiastically in favor of Suffrage for women or radically opposed to it.*

The women of twenty-three nationalities are organized to promote woman suffrage the world over. The United States, with its boast of leading the world in progress, must yield to several other countries in the matter of the political status of women. There are many women in the Orient who have greater personal freedom than is permitted to thousands of women under our Western civilization.

The woman suffrage movement has assumed such proportions and has so large a place in our own national politics that no woman can afford to be uninformed in regard to its history and development. It is surprising to those not versed in the subject to find how great a hold this interest secured prior to the civil war. On the other hand, we learn with amazement of the long years of struggle on the part of women in the United States to gain legal recognition as property owners and as parents, and we wonder at the varying laws in the various states, many of which are absurdly unjust to women.

Woman Suffrage is a live question of growing importance, pregnant with large possibilities for good or ill, hence it is every woman's duty to her sex to know the facts concerning it. This is conceded to be the best hand-book of information on every phase of Suffrage ever published.

### SUBJECTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

#### A WORLD REVIEW OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By **Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt**, President, The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, New York

#### MANHOOD SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

By **A. B. Wolfe, A.B., Ph.D.**, Professor of Economics and Sociology, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

By **Miss Mary Gray Peck, A.M.**, Former Sec., National American Woman Suffrage Association, Geneva, New York

#### THE POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMAN IN THE UNITED STATES

By **Miss Bertha Rembaugh**, Author "The Political Status of Women," New York.

#### THE ORGANIZED OPPOSITION—THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

By **Mrs. Katherine Lent Stevenson**, President, Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

#### FACTS THAT ALL SHOULD KNOW

Tables and statistics covering every phase of suffrage and woman's work

By **Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson**, Former Corresponding Secretary, Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Chicago

## The Woman Citizen and the Home

### ONE SECTION

**W**OMEN do not always realize that having a part in government will make woman more truly the queen of the home than she has ever been. It will place in her hands a scepter of power by which she can have a share in the control of matters pertaining to the comfort of the home, and the protection of childhood and youth. She will continue her interest in all kinds of public charity, but with additional courage and power, because she can vote for the same reforms for which she is now working with no political influence.

In a single election, the women of a community can establish a reform for which they may have been pleading in vain for many years.

The organization of women's clubs has contributed remarkably to the wonderful progress of women during this period. Along with the growth and development of these organizations came the spirit of emancipation that could not be quenched. The result was a startling change in the ideas and ideals of our nation in regard to the education of women. With the education of women came higher ideals for the conduct of the home and the demand for instruction on Household Management and Child Welfare. The modern woman conducts her home in a systematic manner just as her husband conducts his office. Both should apply time-saving, scientific methods and these can only be learned by investigation.

### SUBJECTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

#### THE WOMAN CITIZEN A WOMAN FIRST OF ALL

By **Miss Margaret J. Evans, A. B., A. M., L.H.D.**, Formerly Dean of Women, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.

#### WOMEN'S CLUBS. TRAINING WOMEN FOR THE LARGER CITIZENSHIP

By **Mrs. Philip N. Moore**, Former President, General Federation of Women's Clubs, St. Louis

#### HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT

By **Marion Talbot, A.M., LL.D.**, Professor of Household Administration, The University of Chicago

#### CHILD WELFARE AND THE HOME

By **Wm. A. McKeever**, Professor of Child Welfare, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas

## Practical Politics

### THREE SECTIONS

By **Ford H. MacGregor, B. A.**

Instructor in Political Science and Director of the Municipal Reference Bureau, The University of Wisconsin;  
Author of "City Government by Commission."

### PART I—LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

### PART II—STATE AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

**T**HIS department furnishes the practical information necessary for the busy woman to enable her intelligently to advise her husband and sons how best to vote—in order to promote the measures she favors in the interest of her home and children; or, where they have suffrage for women, to vote understandingly herself. The moral intelligence with which women have always been credited is going to meet a supreme test. The proof of women's fitness to help govern must shortly be established. Are women going to measure up to such a degree of efficiency as to secure further extension of the franchise? Much depends upon the information and intelligence displayed by women in the immediate future.

The three sections of the Course on Practical Politics furnish a very school of methods for one who is a novice in matters of government. They are prepared with the expectation that they will meet the needs of those who want to take an active part in matters of civic interest, as well as for the busy housewife who wants to be posted but whose time is limited.

# Political Science

THREE SECTIONS

By Jesse Macy, M.A., LL.D.

Professor of Political Science, Iowa College; Author of several standard works.

*HERE is the "key" that will unlock the wealth of golden treasure in the other nine sections of the Course—making clear the "why and wherefore" of many things otherwise hard to understand—the foundation knowledge, in fact, essential for Twentieth Century women.*

Probably no demand for any one line of systematic reading has ever equaled the present urgent call for clear, definite, concise information on the subject of Political Science. As it is here presented the discussion covers both the abstract and concrete views—both the theory and practice of politics. It treats in a practical way of the development of fundamental laws and of the relation of the individual citizen to the laws and to the government.

Dr. Macy uses copious notes, and the many references to the other writers are printed in full, eliminating the necessity for constant reference to other works.

An extensive bibliography is added for the benefit of those who desire to extend their research.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, Suffrage Associations and women's organizations everywhere are recommending "the study of Political Science as a preparation for citizenship." The thoughtful citizen will find here a most satisfactory exposition of this—one of the chief topics of present-day interest.

# The Culmination of the Idea

is the publication in one work at a modest price of all of these departments of necessary information. They cover every phase of our daily life, our future and even the posterity of our children. As the woman of the future is destined to take an active part in public affairs as an actual citizen, this great work has been appropriately christened

## The Woman Citizen's Library

**The Woman Citizen's Library** comprises Twelve Hand-some Volumes, size 5 by 7½ inches, containing over 3000 pages, Fully Illustrated in colors. It is printed on fine light paper, making a small, compact volume, very convenient for reading and for use in club work. The volumes are bound in Full Leather with flexible covers, stamped with gold. Title pages are also printed in colors on Cameo Plate paper.

**Questions for Review**—In connection with each department are many questions and suggestions as guides for home reading and club work, designed to call particular attention to the most important subjects.

**Bibliography**—Each volume also contains a carefully selected Bibliography of the special works published that can be recommended to those who wish to read even more extensively.

**Index**—In addition to the "Table of Contents" published in each volume the work contains a complete Topical Index so arranged that it will be possible to instantly find information on any subject.

**Illustrations**—The Volumes are fully and beautifully illustrated with subjects that supplement the text. The illustrations are printed in colors, making this a real work of art.

## Special Privileges Furnished Free

Subscribers to the Course are also entitled for one year to—

**Consulting Service**—Free information on any subject relating to the Course. This service is in charge of a corps of experts who will promptly supply facts and up-to-date information as needed. The advantage of this service to women engaged in club or public work cannot be estimated.

**Buyer's Service**—The privilege of securing any work published at best possible wholesale price. As publishers we are entitled to trade discounts ranging from 20 per cent to 40 per cent, thus effecting a large saving to subscribers.

The Woman Citizens' Library is authoritative, reliable and up-to-date. Its value has been proven by the fact that, after a most careful investigation, it has been adopted by the Extension Department of The University of Wisconsin as a textbook for classes in Citizenship and Government to be organized in clubs throughout that state.

Are you interested in securing better government, better home and city conditions, and everything pertaining to the larger citizenship? If so, you need **The Woman Citizen's Library**, endorsed by leading women everywhere. Order now. Do it today.

## The Civics Society

171-175 N. State Street

Chicago

## What Is Said of It

"It gives me great pleasure to recommend THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY. This Library contains in a single work information that we have all been laboriously and individually collecting for our study. It is worth everything to us to have this material in small compass to recommend to women who want to know."

MISS ZONA GALE,  
Chairman, Civic Department, General Federation of Women's Clubs.

"I shall be glad to say that as chairman of this Committee I recommend this Course, and I shall feel it unnecessary to provide any further, or different Course. I feel that clubs will be able to get from your volumes all that is needed for an intelligent study of these subjects."

MISS HELEN VARICK BOSWELL,  
Chairman, Political Science Committee, General Federation of Women's Clubs, New York.

"The lack of practical information has often retarded our progress in the past . . . It will be appreciated by all women who are interested in great civic questions and are active along progressive lines."

MRS. GRACE WILBUR TROUT,  
President, Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Chicago.

"I have thought many times that I should like to tell you of what great assistance THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY has been to me individually. . . . I sincerely hope the club women of the country are recognizing what this Library means to them."

MRS. PHILIP N. MOORE,  
Former President, Missouri State Federation of Women's Clubs, St. Louis, Mo.

"I believe THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY fills a much needed want in the literature of the day, and I shall be very glad indeed to advocate the purchase of the volumes to be used in the clubs of the State."

MRS. FRANK J. SHULER,  
President, New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, Buffalo, New York.

"Your course of home reading is very valuable and comprehensive. There is certainly need for instruction along these lines."

MRS. GEORGE ZIMMERMAN,  
Chairman, Committee on Civics, Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs, Fremont, Ohio.

"It is beyond what I had expected. It is excellent, and I shall take great pleasure in speaking of it everywhere possible."

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY,  
President, New York Equal Suffrage League, Ex-President, New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, New York.

"Your plan for a course of home reading seems excellent."

MRS. LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS,  
President, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evanston, Ill.

"THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY has been received and to say it is appreciated but mildly expresses it."

MRS. G. W. HERRON,  
District Chairman, California Federation of Women's Clubs, Los Angeles, Calif.

"It is worthy of the highest praise and widest circulation."

MISS ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES,  
President, Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association, Providence, Rhode Island.

## What Is Said of It

"It is unquestionably the most comprehensive presentation of 'The Larger Citizenship' ever published, and is equally desirable for home reading or for class study."

MRS. DRAPER SMITH,  
President, Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association, Omaha, Neb.

"The information is exactly what is needed, and it is condensed and put into such form as may be easily found without waste of time and energy. I am sure it will come into universal use, because there is nothing else that so completely fills the bill."

MISS HELEN M. WINSLOW,  
Editor of Official Directory of Women's Clubs in America, Boston, Mass.

"I think the work is excellent and that it is timely. This series of studies is what women are looking for in all parts of the country, and surely it will be welcome."

MRS. FRANCES D. EVERETT,  
Director, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Highland Park, Illinois.

"I consider THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY of the very highest value and realize that nowhere else can this information be found in one work."

MRS. A. S. QUACKENBUSH,  
Chairman, Education Committee, Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, Portage, Wis.

"The volumes are a mine of information. I hope our club women will appreciate the opportunity and buy the Library. The Woman Suffrage volume is very complete and accurate."

MRS. L. L. BLANKENBURG,  
Vice-President, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Philadelphia.

"I am greatly pleased with THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY and appreciate the fact that it is a work which will not only be interesting but truly helpful to the coming woman in this country."

MISS ALMERE L. SCOTT,  
Instructor, The University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

"I was an early subscriber and am more than pleased with the work which has been put out. It exceeds my anticipations. It should be in the hands of women everywhere."

MRS. ELLA S. STEWART,  
Former President, Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Chicago.

"I regard it as one of the most timely productions of the year. A work covering so thoroughly such an unusual and essential field will meet the large success which it merits."

H. W. HURT,  
President, Lombard College, Galesburg, Illinois.

"I expected much from the work knowing the contributors, but I have received more than was expected."

MRS. BELLE BROTHERTON,  
President, Detroit Equal Suffrage Club, Detroit, Michigan.

"THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY received and I am very much pleased with it. In size, type and contents it is just the thing that we women need for daily study."

MRS. EUSTACE H. BROWN,  
Ex-President, Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs, Olathe, Kans.

"For those who are interested in the solution of Civic problems I know of no work that will repay a careful study better than THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY. I commend it most heartily."

REV. JOHN WALLACE COOPER,  
Davenport, Iowa.

## PARTIAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY



JANE ADDAMS

JESSE MACY



MARGARET J. EVANS

ALBERT B. WOLFE



GRACE C. STRACHAN  
(Copyright by Anna F. Lewis)

OWEN R. LOVEJOY



MARY GREY PECK  
(Left)

ANNA E. BLOUNT  
(Right)



FRANCES A. KELLOR  
(Left)

LUCIA AMES MEAD  
(Right)



# PARTIAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY



FORD H. MACGREGOR

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

---



ELLA BUCHANAN  
(Left)

LUCINA G. IRISH  
Associate Editor

---



KATHERINE L. STEVENSON  
(Left)

MRS. PHILIP N. MOORE  
(Right)

---



ANNA E. NICHOLÈS  
(Left)

MARION TALBOT  
(Right)

---



OVER  
3000  
PAGES

OVER FORTY  
EXPERT WRITERS

---



CUTS  
IN  
COLORS

**SHALL WOMEN VOTE?**

By W. I. THOMAS

*The*  
**American**  
**MAGAZINE**



Reprinted by courtesy of  
the Editor



# Votes for Women

By W. I. THOMAS

Author of "Eugenics, the Science of Breeding Men," etc.

Illustrated with Portraits

**T**HERE is a well known bit of folk-song, running,

Mother dear, may I go swim?  
Yes, my darling daughter,  
Go hang your clothes on a hickory limb,  
But don't go near the water.

I do not know whether this was written by a primitive suffragette, but certainly the girl in the song and the modern woman have now reached precisely the same point in their development. They feel prepared for activity and eager to enter it, and they are encouraged to make every preparation for it, but when it comes to making the plunge there are reservations which run into several maxims of common sense and even of the common law.

For a number of years our common school system has been giving girls the same training as boys. Girls form about 56 per cent. of the pupils enrolled in all our secondary schools, and more girls than boys graduate from our high schools. All but three of our state Universities now admit women on equal terms with men. In our Colleges and Universities the men still greatly outnumber the women, because more of them are looking ahead to that larger life which is still inhospitable to women, but at least two of our Universities have found it necessary to set a limit to the admission of women. Northwestern University limits the number



Miss Jane Addams, Head of Hull House, Chicago. Miss Addams speaks frequently in favor of suffrage and has been active in the recent efforts to obtain it in Illinois. She feels keenly that it is needed to guard the rights of women and children, particularly in industry

of women students to the capacity of its dormitories, and Stanford University has arbitrarily limited the number to five hundred. There was formerly a prediction that the women in colleges would be rendered masculine by the men, but fear is now expressed that the men will be feminized by the women. The average class standing of women is also slightly better than that of men, perhaps because they are more conscientious and go in less for sport, and I believe that few teachers would now say that women with reasonable preparation show less facility than men in obtaining the doctorate.

Now if intelligence and civic fitness were proportionate to amount of schooling it would be a good plan to turn the government over to the women, for there have been more girls than boys in our schools for years, and the hordes of ignorant immigrants are for the most part men. But civic fitness is not, of course, directly proportionate to schooling, because life is more than the schools. Still there are situations in which "despair itself is mild," and when intelligent and thoughtful women who have gone through all the formal steps in the preparation for life are treated like the girl in the folk-song, when they view our horribly bad social conditions, our dishonest and incompetent political arrangements, and the exploitation of the working woman, without the power of direct participation, it is not



Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, President of the Equal Suffrage League of Self-Supporting Women; daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Mrs. Blatch, who lived in England in her early life, was first introduced to the suffrage movement in this country by her mother, at the National Suffrage Association of 1890. She is a thoroughly educated woman and an excellent speaker—one of the most convincing women in the active work. Mrs. Blatch particularly advocates municipal suffrage



Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, is a Methodist minister, and an able speaker

surprising that they feel outraged. Some of them, indeed, feel their degradation so keenly that they can with difficulty speak of it, and it is fortunate that they do not imitate the course which is said to be adopted by the orang-utan in Borneo. These apes, the natives say, are really men who went to live in the forest, and abstain from speaking in order to avoid paying taxes and meeting other human responsibilities.

## The Stock Objections

As to the stock objections to the suffrage of women, I do not wish here to give them any extensive attention. They are mainly of a sentimental and trivial nature, and they have all been disposed of by the women themselves, and by the experience of the countries where women vote. Actually a better set of arguments could be put up to-day for the reënslavement of the blacks than for the continued disfranchisement of women. The black was positively advanced in his mental and social conditions under slavery, as the child is advanced by the oversight of its parents, and he fell back after his emancipation. We

were perfectly right in our view that he would never reach his full manhood while a slave, though many of us also realize that we committed an error in conferring on him the full rights of manhood before he had passed his adolescence. But with the woman the case is different. She is advanced so far that no sort of further restraint is favorable to her development.

It is alleged by men that there is a large class of women who do not want to vote, and this is true, but it signifies nothing against the principle. Many animals show a tendency to remain quiet so long as they are well kept, and will not even leave the cage when the door is opened. Certainly the negroes of Virginia did not greatly desire freedom before the idea was developed by agitation from the outside, and many of them resented this outside interference. "In general, in the whole western Sahara district, slaves are as much astonished to be told that their relation to their owners is wrong and that they ought to break it as boys amongst us would be to be told that their relation to their fathers was wrong and ought to be broken." And it is reported from eastern Borneo that a white man could hire no natives for wages. "They thought it degrading to work for wages, but if he would buy them they would work for him." This is also the psychology of the woman who does not want to vote.



Miss Mary G. Hay, President of the Equal Suffrage League of New York City. Miss Hay was born in Indiana, and for years was prominent as a national organizer. Recently, she has devoted herself more especially to the work in New York City.

On the other hand the women who want to vote claim that they are not less interested than men in having good schools, children defended against a stupid pedagogy, a decent living wage to all before the luxuries are dipped into too freely by some, good sanitation, and pure food for children. They have shown that our schools, our charitable, reform and penal institutions, our cities and our general government are run on "political principles," and they say that politics is the only field in which "if an accountant is wanted, a dancer gets the place." They claim that the moral side of life is particularly congenial to women as it has proven particularly uncongenial to the men who have made politics a business, that the "ancient kindness which sat beside the cradle of the race" has been put out of business by business, and that its restoration is even now being advocated more by women than by men.

The men have said that women are not intelligent enough to vote, but the women have replied that more of honesty than of intelligence is needed in politics at present, and that women certainly do not represent the most ignorant portion of the population. They claim that voting is a relatively simple matter anyway, that political freedom "is nothing but

the control of those who do make politics their business by those who do not," and that they have enough intelligence "to decide whether they are properly governed, and whom they will be governed by." They point out also that already, without the ballot, they are instructing men how to vote and teaching them how to run a city, that women have to journey to the legislature at every session to instruct members and committees at legislative hearings, and that it is absurd that women who are capable of instructing men how to vote should not be allowed to vote themselves.

To the suggestion that they would vote like their husbands and that so there would be no change in the political situation, women admit that they would sometimes vote like their husbands, because their husbands sometimes vote right, but ex-Chief Justice Fisher of Wyoming says: "When the Republicans nominate a bad man and the Democrats a good one, the Republican women do not hesitate a moment to "scratch" the bad and substitute the good. It is just so with the Democrats: Hence we almost always have a mixture of officeholders. I have seen the effects of female suffrage, and, instead of being a means of encouragement to fraud and corruption, it tends greatly to purify elections and to promote better government." Now "scratching" is the most difficult feature of the art of voting, and if women have mastered this they are doing very well. Furthermore the English suffragettes have completely outgeneraled the professional politicians. They discovered that no cause can get recognition in politics unless it is brought to the attention, and that John Bull in particular will not begin to pay attention "until you stand on your head to talk to him." They regretted to do this, but in doing it they secured the attention and interest of all England. They then followed a relentless policy of opposing the election of any candidate of the party in power. The Liberal men had been playing with the Liberal women, promising support and then laughing the matter off. But they are now reduced to an appeal to the maternal instinct of the women. They say it is unloving of them to oppose their own kind. Politics is a poor game, but this is politics.

#### How Woman's Suffrage Has Worked

Again there are a few men who say that woman's suffrage has not worked well where it has been tried. But this argument is scarcely honest. Judge Lindsey of Colorado, where woman's suffrage has been in operation twelve

years, says: "No one would dare propose its repeal, and if left to the men of the state any proposition to revoke the right bestowed on women would be overwhelmingly defeated." Sir Joseph Ward, Premier of New Zealand, said: "The women of New Zealand secured the franchise by a majority of only two votes. Now it is doubtful if in the whole House there would be two members to oppose it." There was a time when some men thought that universal man suffrage would result in an earthly paradise, and that without delay, but "freedom" itself has failed in this, and this is the only sense in which woman's suffrage has failed where it has been tried. Freedom is not a panacea, it is only a system under which a society can work to better advantage, and the universal testimony of responsible persons is that the participation of women in civic affairs has made for the moral welfare of the whole community. It is certain also that where women have the ballot every election address is recast and this means that where men alone vote all of the interests of society are not considered, that a part of the members of society are ignored.

But will not the mixing of women in public life breed discord at home and lead to race suicide? To this the women have replied that they will be in a better position to look after the training of their own children if they have the vote, and also to make possible the "right to childhood" for children of less fortunate mothers. They say also that they consider an intelligent appreciation of all the social activities and a participation in them the best cure for race-suicide, and they add, with profound wisdom, that they do not regard "the desire that woman should take her share in the duties and labors of the national life as of in any sense a movement of the sexes against each other, but rather as a great integrative movement of the sexes toward each other." And the experience of the countries in which women are voting justifies this latter view.

Finally the men object to votes for women because they say women are not patriotic, and can not fight for their country. And to this the women have replied that patriotism is engendered by activity, that there is too much fighting as it is, that motherhood is a service equivalent to patriotism, that soldiers and sailors do not vote anyway, and that if blood counts for anything, more blood is spilt in child-bearing than in war.

On the whole women are beginning to realize that the world as it is to-day, and the disparity in ability between men and women are matters of man's arrangement, and they



Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, from 1900 to 1904 President of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. Mrs. Catt succeeded Susan B. Anthony and was the latter's choice as successor. She has just been re-elected President of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance.

feel as did the lion in LaFontaine's fable, who seeing a painting in which a man was holding a lion prostrate, remarked, "If my people could paint they would show you a very different picture."

#### The Crux of the Opposition

And since women have themselves annihilated all the reasonable objections to the equal participation of the two sexes in civic life, an argument for woman's suffrage at this point would be like a "killing of the dead." Still the hard fact remains that the opposition persists, and it will be of some interest to examine the cause of this, though the explanation is indeed difficult. In no society has life ever been completely controlled by the reason, but mainly by the instincts and the habits and customs growing out of these. Speaking in a general way, it may be said that all conduct both of men and animals tends to be right rather than wrong. They do not know why they behave in such and such ways, but their ancestors behaved in those ways and survival is the guarantee that the behavior was good. We must admit that within the scope of their life the animals behave with almost unerring propriety. Their behavior is simple and un-



Mrs. Clarence Mackay, President of the Equal Franchise Society. Mrs. Mackay's energy and intelligence have given a fresh impulse to the Woman's suffrage movement in the East, attracting to the work many women hitherto uninterested

varying, but they make fewer mistakes than ourselves. The difficulty in their condition is that having little power of changing their behavior they have little chance of improvement. Now in human societies, and already among gregarious animals, one of the main conditions of survival was common sentiment and behavior. So long as defense of life and preying on outsiders were main concerns of society, unanimity and conformity had the same value which still attaches to military discipline in warfare and to team work in our sports. Morality therefore became identified with uniformity. It was actually better to work upon some system, however bad, than to work on none at all, and early society had no place for the dissenter. Changes did take place, for man had the power of communicating his experiences through speech and the same power of imitation which we show in the adoption of fashions, but these changes took place with almost imperceptible slowness, or, if they did not, those who proposed them were considered sinners and punished with death or obloquy.

And it has never made any difference how bad the existing order of things might be. Those who attempted to reform it were always viewed with suspicion. Consequently our practices usually run some decades or centuries behind our theories, and history is even full of cases where the theory was thoroughly dead from the standpoint of reason before it began to do its work in society. A determined attitude of resistance to change may therefore be classed almost with the instincts, for it is not a response to the reason alone, but is very powerfully bound up with the emotions which have their seat in the spinal cord.

#### *The World Loath to Accept New Ideas*

It is true that this adhesion to custom is more absolute and astonishing in the lower races and in the more uneducated classes, but it would be difficult to point out a single case in history where a new doctrine has not been met with bitter resistance. We justly regard learning and freedom of thought and investigation as precious, and we popularly think of Luther and the Reformation as standing at the beginning of the movement toward these, but Luther himself had no faith in "the light of reason" and he hated the "new learning" of Erasmus and Hutten as heartily as any papal dogmatist. To the end of his life he held that "reason was the devil's bride, rationalism a beautiful prostitute . . . who must be trampled under foot with all her wisdom, who

must be put to death, who must have dirt thrown in her face to make her repulsive looking." These are his own words. Luther's revolt was merely against the mercenary practices of the Church and what he considered to be her perversions of the older doctrines. He did, indeed, believe in schools, to prepare the priests to read and interpret the Bible and the Fathers, but he hated the scientific spirit of the Universities. Among all the great moral teachers, Confucius was perhaps the most worldly-wise, for he consistently denied that his teachings were new, attributing them to "the ancients" even when he had no other ground than expediency to do so.

We are ourselves just at the close of a great movement in thought which has called out as much bitterness as almost any in history—the teaching of an evolutionary view of the world. This view, conspicuously associated with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, has now revolutionized every department of science and almost every department of life from our literature down to our milk and our plumbing, and it is even slowly working down to the level of our legal procedure, but it has caused many a good churchman to reinvoke the inquisition.

We are even forced to realize that the law of habituation continues to do its perfect work in a strangely resentful or apathetic manner even when there is no moral issue at stake. Until about 1825 the word "balcony" was regularly pronounced with the accent on the second syllable. Swift used the word as it is now pronounced one time, "which," said Samuel Rogers, "makes me sick." And the reader will search in vain for a justification of the acute displeasure he feels in mispronounced names. Up to the year 1816 the best device for the application of electricity to telegraphy had involved a separate wire for each letter of the alphabet, but in that year Francis Ronalds constructed a successful line making use of a single wire. Realizing the importance of his invention he attempted to get the British government to take it up, but was informed that "telegraphs of any kind are now wholly unnecessary, and no other than the one in use will be adopted."

#### *Mental Perversions of the Past*

But it is when the ordinary custom is reinforced by authority from above, purporting to teach by inspiration from God, that doctrines and practices take on their most absolute and distressing form. There was a time in the history of the church when baptism seemed to

ecclesiastics so essential to salvation that anyone who failed to receive this rite, no matter why, was condemned to eternal punishment in hell fire. St. Fulgentius condemned to "everlasting punishment in eternal fire" even children who died in their mother's womb, and I have seen an old sermon in which the divine declared that there were "infants crawling on the floor of hell, not a span long." It would seem that the human mind would be revolted by such a picture, but it was not. St. Thomas Aquinas even urged that a perfect sight of the tortures of the damned is granted to the saints in heaven that they may "enjoy their beatitude and the grace of God more richly," and so late as our Puritan fathers we were told that "the sight of hell torments will exalt the happiness of the saints forever." In the seventeenth century Scotch clergymen taught their congregations not only that it was sinful to walk about for pleasure on Sunday, but that it was sinful to save a vessel in shipwreck on that day, and a proof of sound religion to allow the ship and crew to perish.

But I do not wish to push this painful line of thought further. These views afford an extreme instance of the force of "use and wont." When a curse is once laid on a question it is lifted with difficulty and it requires time. Reason may "cry aloud in the streets," but the practice dies hard. It is a safe general proposition that any conduct widely at variance with established custom will at first be regarded as immoral, immodest or at least unbecoming. Even our fashions of dress which in their rapid rotation seem to be a striking exception, are not so. They are dictated by a powerful though obscure authority, they vary within narrow limits in any country, they are followed by masses of people simultaneously, and not to conform to them has its penalties. I have been much reproached for writing a paper on the "Adventitious Character of Woman," but if the women who have expressed their dislike of this paper are inclined to take the matter up they can write a more offensive one and one quite as just, on the "Habitual Character of Man."

In early society one of the results of the laying of the heavy hand of the "tyrant custom" on the minds of men was a system of arbitrary taboos. Certain foods could not be touched, certain objects could not be looked upon, certain names could not be called. And the penalty for violation of the taboo was death. In historical times the church was the most favorable location for the development of taboos. The Sabbath, to which I have just alluded, was a day on which all activities except worship and "works of necessity and

mercy" were taboo. The established church was itself a taboo object. To breathe a word against it was blasphemy. In England in the reign of Henry VIII. a boy was burned because he had spoken "much after the fashion of a parrot some idle words affecting the sacrament of the altar, which he had chanced to hear, but of which he could not have understood the meaning," and all the heretic-hunting of the inquisitional period was in consequence of violation of church taboo. Fortunately science has lifted this taboo, but sex and marriage have also for a long time been taboo questions, and from them the taboo is not completely lifted.

The whole fact of sex is indeed outlawed, except from a very limited and periphrastic standpoint. The superficial aspects of it may be treated comically and are so treated freely, but when you go deeper you strike the taboo layer. And yet sex is the greatest fact in the economy of nature, with the sole exception of food. Not many years ago a British scientist published the best and the only considerable work in the English language on certain abnormal sexual conditions. It was a good work, seriously and, I think, even solemnly undertaken. And it was work of inestimable importance to society and to parents. It might prevent the total ruin of anybody's boy or girl. It was not a work which should be freely circulated, and it was not designed for free circulation. But it contained materials with which every physician should be acquainted, and the knowledge of which is rapidly modifying criminal legal procedure—materials indeed, which the Juvenile Court Committee of Chicago, composed in part of women, has found it necessary to employ a psychiatrist to interpret. And yet the publishers were fined and the sale of the book was prohibited. I have myself heard an American scientist whose daily life consisted in the attempt to produce artificially a drop of living protoplasm, commenting on the effort of another scientist to get an appropriation of money from the national government for the study of sexual abnormality and hygiene, call the latter "insane." I do not say that the proposer of this scheme was a wise or discreet man. I do not know. But if he was insane, he was so only in that large sense in which we may call any man insane whose consciousness does not at all points overlap that of the public. "It is a mad world, my masters," a world where the insanity of one period of history becomes the sound common sense and rational policy of another generation. Christ was executed because his mind did not completely co-

incide, and Socrates was given the hemlock for inquiring "too deeply."

I have alluded thus to the morbid aspect of sex, not because I consider this its most important side, for it is not, but—as an indication of one of the deepest reasons for the inhospitable attitude of society to the question of woman's suffrage. It would perhaps have been sufficient to allude to the fact that most parents can with difficulty or not at all bring themselves to the point of speaking even once in their lives to their children on some of the most important laws of physical life. When a whole situation is thus under taboo any movement within that situation is to some extent an outlawed movement.

It is custom, therefore, not reason, that women have had to face first of all in their fight for the ballot. But another powerful and more reasonable cause for the opposition to woman in this connection lies in the fact that she was as a class reduced at one time to a position of ornamental inactivity, where her chief charm consisted in complete and ductile submission to the will of man, and that she herself accepted this condition as an ideal one. I will not here rehearse the movement by which this condition was brought about. But I wish to notice the actual opinion in which woman was held, and in which she held herself, about 100 or 150 years ago. This will give us a ground for judging what the woman's movement has had to contend with, and whether it has made any real progress.

#### Old Time Advice to Women

In this connection there is a considerable mass of literature, dating from the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, addressed by women, ministers and even bachelors to the "female sex," advising them how to deport themselves in order to be and seem proper ladies. And anyone turning over these pages will find both instruction and astonishment. I have before me one of these books, *A Guide to Matrimonial Happiness, in a Series of Letters Written by a Lady of Distinction to her Relation Shortly after her Marriage*, (London, 1821), and I quote some of the advice of this "distinguished lady" to her young relative:

The most perfect and implicit faith in the superiority of a husband's judgment, and the most absolute obedience to his desires, is not only the conduct that will insure the greatest success, but will give the most entire satisfaction. It will take from you a thousand cares, which would have answered no purpose;

it will relieve you from a weight of thought that would be very painful, and in no way profitable. . . . It has its origin in reason, in justice, in nature, and in the law of God.

But the writer does not stop with generalities. In a chapter which might be headed, "On a Method and Technique for the Abandonment of Personality," she says:

I have told you how you may, and how people who are married do, get a likeness of countenance; and in that I have done it. You will understand me, that by often looking at your husband's face, by smiling on the occasions on which he does, by frowning on those things which make him frown, and by viewing all things in the light in which you perceive he does, you will acquire that likeness of countenance which it is an honor to possess, because it is a testimony of love.

When your temper and your thoughts are formed upon those of your husband, according to the plan which I have laid down, you will perceive that you have no will, no pleasure, but what is also his. This is the character the wife of prudence would be apt to assume; she would make herself the mirror, to show, unaltered, and without aggravation, diminution, or distortion, the thoughts, the sentiments, and the resolutions of her husband. She would have no particular design, no opinion, no thought, no passion, no approbation, no dislike, but what should be conformable to his own judgment. . . . I would have her judgment seem the reflecting mirror to his determination; and her form the shadow of his body, conforming itself to his several positions, and following it in all its movements.

On the topic of conversation she says:

I would not have you silent; nay, when trifles are the subject, talk as much as any of them; but distinguish when the discourse turns upon things of importance.

Along with the teaching that women should have gentle spirits, went, of course, the teaching that they should have gentle bodies. "Women," says a female writer early in the last century, "are something like children—the more they show the need of support the more engaging they are. In everything that women attempt they should show their consciousness of dependence." Dr. Gregory, in a book published before 1800, entitled "A Legacy to my Daughters," advises girls that if nature has given them a robust physique they should take care to dissemble it.

#### Hostile to Women in the Past

The Christian church also has constantly insisted on the submission of woman to the will of man, and we came almost to accept the "honor and obey" of the ceremony of marriage as a part of natural law, but we are confounded when James Fordyce in his sermons addressed to women, advances the view that "holiness"

is a sort of "beautifier" which will render their charms more lively to men. "Never," he says, "perhaps does a fine woman *strike more deeply* than when composed into pious recollection. . . . she assumes without knowing it superior dignity and new graces; so that the beauties of holiness seem to radiate about her."

Of course the law has no remedy to offer, for the law is nothing if not behind-hand. It merely provided the formal measures by which women could be repressed and exploited. In England before 1870 "a man who had abandoned his wife and left her unaided to support his family might at any time return to appropriate her earnings and to sell everything she had acquired, and he might again and again desert her and again and again repeat the process of spoliation." In 1790 an English writer explained that people unfit for the county franchise were those who "lie under natural incapacities and therefore cannot exercise a sound discretion, or [who are] so much under the influence of others that they cannot have a will of their own in the choice of candidates. Of the former description are women, infants, idiots, lunatics; of the latter, persons receiving alms and revenue officers."

Even medicine had its fling at women. In a medical treatise of this period we read: "In this book, I propose, with God's help, to consider diseases peculiar to women, and since women are, for the most part, poisonous creatures, I shall then proceed to treat of the bites of venomous beasts." And art could not have worked so industriously and cleverly to keep the woman question in the region of the senses if it had been subsidized to do it. Much of Tennyson's poetry would seem to be the sentiments of the "distinguished lady" I have quoted, turned into verse.

The perfect work of all this teaching was the traditional old maid. The woman who was married had at least the will of another instead of her own. But the woman who reached and passed maturity without marriage and the will of a man to depend on had no natural or recognized place in society. Aristotle has said that the individual who is not a member of society is either a god or a brute. But this is not correct, for the gods and brutes are members of societies. Such a person is really a monster, and such a person was the old maid. And since the populace is naturally inclined to be cruel to monstrosities she was the object of all the hilarity provoked by the hunchback, the insane, and idiotic, and other abnormalities of those ruder times.

To most of us the sentiments and practices

I have just outlined seem incredible or pathetic, and I believe that even *Punch* could use them for comic purposes. But I would undertake to find for you to-day women who seriously cherish similar sentiments. As Michelet said of the church ascetics, "they are of those who have learned to conserve life in a system of death." Is it not a blessing that "acquired characters" are not inherited, and that the daughters of these unfortunate women have a chance to lead their lives with as much health and freedom and mind as if they had never had mothers!

#### The Early Education of Women

Woman had thus at one time sunk very low in the scale of rationality, and when she raised her voice for suffrage it was indeed a voice from the depths. But for all this, and in fact because of it, her progress in the past century has been so rapid that I know of nothing with which to compare it except the progress of science itself. To substantiate this impression it is only necessary to recall the earlier part of this paper where I alluded to the remarkable position woman occupies in the educational world at present, and compare this with her treatment in the schools of early New England.

Our Puritan ancestors were very sincere and very energetic in their determination to have everything right in their new society, and their efforts to establish schools and to secure suitable teachers under discouraging conditions form a remarkable chapter. But they did not admit girls. They thought, of course, as many still think, that the home was the only proper place and sphere for women, and they thought also that the mind of woman was neither worth cultivating nor capable of learning. Still the question of the schooling of girls must have been raised, for in 1684 we find a ruling on the admission of girls to the Hopkins School of New Haven, reading, ". . . and all the girls be excluded as improper and inconsistent with such a grammar school as ye law enjoins and as in the Designs of this settlement." But, certain small girls whose manners seem to have been neglected and who had the natural curiosity of their sex, sat on the school-house steps and heard the boys recite, or learned to read and construe sentences from their brothers at home, and were occasionally admitted to school.

It took the Puritan mind about a century to awaken to any interest in the education of girls. Gloucester manifested some feeling on the subject when it resolved in 1790, "That

two hours, or a proportional part of that time be devoted to the instruction of females—as they are a tender and interesting branch of the community, but have been much neglected in the public schools of this town." Other towns had taken similar action. Nathan Hale, writing from New London, Connecticut, says in 1774: "I have kept during the summer, a morning school *between the hours of 5 and 7*, of about twenty young ladies," and Medford voted in 1766 that, "the committee have power to agree with the school master to instruct girls two hours in a day *after the boys are dismissed*." Up to the beginning of the 19th century boys and girls were rarely in school together. A memorandum of Benjamin Mudge reads: "In all my school days which ended in 1801 I never saw but three females in public schools in my life, and they were only in the afternoon to learn to write." And the American woman of the 18th century who could write was the exception, as is shown by the fact that not more than one fourth of the women who had occasion to sign legal documents could do so except by "making their mark."

#### Woman at the Zero Point

When we consider then that woman started at the zero point in this country a hundred years ago, with custom and her own sentiments squarely against her and that her admission to the colleges designed for men was contested more stubbornly than her original admission to the primary school had been, we must admit that her rise in the educational world is a brilliant feat. It certainly has forever disposed of the argument that she is unable.

But while the education of woman since the 18th century has done more than anything else to restore to her her personality and to render absurd the position of those who deny her right to become a member of the state, it would be a mistake to suppose that the schools have ever had any policy of promoting woman's rights. Even Oberlin College which took so advanced a stand on both the woman question and the negro question, never conceded to women the political rights which it advocated so warmly for the negro. One of its presidents even took pains to disclaim that Oberlin had any responsibility for the behavior of certain women who had left its halls and were advocating woman's rights and to "avow a radical dissent from their views" while expressing an admiration for their "earnest but mistaken philanthropy."

I have thus singled out Oberlin for special mention because it has the distinction of being the first fully coeducational institution of collegiate rank in the world. From its foundation in 1833 it has admitted men and women on equal terms, and in its first circular it announced as one of its "prominent objects" "elevation of female character by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructive privileges which have hitherto unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs." This formal repudiation of woman's political aspirations is therefore curiously interesting. It seems on the whole that the negro and the "child widow of India" have been quite the best stimulants to our reform sentiments. They have the picturesqueness of remoteness and they do not interfere with our local and personal and settled habits of life.

No, while every force in Christendom, organized and unorganized, has operated to deprive woman of her personality, I cannot discover that any set of forces outside herself has consciously assisted her in her struggle to become a citizen. She has fought it out mainly alone, assisted by John Stuart Mill and the lapse of time. In 1791 Olympe de Georges, the first of the *féministes*, said in a pamphlet: "Woman has the right to mount the scaffold. She ought equally to have access to the ballot-box." She was guillotined in 1793. Mary Wollstonecraft's powerful *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* was even more untimely and shocking than Darwin's theory of the descent of man. In 1840 women from the United States, accredited as delegates to the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, were refused recognition. For many years "Susan B. Anthony" was a mild form of "swear-word"

among the boys of New England, and in 1853 Miss Anthony stood for half an hour in a Teachers' Convention in Rochester, New York, two-thirds of the members being women, while the men debated the question whether she should be heard. It was decided by a small majority that a woman had the right to address an educational meeting on an educational subject. And it was not until 1893 that Miss Anthony could announce that "the general government had discovered woman."

#### Woman Suffrage Virtually Accepted

I think the case for woman's suffrage may be regarded as virtually decided. We respond to reason slowly, but we are finally amenable to it. The movement has developed many brilliant leaders who have taught women to organize and agitate, and the question is now in the condition where ways and means are beginning to be discussed rather than the general principle. But there still remains one weak point in the case. I think that the rank and file of women are still afraid of life in general. Traces of the strong infusion of the 18th century doctrine of subjection remain in the systems of most of them, and they still view education as an "accomplishment." At one time we cherished the belief that education and the ballot were ends in themselves, or we came near doing so, but we now recognize that they are only tools. The real affair is life, particularly as it has arranged itself, and is destined to arrange itself, in various sets of occupational activities. If woman should obtain the ballot without at the same time pushing out into this world she would still not be in a normal position in society, nor a proper person.

[Professor Thomas will contribute "*Women and their Occupations*" to an early number of this magazine.]

THESE PAMPHLETS FOR SALE BY  
MASSACHUSETTS WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
585 BOYLSTON ST., BOSTON.



# SHALL WOMEN VOTE?

## A BOOK FOR MEN

BY

Conway Whittle Sams, B. L.,

Author of "Sams on Attachment," and a  
Member of the Virginia Bar.

THE subject of this book is the proper and natural construction of family life, and the laws which exist in relation to the mutual obligations of its members. The rights of husband and wife and father and child in regard to person and property are here considered. Nothing of a purely worldly nature is of greater importance nor of more profound interest than these matters. They are in this book reviewed historically with reference to the movement to make voting citizens of women.

Throughout the English speaking world for some time the suffragettes' demand of the right to vote has been heard. It has been repeatedly and violently insisted upon. It has been yielded

to in some States, and met with opposition in others, and yet a full, candid and intelligent statement of why men are, and ought to be, hostile to this movement has only just appeared. But now it has come, and in the book "Shall Women Vote?" a thousand reasons are given why men should never allow this subversion of social and domestic order to take place. The book is a book for men, as the heads of families and as the guardians of social and domestic order. Their dignity and importance and the welfare of society as a whole demands that they approach this subject with a full knowledge and appreciation of the seriousness of the proposition. Both history and law are involved in this question, and the political effects of this movement, if not arrested, may prove the greatest disaster our civilization could suffer.

This work is a defence of the existing order of things, and a justification of the rules heretofore prevailing among mankind. It seems destined to become the standard reply of men to the demands of the suffragettes. Not since the days of Juvenal has a treatise been written which more fully presents the evils of a social construction.

It is a principle of our nature to seek that which we believe to be for our benefit, and to avoid that which we regard as an evil. The movement to give women the right to vote is a movement which vitally affects the highest possible rights of men. To know what this movement means to them, men should know their position in the past, and contrast with it their position in the present. Only with this knowledge before them, can they intelligently judge whether the movement to enfranchise women would be for their benefit, or for their injury. It is the height of folly and absurdity for men to take the position that it is a question for women to decide—that is, whether men's rights should be taken away from them or not.

No man can understand how hostile and injurious to him the woman's suffrage movement is without taking an intelligent review of the laws which have been adopted in recent years at the instigation of those in sympathy with such ideas. These laws affect and injure every man, but they are particularly severe and degrading to all husbands and to all fathers. These laws are collected and discussed in this book. To comprehend the

seriousness of this question, and what it means to him personally, every man should read and own this work. He cannot know what is in it too well. He should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest it.

Mailed to any part of the United States and to all foreign countries that are in the postal union, on receipt of \$1.45 by

THE NEALE PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
Union Square, New York, N. Y.



*Out Nov 15*

*A Nation-wide Guidebook for the Woman who Votes and the Woman who wishes to Vote.*

# The WOMAN CITIZEN

**A general handbook of civics  
with special consideration of women's citizenship**



**By MARY SUMNER BOYD**

*Chairman Research Department, Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission \**

***Especially recommended to Women's Civics Clubs***

*Price, net \$1.50.*

**FREDERICK A. STOKES COMPANY**  
Publishers **New York**

**THE WOMAN CITIZEN.** A general handbook of civics with special consideration of women's citizenship. By MARY SUMNER BOYD. Cloth, 12mo, net \$1.50.

Do you want to go well informed to your first local, state or federal election?

Do you want to know just what the political parties mean in government and just what each party stands for?

Do you want to know what steps remain beyond the vote to complete women's political equality?

If your state is not a woman suffrage state, do you want to know how women in other states secured the vote?

Answers will be found in **THE WOMAN CITIZEN**—the simplest, plainest and most get-at-able book yet published on civics and suffrage for women. The aim of this book is to inform conscientious but busy woman voters who wish to educate themselves effectively in their new privilege. Besides giving a thorough groundwork in general civics it lays down for the newly-enfranchised woman certain principles upon which to base her judgment of public issues and candidates. It tells what citizenship *means*, and how to *use* it as an effective instrument to accomplish results in the federal, state and local government.

*Mrs. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT contributes a valuable chapter entitled "Passing the Federal Suffrage Amendment" in which she outlines the arguments for Woman Suffrage as a necessary war measure, and points out the peculiar fitness of the approaching climax to forty years' effort of American women at a time when they are proving by splendid service to the State that they are worthy of the highest trust; when men are waking to the fact that true Democracy to be defended abroad must be practised at home.*

Suffrage clubs throughout the country and the many women's civics clubs which have succeeded them in woman suffrage states, will find **THE WOMAN CITIZEN** especially adapted to use as a handbook for club study and discussion.

## CONTENTS

- Introduction—PASSING THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT—Carrie Chapman Catt.
- Book 1. ACQUIRING CITIZENSHIP
- I. Citizenship of Women.
  - II. Civil Citizenship.
  - III. The United States Constitution and Political Rights.
  - IV. State Suffrage Regulation.
  - V. Women Voters in the States.
- Book 11. APPLYING CITIZENSHIP
- I. Doubling the Electorate.
  - II. The Village Vote.
  - III. The County.
  - IV. The City—19th Century.
  - V. The City—20th Century.
  - VI. The State.
  - VII. Defects and Remedies.
  - VIII. The Federal Government.
  - IX. The Parties and the Primaries.
  - X. Registration and Casting the Ballot.
  - XI. Legislation.
  - XII. The Jury—An Ancient Right of the Freeman.
- Appendix A. PARTY PLATFORMS.
- The Democratic Party in National Politics in the 20th Century.
- Republicans in National Politics.
- Aims of the Socialist Party.
- A Party of Principle—The Prohibition Party.
- The Anti-Saloon League—A Non-partisan Political Body.
- The National Party—A New Voice in American Politics.
- Appendix B. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
- Appendix C. THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

Comments on THE WOMAN CITIZEN

"A valuable book that is needed. . . . I am impressed with its thoughtfulness and sincerity."

**FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Professor of  
Sociology, Columbia University.**

"The chance for citizenship means all sorts and conditions of things to all sorts of women in the new conditions. Here Mrs. Boyd has set up guideposts for every woman everywhere, as the need for them has been revealed by enquiries coming in to the Bureau of Suffrage Education. This book puts levers in the hands of women, who, suffrage won, would clear away the great ruck of minor civil disabilities which still beset women as such, and would next help modernize the machinery through which all the electorate, men and women alike, must act. She tells of the obstacles to be rid of, of opportunities to use, leaving to the new citizen what use to make of them. She tells these things clearly and compellingly."

**PAUL KELLOGG, Editor of The Survey.**

"I cannot criticise Mrs. Boyd's book; I can only praise it. She has popularized the matter exceedingly well."

**CHARLES FREEMONT TAYLOR,  
Editor of Equity Magazine.**

---

**Order Blank**

PLEASE ORDER FROM YOUR BOOKSELLER  
WHENEVER CONVENIENT, but if more agreeable,  
we will supply you at the price given here, sending the  
books direct by mail.

FREDERICK A. STOKES COMPANY,  
443-449 Fourth Avenue, New York.

For \$----- enclosed, send me-----  
copies of THE WOMAN CITIZEN, at \$1.50 net.

-----  
-----



MRS. NANCY M. SCHOONMAKER  
*Author and Lecturer*

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP  
CONNECTICUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
55 PRATT ST., HARTFORD, CONN.

**I**N planning the organization of a Department of Citizenship, the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association realized that the first requirement was to secure the right kind of woman to have charge of the work. We were extremely fortunate in having recommended to us Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker, a woman of literary ability and reputation, and with a marked gift for rousing enthusiasm and for securing the co-operation of both men and women. Since coming into the state, she has given herself with entire devotion to the preparation and dissemination of this valuable information and has done much toward bringing to the women of the state a deeper realization of the part they will be called to play in the work of reconstruction.

As a lecturer Mrs. Schoonmaker adds to a thorough knowledge of her subject the gift of a charming and magnetic personality which enables her to make her lectures vitally interesting. She was one of the most popular speakers in the successful New York suffrage campaign and has lectured on political and literary subjects through the east and middle west.

In offering these lectures by Mrs. Schoonmaker, we are convinced that we are giving you a rare opportunity of hearing a most unusual speaker on a subject which is of vital interest to all men and women who desire a most intelligent electorate.

## A FEW COMMENTS

Mrs. Schoonmaker's charming manner of presentation both holds attention and arouses interest in her subject which is enlivened by her native sense of humor and the richness of her experience in collecting her material.

—*Bridgeport Herald.*

From a very minute beginning Mrs. Schoonmaker has aroused so much interest in her work and the subject which she has been investigating that she has been able to build up a Department of Citizenship which reaches throughout the state of Connecticut.

—*Hartford Times.*

Mrs. Schoonmaker's success as a citizenship lecturer and educator has so spread through Connecticut that she is receiving calls to speak in many other states.

—*Hartford Courant.*

Mrs. Schoonmaker makes her subject most interesting. She is a young southern woman and is full of stories told with the droll southern drawl that makes you laugh even before you know what the joke is going to be.

—*New Haven Register.*

---

## SUBJECTS

### **"Americanizing American Women"**

A detailed account of Citizenship Work

### **"Woman As A Factor In Good Government"**

### **"Political Parties and Elections"**

And other lectures on special departments and functions of government

FEE — \$50.

For engagements address

MRS. WILLIAM H. DEMING  
55 Pratt St., Hartford, Conn.

*"Our Own Book About Our Own State"*  
**"The Actual Government of Connecticut"**

by  
NANCY M. SCHOONMAKER

Prepared for use in the colleges and schools of Connecticut, in libraries, by women's clubs and all other organizations interested in the machinery of government.

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP  
CONNECTICUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
ASSOCIATION

CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE:

*Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, Chairman*  
*Miss Katherine Ludington*  
*Miss Mary Bulkley*  
*Miss Mary Olcott*  
*Miss Mary Taylor Blauvelt*  
*Miss Annie Eliot Trumbull*  
*Mrs. Marion Nicholl Rawson*  
*Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker, Executive Secretary*

---

ORDER BLANK

CONNECTICUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,  
55 PRATT ST., HARTFORD, CONN.

*Enclosed find . . . . . for which please mail*  
*. . . . . copies of "Our Own Book About*  
*Our Own State," THE ACTUAL GOVERN-*  
*MENT OF CONNECTICUT, by Nancy M.*  
*Schoonmaker.*

SIGNED . . . . .  
. . . . .

Published by National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.  
171 Madison Avenue, New York



## THE NIGHT EXPRESS.

Homer Greene.

A royal game is the night express,  
 When the work of the day is done;  
 When the lamps drive out the loneliness,  
 And the grate fire glows in its deep recess,  
 And the winter night creeps on.  
 "Now come!" I say to my four-year-old.  
 "The hour for the game is here,  
 You be the fireman big and bold,  
 And I'll be the engineer."

A train of chairs in a faultless row,  
 With one high chair at the head.  
 "Now, all aboard! Time's up, you know.  
 Ting-a-ling! toot! toot!" and away we go,  
 While the furnace fire is fed.  
 "Steam up! Speed on! for the night is cold,  
 And the track ahead is clear."  
 A thrilling ride for the fireman bold,  
 And a joy to the engineer.

Through farm and forest we thunder on,  
 And our light shines far ahead.  
 But—"Look! O deary, the bridge is gone!  
 A wreck there'll be in the ghostly dawn,  
 And a train in the river's bed!"  
 He drops the tools that he sought to hold,  
 And his eyes grow wide with fear;  
 One leap; he's safe, is the fireman bold,  
 In the arms of the engineer.

It's many a year since the night express  
 Went thundering down to the bay;  
 And a bearded man in a soldier's dress  
 Is he who sprang to my quick caress  
 When the bridge was washed away.  
 Yet I dream, as the winter nights grow cold,  
 Of the nights of an elder year,  
 When my four-year-old was the fireman bold,  
 And I was the engineer.

—Youth's Companion.

THE EXTENSION OF WOMAN  
SUFFRAGE.

Two more States, Michigan and Rhode Island, have followed the example set first by Illinois and later by Ohio and Indiana and North Dakota in giving women the right to vote for Presidential Electors. Since it was discovered by advocates of women suffrage that it was easier to get a State Legislature to pass a law establishing partial suffrage than to secure an amendment to a State Constitution or a majority in a popular referendum, the movement has spread until, in one way or another, by full or partial suffrage, women may vote for more than a fourth of the total number of Presidential electors. The capture of Rhode Island

is a source of especial rejoicing to the leaders of the suffrage forces because it is their first definite victory on the Atlantic coast. Governor Beeckman cordially indorsed and assisted the proposal.

The bearing of the growing success of the partial suffrage movement on the attempt to secure universal woman suffrage by an amendment to the Federal Constitution may be interpreted in two ways; one is that the spread of suffrage from State to State makes the amendment unnecessary; the other is that it goes to show that it would not be so hard to get two-thirds of the States to ratify such an amendment as had been supposed and that a National enactment would be more satisfactory. It is argued also that, as in England, the patriotic activities of women in war time will have a beneficial influence on the suffrage cause.

The First Woman Suffragist Was a Man: Erasmus, the Dutch scholar and theologian, who, in the sixteenth century, stood out for the recognition of woman in the Senate of that day.

"Tut," said a man; "a woman is a fool."

"A fool said it," quietly returned Erasmus.

"And do you think for a moment," asked another of Erasmus, "that women could agree among themselves?"

"Can men agree?" asked Erasmus in return.

But it is curious how rarely one sees the portrait of Erasmus in suffrage literature. The real leader in a cause is sometimes quickly forgotten.

"There is one word that we quickly learn in five languages," writes an American Red Cross nurse who is serving in a French army hospital. "It is the word that comes most often to the lips of sick or wounded soldiers when suffering or delirium wrings utterance from them. It is mutter, mere, moeder, madre and 'mother.'"

Nebraska has passed legislation that gives presidential, county and municipal suffrage to women. It is the nineteenth equal-suffrage state.

**AND YET.**

Jessie S. Miner.

I know death was the end of her.  
I know that when she died she ceased to be;  
Like some rare vase that's shattered at a blow  
And all that's left of it is memory.  
And yet  
This year my bulbs have burst into  
A white-winged host of fair narcissus stars.  
They never blossomed so for me before—  
Only for her. I know they are but flowers,  
And yet  
They strive so gladly toward the light,  
It is as if the flower-like soul of her  
Had bid them be, in very transiency,  
The symbol of her immortality.

**AN INDIAN MAID IN WAR SERVICE.**

While many Indian girls have made reputations for themselves in various walks of life, it is believed that Miss Frances B. Panall is the first one to become a Red Cross nurse for the United States. She has volunteered with the Red Cross at East Lynn, Massachusetts. Miss Panall is a grand-niece of John Logan, chief of the Micmacs, Canadian Indians, who died recently at the age of one hundred. Indians are now members of virtually all professions and vocations. They are in law, literature, medicine, art, journalism, ministry, banking, commerce, teaching, politics and manufacturing.

**WHEN WOMAN GIVES.**

Of course we are going to have the timid mother who will say: "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier and get shot." True. Neither did I. But neither did I raise my boy to be a coward, and to refuse to let him obey his country's call when it comes to him. "He's all I have," says another mother. That is also true. But that isn't his fault. "You forget," said a mother recently, "that I am a widow." "No," said her brother, "I don't; but you seem to forget that your boy is not responsible for that fact." "I don't see how you can keep such a calm exterior before your boy when it must grieve you to let him go," said a friend to a mother. "I don't believe in mothers posing as martyrs before their children," returned his mother. "My real feelings I keep for the

seclusion of my own room." And said a mother the other day: "Time enough for me to flop after my boy leaves home, but not while he's around. That is not going to be his last picture of his mother." A very fine wife said, a few evenings ago: "What I am going to do when I'm all alone is not my husband's problem. That is my 'bit'." "How you can smile when you know this is your husband's last day at home beats me," said a man to a wife. "I certainly take off my hat to you." But, manlike, he didn't stop to think that it has been woman's way, ever since Eve's day, to smile when her heart may be breaking. "Yes, it is true," said one mother recently, "I brought that boy into the world; I gave him life. But, after all, that life is his, not mine, and he must do with it what he thinks is right."—Ladies' Home Journal.

**"LADY" PRIZEFIGHTERS.**

Prizefighters are not all men, as it would seem from this challenge in an English paper, and its acceptance:

**The Challenge.**

"Whereas I, Ann Field, of Stoke-Newington, ass-driver, well known for my abilities in boxing in my own defense wherever it happened in my way, having been affronted by Mrs. Stokes, styled the European Championess, do fairly invite her to a trial of the best skill in boxing, for ten pounds, fair rise and fall; and question not but to give her such proofs of my judgment that shall oblige her to acknowledge me Championess of the Stage, to the entire satisfaction of all my friends."

**The Acceptance.**

"I, Elizabeth Stokes, of the city of London, have not fought in this way since I fought the famous boxing woman of Billingsgate twenty-nine minutes, and gained a complete victory (which is six years ago); but as the famous Stoke-Newington ass-woman dares me to fight her for the ten pounds, I do assure her I will not fail meeting her for the said sum, and doubt not that the blows which I shall present her with will be much more difficult for her to digest than any she ever gave her asses."