

Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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Returns to Surfrage

Eminent Opinions

Moman Suffrage

710 Palesbirg Reletz

TOM L. JOHNSON, Ex-Mayor of Cleveland.—After all, democracy is not a matter of sex any more than it is a matter of race, color or previous condition, but a matter of people. The more perfect the recognition of the common rights of all people the more perfect and the more just the democracy. A truly enlightened and democratic form of government would, of course, recognize the equal rights of women.

PHILLIPS BROOKS.—I am in favor of woman suffrage.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.— With all my head, and with all my heart, I believe in woman suffrage.

HON. JOHN W. KINGMAN, of Wyoming Supreme Court.—At our first election, before women voted, we had a perfect pandemonium. At the next election women voted, and perfect order prevailed, and has prevailed ever since. In caucus discussions, the presence of a few ladies is worth more than a whole squad of police.

JOHN MITCHELL, Ex-President United Mine Workers of America.—I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has indorsed the demand that women be given the right to vote. It's a sure thing that any adult who is amenable to the laws of the country should have a voice in the mak-

ing of those laws, under which he or she is governed.

JOHN V. JOHNSON, late Governor of Minnesota.—I have repeatedly, in public and in private, declared my belief in equal suffrage. Certainly I think there can be little room for argument that the women of the United States with their broad culture and strong sympathies are equally entitled to every suffrage that the men of the country now enjoy.

EX-CHIEF JUSTICE ALBERT H. HORTON, of Kansas.—I can state from experience and observation that (municipal) woman suffrage is satisfactory in its results in every respect.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.—If we could manifest a little animation about the antique injustice that we still do to woman, perhaps we should, in time, get tired of being ruled and robbed by pirates, thieves, bosses, boodlers, millionaires, swindlers, poisoners, pickpockets, railroad senators and other criminals. But so long as we keep out of the suffrage the element that would purify it I don't know but we get about what we deserve.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.—It is a very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. * * * If the wants, the passions, the vices, are allowed a full vote, through the hands of a half-brutal, intemperate population, I think it but fair that

thing—under a representative form of government the interests of any particular set of people are more likely to be advanced when represented by one of themselves than by one of another class, no matter how altruistic.

MARK TWAIN.—If women of New York City had the ballot, they would drive the corruption out. Each party would be compelled to put up its best candidates to stand any chance of winning. I would like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman.

HUXLEY.—Suppose for the sake of argument, we accept the inequality of the sexes as one of nature's immutable laws; call it a fact that women are inferior to men in mind, morals and physique. Why should this settle or materially affect the subject of so-called Woman's Rights? Would not this very inferiority be a reason why every advantage should be given to the weaker sex, not only for its own good, but for the highest development of the race?

HENRY GEORGE.—The natural right of a woman to vote is just as clear as that of a man, and rests on the same ground. Since she is called on to obey the laws, she ought to have a voice in making them. And the assumption that she is not fit to vote is no better reason for denying her that right than was the similar assumption

which has been urged against every extension of the franchise to enfranchised men.

G. W. RUSSELL, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Canterbury College, Christchurch. New Zealand .- Prior to woman's franchise, the distinctive feature of our politics was finance. Legislative proposals were regarded almost entirely from the point of view (1) What would they cost? and (2) What would be their effect from a commercial standpoint? The woman's view is not pounds nor pence, but her home, her family. In order to win her vote, the politicians had to look at public matters from her point of view. Her ideal was not merely money, but happy homes, and a fair chance in life for her husband, her intended husband and her present or prospective family.

BRAND WHITLOCK, Mayor of Toledo.—I have been asked why I believe in woman suffrage. One might as well ask why I believe in the sun or the stars or the ocean. I believe that women should vote because they are women, just as I believe that men should vote because they are men.

JOHN STUART MILL.—To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is governed is a means of self-protection due to every one. Under whatever conditions and within whatever limits men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.

Eminent Opinions on Woman Suffrage

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

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.—I believe in the rights of the woman just as much as I do in those of the man, and, indeed, a little more. * * * She can do the best work in her home if she has healthy outside interests and occupations in addition.

JANE ADDAMS.—Because women consider the government men's affair, they have become so confused in regard to their traditional business in life, the rearing of children, that they bear with complacency a statement made by the Nestor of sanitary reformers that one-half of the tiny lives which make up the city's death rate each year might be saved by a more thorough application of sanitary science. Because it implies the use of the suffrage, they do not consider it women's business to save these lives.

HON. WILLIAM J. TAFT.—Women are working for civic betterment, and their interest in affairs of the kind is constantly increasing. I believe that woman suffrage will come eventually. There is one fundamental principle that applies to the whole

the virtues, the aspirations, should be allowed a full voice as an offset, through the purest of the people.

ALVA ADAMS, Ex-Governor of Colorado.—Over and above all suffrage is woman's right, and no fair, just man will deny her that right. While we may defend equal suffrage upon the ground of expediency, it is not a question of expediency, but of justice.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.—The correct principle is that women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue, when they enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God.

EX-MAYOR EDWARD F. DUNNE, Chicago.—I am in hearty sympathy with the woman suffrage movement. I think the women of Chicago are as intelligent and as much entitled to the suffrage as are the women of Denver, which city seems entirely satisfied with the practical results of woman suffrage.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.—America never gave any better principle to the world than the safety of letting every human being have the power of protection in its own hands. I claim it for woman. The moment she has the ballot, I shall think the cause is won.

BISHOP McVICKAR, of Rhode Island.
—I hope and pray that we may see this

come to pass soon (the right of women to vote). In this fuller citizenship there is no chance that woman would unsex herself. I believe that the paths she would walk in would not only be brightened by her presence, but that they would be straightened.

REV. W. S. RAINSFORD, D. D., of New York.—We have admitted woman's right to property and education. It is then only a question of time until we admit her right to the ballot; for by it she can best protect the one and express the other. It seems to me that in this fact of woman's admission to property and education the gist of the whole matter lies.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Pres. American Federation of Labor.—I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.

MRS. CATHARINE WAUGH McCUL-LOCH, Justice of the Peace.—The most important reason why women should have the right to vote is because they need the ballot for their own protection from crime, disease, starvation, ignorance and manifold other dangers.

DR. RAYMOND V. PHELAN, University of Minnesota.—The woman suffrage movement is but part of the wider movement for democracy, which, from the intellectual point of view, means education and enlightenment for all classes and conditions of humankind, and which means,

as civilization itself) that woman should take her share in the duties and labors of the national life as in any sense a movement of the sexes against each other, but rather as a great integrative movement of the sexes toward each other.

PROF. WILLIAM T. HARRIS, late U. S. Commissioner of Education.—Just as woman in literature, both as authoress and as audience, has effected a radical reform, an elimination of the obscenity and harshness from literature and art, so woman in the State will avail to eliminate the rigors of law, and much of the corruption in politics that now prevails.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.—In my opinion, suffrage for women is bound to come. There are many arguments against it, but no reasons.

REV. DR. B. F. CRARY, former Presiding Elder of the M. E. Churches in Northern Colorado and Wyoming.—Liquor sellers and gamblers are unanimous in cursing woman suffrage.

PROF. JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, Pres. Natl. Consumers' League.—By nothing have we been more deluded and blinded than by the traditional interpretation of what politics means. It is really something very simple. People are everywhere finding out that their single strength is too weak. They have to group themselves and

make certain regultioans for protection; and that is politics. Are women less concerned than men in having clean streets, decent sewers, untainted milk, good schools, charities properly administered, hospitals put on a proper footing? Yet we cannot have to do with any of these things without taking part in politics, pure and simple.

LOUISE COLLIER WILCOX.—I believe that until women win that legal and political equality civilization is and must remain practically at a standstill. No honorable and disinterested woman has a right to shirk any longer the moral obligation laid upon her to assume her responsibility as a citizen in the framing of public opinion and the making of the laws under which she shall live.

GOVERNOR GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, of Oregon.—It is strange that the mother who is capable of caring for the welfare of a child in the home cannot do so in the State. I am glad that Oregon has been chosen as the place for your convention. I hope that this State will give women the ballot, and I hope that every State will do it.

EX-GOV. LYMAN U. HUMPHREY, of Kansas.—The vote of the women has increased at each election, and it is a factor in securing purer and better municipal government.

from the moral point of view, social justice.

MRS. MAUD NATHAN, of the Consumers' League.—My experience in investigating the condition of women wage earners warrants the assertion that some of the evils from which they suffer would not exist if women had the right to place their ballots in the ballot box. In the States where women vote, there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls.

HON. SAMUEL J. BARROWS, National Prison Commissioner. — Questions of philanthropy are more and more forcing themselves to the front in legislation. Women have to journey to the legislature at every session to instruct members and committees at legislative hearings. Some day we shall think is absurd that women who are capable of instructing men how to vote should not be allowed to vote themselves. If police and prison records mean anything, they mean that, considered as law-abiding citizens, women are ten times as good as men.

FATHER SCULLY.—The opposition to female suffrage is a matter of course. All great social and political reforms, as well as religious ones, have always been resisted by prejudices, customs, and the old cry of "inopportune." So it is with this. It is a battle—reason and justice opposed by senseless fears and selfish notions.

The cause is just. It may be defeated today, but never conquered, and tomorrow it will be victorious.

HON. H. B. ANTHONY, R. I.—When we seriously attempt to show that a woman who pays taxes ought not to have a voice in the manner in which the taxes are expended, that a woman whose property and liberty and person are controlled by the laws should have no voice in framing those laws, it is not easy. If women are fit to rule in monarchies, it is difficult to say why they are not qualified to vote in a republic.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.—If prayer and womanly influence are doing so much for God by indirect methods, how shall it be when that electric force is brought to bear through the battery of the ballot box?

JUDGE McKENZIE CLELAND, of the Municipal Court of Chicago.—If ever there was a time when we needed the sympathetic touch of woman in our laws, it is today. If ever there was needed in the affairs of state that unselfish genius which has ever been the peculiar endowment of womankind, it is now. Florence Nightingale with her lamp going from cot to cot in the hospital at Scutari, bringing comfort and cheer and hope, is but a picture of woman with the ballot.

OLIVE SCHREINER.—I have never regarded the desire (now as widespread

LAURA CLAY, Kentucky.—The forward movement of either sex is possible only when the other moves also.

U. S. SENATOR TELLER, of Colorado.—Woman suffrage has resulted in nothing that is objectionable, and in much that is advantageous.

EX-GOV. FRANK W. HUNT, of Idaho.

—You may state most positively that woman suffrage in Idaho purifies politics. The woman vote has compelled not only State conventions, but more particularly county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office.

JOHN SPARGO, New York .- In the great Empire State of the greatest republic in history, the present woman is still politically on a level with the vilest criminal and the most driveling imbecile. Woman is bound to the mound of the debris of all the ages-the debris of false conventions, outworn lies and useless labors. By a senseless servitude to useless things she is prevented from giving her offspring the intelligent care which otherwise would be possible. By ties which bind her to false ideas of sex, a cruel and vain standard of sex ethics, she is doomed to nourish blindly and ignorantly the offspring she as blindly and ignorantly bears.

MRS. SARAH PLATT DECKER, Denver.—Under equal suffrage, there is much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the

part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow citizens.

DR. M. CAREY THOMAS, President of Bryn Mawr College.—I confidently believe that equal suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated, public-spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliatting conditions. Educated men will recoil in their turn from the sheer unreason of the position that the opinions and wishes of their wives and mothers are to be consulted upon every other question except the laws and government under which they and their husbands and children must live and die.

MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN, Chicago.

—Foreign women, it is argued, are not fit to have the ballot. The foreign women are usually better in morals and intelligence than the foreign men to whom the ballot is given.

BISHOP BOWMAN, New Jersey.— In quite early life I formed the opinion that women ought to vote, because it is right, and for the best interests of the country. Years of observation and thought have strengthened this opinion.

HON. THOMAS W. PALMER, Michigan.—If we are ever going to have a state of society whose progress shall be up and not down, I believe it must be through woman suffrage. Apart from the justice of

the right conceded, the practical part must appeal to most men of unbiased minds.

CLARA BARTON to the Soldiers.—
When you were weak and I was strong,
I toiled for you. Now you are strong and I
am weak. Because of my work for you, I ask
your aid. I ask the ballot for myself and my
sex. As I stood by you, I pray you stand by
me and mine.

DR. WM. E. HUNTINGTON, President of Boston University.—If women can stand side by side with men in the halls of learning, why not in the life outside? Our educated women are pouring out of our institutions of learning in long processions. Why not open the larger doors of public usefulness, and let them help to solve the pressing problems of the time?

LYON G. TYLER, President of William and Mary College.—I believe in sweeping away all legal limitations upon women and leaving to nature the determination of her proper position in society. No one denies that she is as much entitled as man to the fundamental rights—Life, Liberty and Property—and it is only logically just that she should have the means of protecting them. Prominent among these means are the right to vote and the right to hold office.

MRS. K. A. Sheppard, President New Zealand Council of Women.—Today a young New Zealander in his teens no longer regards his mother as belonging to a sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere. That the lads and young men of a democracy should have their whole conception of the rights of humanity broadened is in itself an incalculable benefit.

BARONESS ALEXANDRIA GRIPEN-BERG.—The new suffrage law of Finland gives all women over 24 years of age the parliamentary vote and makes them eligible on exactly the same terms as men. Ever since the step was taken the men have behaved admirably. Our male coworkers aid us and advise us in the kindest and most fraternal way.

MRS. EMILY A. FIFIELD.—Women need the ballot, because in these days of clubs and associations they are learning more about their obligations to society, and the great burdens it has to bear. Today the community needs the most faithful work of all women who may have any capacity whatever, and every strong woman wishes to do her full share of such work.

DR. EARL BARNES, New Jersey.—
To raise the political plane of America, we must begin with the children and gradually raise the tone of the entire population. As the majority of teachers in intelligent communities are women, women should be given the right of suffrage so that they may learn just what to impart to the minds of children.

REV. DR. N. D. HILLIS, Brooklyn.— Women have more time to read and study and are improving their time. Eventually they will vote and tell the men for whom they shall vote. Eventually all the universities will be coeducational and the women will carry off almost all the prizes.

WILLIAM MARION REEDY, editor St. Louis "Mirror."—"Woman has an indidirect influence and should be content with that." This is the argument of "chivalry." What does "chivalry" do for woman? Sends her to the sweatshop or to the streets. Beats down her wages, after forcing her to work. Denies her social redemption when she falls, but forgives the man who brings about her fall. Chivalry only glamours woman's slavery.

"Votes for women" is a slogan that must win. It is the battle cry of a movement for the economic emancipation of the sex. All evils are curable only through freedom. A free womanhood is therefore necessary to cleanse our social and economic system.

RABBI CHARLES FLEISCHER.—We are not a democracy so long as woman does not take her place in full equality before the law with man. Rights are not to be measured by the numbers who want them. So long as there is one woman who wants the right to vote, she is, according to the spirit of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, entitled to that right.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, D. D.—I leave it to others to speak of suffrage as a right or a privilege; I speak of it as a duty. * * * What right have you women to leave all this work of caring for the country with men? Is it not your country as well as theirs? Are not your children to live in it after you are gone? And are you not bound to contribute whatever faculty God has given you to make it and keep it a pure, safe and happy land?

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, Pres. International Woman Suffrage Alliance.— Some men say that they would protect women from the deterioration of voting. Gentlemen, there is a class of women in this country who are already represented, women who are a power in government, and we who do not belong to that class ask, more than for any other reason, that we may have the right to protect and to defend and to represent at the polls the virtuous women of this country. Today when you attack the saloon in any State of the Union you also attack the brothel; if you attack the brothel, you attack the gambling den; and it is this great triple alliance

that today stands more than any other against the enfranchisement of women.

D. M. VALENTINE, Justice Supreme Court of Kansas.—The women's votes have generally been cast in favor of good officers and good government.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

—The ballot is a citizen's tongue and hands. Without a ballot, and the dignity and power that sceptre gives, the moral influence of the city mothers is essentially crippled in combating the evils of society. If educated, intelligent and yirtuous women had the right of suffrage, our best men would always find in them a reserve moral power to establish a safe and stable government.

BISHOP BERNARD J. McQUAID (Roman Catholic).—It fills me with joy when I think of the many changes that will be brought about when women have the right of suffrage. They will defy the politicians and vote as any Christian man should and would vote if he had the moral courage.

T. W. HIGGINSON.—Woman must be enfranchised. It is a mere question of time. She must be a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. Admit, in the slightest degree, her right to property or education, and she must have the ballot to protect the one and use the other. And there are no objections to this, except such as would

equally hold against the whole theory of republican government.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.—I think women are bound to seek the suffrage as a very great means of doing good.

ELLEN GLASGOW.—True democracy means, if anything, neither class government nor sex government, but a government of all the people by all the people. Evolution has brought us to the recognition of the political equality of men. It is evolution, it is the law of progressive democracy that is leading us inevitably to the enfranchisement of women.

HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD, Massachusetts.—I believe in woman sufrage because women are as integral a part of the commonwealth as men, and have equal social rights, and the first of all social rights is the right of self-government.

MEYER BLOOMFIELD.—Woman suffrage is not a question of politics; it is a question of statesmanship. Every city is learning that one woman with an interest in politics is worth more than one hundred men with mere interest in politics.

REV. CHARLES AKED, D. D., New York.—Nothing since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the intellectual, moral and political emancipation of women.

PROF. W. I. THOMAS, in the American Magazine.—I think the case for woman suffrage may be regarded as virtually decided. We respond to reason slowly, but we are finally amenable to it. * * * The question is now in the condition where ways and means are beginning to be discussed rather than the general principle.

DR. MARGARET LONG.—Women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment. The most noticeable effect in legislation is the advance along humane lines, in the greater protection given to children and animals. The humane laws of Colorado surpass those of any other State or country.

REV. GEORGE C. LORIMER, D. D.—All gatherings of women in clubs, assemblies, church guilds, charitable and philanthropic organizations, mothers' conventions and so on, are measures looking to the final triumph of woman suffrage. There is no reason why every discrimination which exists today against women should not be removed. Till then, humanity will never attain the highest, and the ideals which we are cherishing will never be fulfilled.

MRS. HELEN L. GRENFELL (for three terms State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Colorado).—Instead of thinking less of their homes after they were granted the ballot, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these close corporations something of the scientific spirit of the age. Chairs of domestic economy were established in the State Agricultural College and the State Normal School. Interest in the old-fashioned, womanly arts has increased instead of diminishing.

REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Pres. National American Woman Suffrage Association.—Since 5,000,000 American women are employed in gainful occupation, every principle of justice known to a republic demands that these 5,000,000 toilers be enfranchised in order that they may be able to obtain and enforce legislation for their own protection.

WILLIAM M. SALTER.—Suffrage is not a mechanical thing by itself; it is the act of a citizen, and presupposes public aims. I do not plead for a mere mechanical right to put a piece of printed paper into a ballot box. I plead for this right in connection with all it implies; I plead for woman's right to become a fullgrown human being.

LINCOLN STEFFENS.—The question as to woman's suffrage is a question of democracy. All Democrats believe in it; and whoever does not is simply not a Democrat.

BISHOP SAMUEL K. FALLOWS (Episcopal).—A woman is just as well qualified to cast a vote for every municipal officer in Chicago as any man.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.—You ask my reason for believing in women's suffrage. It seems to me almost self-evident, an axiom, that every householder and taxpayer ought to have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being.

PROF. CHARLES ZUEBLIN, Boston.—Properly understood, suffrage does not mean the appointing of ward heelers; it means the park system, and public schools, and hospitals, and playgrounds, and public libraries, in matters of this kind we can make no distinction between men and women. Today, to secure the best results in city government, we must have the common service of men and women.

LUTHER BURBANK, of California.—
There is not a greater disgrace existing in the world today than that our women should not be allowed to vote while foreigners, who know nothing of our government or our institutions and have no interest in them, should be allowed to vote. That such a condition should exist in a civilized country is astounding beyond belief.

MRS. OLIVE TILFORD DARGAN.—
I am warmly in favor of the ballot for women.

ELIZA CALVERT HALL, Kentucky.—
The franchise is not given to a man in order that he may express the political views of his wife, his sister or his maiden aunt. It is conferred on him that he may express his own views; and, as this is a republic, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," and as women are people, the wife, the sister and the maiden aunt should have the right to express their own views.

MRS. A. WATSON LISTER, Secretary of the Women's National Council of Australia.-One striking result of equal suffrage is that members of Parliament now consult us as to their bills, when these bear upon the interests of women. The author of the new divorce bill asked all the women's organizations to come together and hear him read it, and to make criticisms and suggestions. I do not remember any such thing happening before in all my years in Australia. When a naturalization bill was pending, one clause of which deprived Australian women of citizenship if they married aliens, a few women went privately to the prime minister and protested, and that clause was altered immediately. After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms, without avail, because we had no votes, you cannot imagine the difference it makes.

REV. THOMAS SCULLY.—We must regard suffrage as a privilege, not a right, but it comes naturally to women as a privilege, through the movement for good government. When we study the Declaration of Independence and find out its meaning, I think it must impress us all the more that suffrage belongs to women as well as to men, because it says government exists to secure just laws for the governed. This is a very strong argument, a very American argument, a very democratic argument, and, what is still better, a very just argument. It is my wish to see the franchise granted to women.

FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH, of Massachusetts.—The most compelling force in human society is now beginning to operate in conjunction with the brave spirits who so long have struggled to bring their sisters to the light; this force which even of itself will slowly overcome old habits of mind and breed a desire on the part of woman for the ballot. This is the power of economic determinism-sheer necessity. Steadily, surely, relentlessly woman is being forced into the struggle for a livelihood with every stage of industrial evolution. In every walk of life she is colliding with the facts and forces that will bring her at last to see that the ballot is imperative, if she is ever to enjoy common justice.

PROF. HENRY E. KELLY.—Colorado has never heard of a case of family discord

that was even alleged to have originated in woman suffrage.

HON. HUGH H. LUSK, Ex-Member of New Zealand Parliament.—The family is the foundation of the State. We find that equal suffrage is the greatest family bond and tie; the greatest strengthener of family life.

LADY HOLDER (wife of Sir Frederick W. Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia).—Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be before they obtained the franchise, and politicians deal more earnestly with home and social questions, but no neglect of private duties on that account can be laid to the women's charge.

HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.—The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum.

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

PROF. EDWARD H. GRIGGS, New Jersey.—The ballot is an educator, and

women will become more practical and more wise in using it.

HENRY B. BLACKWELL.—A limited suffrage is always subject to corrupt influences, just in proportion to its limitation. Universal suffrage for all citizens, irrespective of sex, is the power that will save the people from political and industrial serfdom.

MARY JOHNSTON, in The Atlantic Monthly.—We have a thing called indirect influence, the indirection of which is extreme indeed. It has been claimed that we are furnished with an ancient arquebuse called "virtual representation." Virtual representation There is no such thing in the field of law, nor, I should imagine, in any other field. The elector is directly represented by the man he sends to the legislature. An army corps "virtually represented" on the battlefield sounds somehow like something out of "Alice in Wonderland." The arm the women want is the standard one of tested efficiency. It is called the Ballot.

LADY HENRY SOMERSET.—It is said that women ought not to vote, because they do not fight. But she who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms.

BISHOP J. W. BASHFORD (Methodist).—If Christianity is completely to restore that which was lost in Adam, how can it stop short of completely abolishing

the subordination of woman, which the Bible declares to be the direct result of sin, and of leading us back to that Edenic proclamation, "Let them have dominion over the earth?"

MRS. CHARLES, Author of "The Schonberg Cotta Family."—Public spirit, a genuine spirit in all questions of national or social importance, is as essential a part of true womanhood as of true manhood; and women ought not be exempt from the duty of voting.

LORD MAYOR TALLON of Dublin.— The women of Ireland, who vote in municipal elections, have suffered no loss either of dignity or domesticity.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.—We need the participation of woman in the ballot box. It is idle to fear that she will meet with disrespect or insult at the polls. Let her walk up firmly and modestly to deposit her vote, and if any one ventures to molest her, the crowd will swallow him up as the whale swallowed up Jonah.

REV. WALTER WALSH, of Dundee.—You can get at the best side of the electorate through the women being interested in the higher side of life, and voting for the things that promote it. In Scotland, where women have the municipal vote, every reformer knows that if he can get the women to understand his program, he will be stronger at the polls.

MRS. MARY KENNEY O'SULLIVAN, Vice-President Women's National Trade Union League.—When women organize and vote, they will get equal pay for equal work.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE, New York City.—A certain minister says women ought not to vote because suffrage is not a natural but a derived right. So is the right of children to a common school education. So is our right to sanitary and police protection. It is not natural. Heaven did not make policemen. But who will say that girls should be shut out from school, or women from police protection because it is not a natural right?

MRS. FANNY B. AMES.—The factory girl needs the ballot for the same reason that she needs education, or any other privilege that will lift her in the scale of human beings. There is a great body of law which applies exclusively to the working girl, and regulates her relations with her employer. She must work under these laws, but she has had no voice in making them.

EX-CHIEF JUSTICE FISHER of Wyoming.—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 effect 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.

HON. OLIVER W. STEWART, Illinois.

—The granting of the ballot to women is along the line of the higher development of our humanity. I hope the time may never come when I can be so forgetful of the interests, rights, or liberties of any human being as to refuse such a simple act of justice, however few the number asking for it.

LOUISA M. ALCOTT.—Every year gives me greater faith in it, greater hope of its success, and a more earnest wish to use what influence I possess for its advancement.

BARONESS ALLETTA KORFF, in the National Geographic Magazine.-In Finland over 50 per cent. of the laws introduced into the three successive Diets have concerned the welfare of children. Many have been for rendering medical aid to poor women throughout the country districts, and for instructing them in the proper care of infants; many have treated of the improvement and extension of the public school system and the care of school children; still others have dealt with special classes of children, orphans, waifs, and juvenile delinquents. The schools of domestic training are of great importance, especially in the country districts and among the poorer class of people. They are becoming

most valuable factors in the cultural development of the country, and are doing more than perhaps could be done in any other way to raise the general standard of living.

EX-GOV. JOHN L. BATES of Massachusetts.—Conscience is what we need in public life today more than any other factor. We have ability, but we know that things are not run always just as we should like to have them. Bring this superior responsiveness of womanhood to the duties of life to bear on the government of this nation, and I believe we shall have added that one factor now wanting.

JUDGE H. H. NORTHRUP.—I have believed in equal suffrage for years. We are told that women do not want it. If there is one woman who wants it, that's enough.

HON. BENJAMIN F. WADE.—Every argument that can be adduced to prove that males should have the right to vote applies with equal force to prove that females should possess the same right.

PROF. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, of Cornell University.—The present world-movement for the enfranchisement of women shows that, under the influence of advancing civilization, the nations of the earth are becoming ready for universal suffrage and the conception of society which it implies. For, in the ultimate analysis, it is not the extension of political rights to the

last disfranchiseed class, important as this is, that is so deeply significant in this movement, nor even the fact that this class consists of women, but the new sense of social possibilities which it betokens.

REV. DR. DAVID GREGG.—Everybody feels the justice of the Golden Rule. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Would men have women rob them of their ballot? No. Then let not men rob women of their ballot. That is the Golden Rule put into practical form.

REV. DR. FRANCES E. CLARK, President United Society of Christian Endeavor.

—I do not know of any unanswerable argument against woman suffrage, and I know a great many arguments in its favor. As I have seen its operation in New Zealand and other parts of the world, my belief in it has been strengthened.

GEORGE W. CABLE.—I have never seen an argument against woman suffrage that was not flimsy. Men are much disposed to exaggerate the difficulties of voting intelligently, when they talk of women voting. By the time a public question is ready for the popular vote it has become a very simple question that requires little more than honesty and common sense to vote upon it. If our mothers are not fit to vote, they ought to stop bearing sons.

MARY E. WOOLLEY, President of Mt. Holyoke College.—In temperance work, on school and health boards, in prison reform, in peace conferences, in factory and shop inspection, in civil service reform, in attempts to solve social and industrial problems, women are not only a factor, but in many cases the chief workers. It seems almost inexplicable that changes, surely as radical as giving women the vote, should be accepted as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance. The time will come when one shall look backupon the arguments against granting the suffrage to women with as much incredulity as we now read the arguments against their education.

JOHN H. MICKEY, Ex-Governor of Nebraska.—In the Nebraska Legislature twenty-four years ago I voted "aye" on the submission of a suffrage amendment to the voters of Nebraska. I have never had occasion since to change my views.

W. E. MULLEN, Attorney General of Wyoming.—Woman suffrage stimulates interest and study, on the part of women, in public affairs. Questions of public interest are discussed in the home; more papers and magazines are read, and the interests of the State and the home are promoted.

MR. DOOLEY (F. P. DUNNE).—"If Molly Donahue wint to vote in a livery stable, th' first thing she'd do wud be to get a broom, sweep up th' floors, take th' harness from th' walls, an' hang up a picture iv Niagary be moonlight; chase out th' watchers an' polis, remove th' seegars, make th' judges get a shave, an' p'raps invalydate th' iliction. It's no job f'r her, and' I told her so."

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.—The weapon of Christian warfare is the ballot, which represents the peaceable assertion of conviction and will. Society everywhere is becoming converted to its use. Adopt it, O you women, with clean hands and a pure heart! * * * If manhood suffrage is unsatisfactory, it does not all show that woman suffrage would be. On the contrary, we might make it much better by bringing to it the feminine mind, which, in a way, complements the masculine, and so completes the mind of humanity.

GEORGE MEREDITH.—I am strongly in favor of woman suffrage. Until you throw open to women every avenue of employment in which they can use their faculties you will never realize the service they can render. I would give them all a vote and give it to them at once.

EMIL G. HIRSCH.—Every right goes with a duty. Women pay taxes and do public service and hold up before us the standard of righteousness, and they ought to have a vote.

PRESIDENT SLOCUM, of Colorado College.—Before women voted, the primary meeting in Colorado Springs was generally

attended by a mere handful of persons, most of them professional politicians. Now the attendance is four times as large, and includes the best men and women of the community.

MRS. ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.—
I believe the ballot would be a good thing for American women, especially those of the leisure class. If it did nothing else, it would give them legitimate interests which they lack now.

W. L. DOUGLAS, Ex-Gov. of Massachusetts.—I am on record as a member of the legislature of 1883, 1884 and 1886 as favoring the suffrage for women.

SENATOR HENRY WALDO COE, of Oregon.—I have a mother to whom I owe everything, and I should not think of denying her the right to vote. The woman who takes an interest in the affairs of the country takes the best interest in the home.

REV. CHARLES F. THWING, President Western Reserve University and Adelbert College.—The woman suffrage movement seems to me to be right, not so much for what it is in itself as for what it effects; it is in the line of the general elevation of the race; it represents a higher civilization; it increases the power of those things that make for righteousness.

GEORGE C. PARDEE, Ex-Governor of California.—I see no reason why women—simply because they are women—should not have the privilege of the suffrage.

U. S. SENATOR ROBERT M. LAFOL-LETTE.—In reply to your question as to whether I believe in the principle of woman suffrage, I reply in the affirmative.

REV. CHARLES G. AMES.—Political enfranchisement would go far to quicken women's sense of social and public responsibility, and would put into their hands a mighty instrument for making their interest in reform effective.

LUCY STONE.—Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does picket duty by his cradle. Later on, she is his quartermaster and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to a man, shall he say to his mother, "If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody"? It is a coward's argument!

JOHN C. CUTLER, Governor of Utah.

—I have been for a long time, and still am, convinced that it is both right and desirable for women to have the privilege of the suffrage.

SIR JOSEPH WARD, Premier of New Zealand.—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.

MRS. RUSSELL SAGE, New York City.

—By the year 1914 the suffrage movement will have advanced to the point where the necessary amendment to the Constitution, urged by a monster petition of women who own property, will be passed by the legislative bodies of New York State; and when once the women of the Empire State go to the polls, the women of all the States of the Union will be given the same right.

PROF. FREDERICK D. MAURICE.

—By withholding suffrage from women we make them, it seems to me, politicians of the worst sort. On the other hand, if the legislature frankly admitted women to the exercise of the suffrage, it would, I believe, gradually raise the tone of the whole land, by raising the tone of those who, often to their injury, govern its governments.

HON. THOMAS B. REED.—No one who listens to the reasons given by the superior class for the continuance of any system of subjection can fail to be impressed with the noble disinterestedness of mankind. Hence, when it is proposed to give the women an opportunity to present their case to the various State Legislatures to demand equality of political rights, it is not surprising to find that the reasons on which the continuance of the inferiority of women is urged are drawn almost entirely from a tender

consideration of their own good. The anxiety felt lest they should thereby deteriorate would be an honor to human nature were it not an historical fact that the same sweet solicitude has been put up as a barrier against every progress which women have made since civilization began.

HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio.—
I believe in woman suffrage, not for women alone, not for men alone, but for the advantage of both men women.

HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, Indiana.—A just man ought to accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the rights which he demands for himself. It makes no difference whether all women want to vote, or whether most women want to vote. So long as there is one woman who insists upon this simple right, the justice of man cannot afford to deny it.

REV. CHARLES F. DOLE, Massachusetts.—Politics is properly the friendly consideration of all manner of common interests, in which the women are as much concerned as the men are. Why should the State then keep up the old world barrier of political inferiority against such mothers, sisters and wives? No one can give any reason, except such arguments of conservative timidity as have generally withstood every step in the advancement of mankind.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.—We used to ask for suffrage because women needed it as a means to larger opportunities. But the aspect of the woman question has changed. Women are now saying, as in the days of the war, "The country needs us."

LOUIS F. POST, in The Chicago Public.

To say that women are too frail to be burdened with the vote is sheer nonsense, unless it means much more than the burden of going to the polls and dropping a ballot into the box. * * * Unless it means that the voting right would impose a duty to take a vital interest in public affairs, the argument falls flat. But if this is the gist of the argument, then it is a plea for the exemption of women from taking any vital interest in public affairs; and the woman who in fact takes no interest in public affairs is unfit for mothering citizens in a democratic republic.

PROF. LUCY M. SALMON, Vassar College.—College women are learning that the enemy of society is not the woman in Colorado who votes, but the woman in New York who plays bridge. It is not the woman who takes an intelligent interest in the life of which she is a part, but the woman who sits by the window and watches the callers of her neighbors across the way. Not the woman who works in the shops or the factory, but the woman whose days are passed at the bargain counter. Not the woman who earns money, but the

woman who wastes it, because she has never learned its value.

W. A. JOHNSTON, Justice Supreme Court of Kansas.—In consequence (of woman suffrage) our elections are more orderly and fair, a higher class of officers are chosen, and we have cleaner and stronger city governments.

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY, Secretary National Consumers' League.—Does anyone believe that if the women had power to make themselves felt in the administration of affairs we should have 80,000 children on half time in the schools in New York City? Does anyone believe we should have to boil our water before we dare to drink it? It would make a vast difference in American cities if women could enforce their will and conscience by the ballot.

AMELIE RIVES TROUBETZKOY.—
I have believed in the political freedom of women ever since I read John Stuart Mill on the subject over twenty years ago.

AMOS R. WELLS, Editor of the Christian Endeavor World.—Desiring to learn how the women were using their privilege in the four enfranchised States, I wrote to a number of the clergymen in those States, taking their names at random from the subscription lists of our paper. I received twenty-five replies. Four leading denominations were represented, and a goodly

proportion of the writers were doctors of divinity. The answers were almost unanimously favorable to woman suffrage. I had asked whether the experiment was working well, fairly well or poorly. One gentleman in Wyoming thought it was working poorly, three in Colorado thought it was working fairly well, and all the rest were positive, and some of them enthusiastic, in their statements that it was working well.

MRS. CHARLOTTE PERKINS GIL-MAN.—Politics governs even the purity of the milk supply. It is not "outside the home," but inside the baby.

E. W. HOCH, Governor of Kansas.—
By the way, who gave man the right to decide this matter, anyhow? Why haven't women as much right to disfranchise men as men have to disfranchise women? Isn't it, as a matter of fact, a brutal usurpation of power, a relic of primitive barbarity, when might made right, unworthy of a chivalrous, modern manhood? I believe the time is hastening when the manhood and womanhood of our land will be mutually blended in civil government as they are now beautifully blended in the highest and best type of civil government —the ideal home.

MRS. LYDIA KINGSWELL COM-MANDER, New York.—I consider the ballot the best cure for race-suicide.

MAYOR "GOLDEN RULE" JONES, of Toledo.—When the question is fairly

put to them, I find no men who deny this proposition of the equality of the sexes. Who but a blasphemer could say that his mother is inferior to himself? No one would expect to develop an ideal family life where the mother was regarded as inferior to the father, where the children were taught to look upon the mother as an inferior being. Spiritual equality must be admitted before there can be perfect cooperation. As the perfect family cannot be produced except by the equal co-operation of the father and mother, so no scheme of government will ever be a just government that does not build upon this principle as its foundation stone.

PROF. R. E. MACNAGHTEN, McGill University, Montreal (formerly of Tasmania.—Ninety per cent. of the men of Australia would agree that the concession of the vote to women has been a real benefit to the State. They have very largely declared themselves against privilege, against monopolies of all kinds, against the raising of the cost of living, in favor of individual liberty, in favor of temperance, moral and physical cleanliness, and all that goes to build up a good national character.

THEODORE PARKER.—I believe in the admission of woman to the full rights of citizenship and share in the government, on the express grounds that few women keep house so badly or with such wastefulness as chancellors of the exchequer keep the State, and womanly genius for organization applied to affairs of the nation would be extremely economical and beneficial.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.—There is no problem upon which an intelligent woman cannot throw some new light. In neglecting woman's help, men are blundering, not merely in what they do, but still more badly in what they do not do; in the terribly important provinces of life which they leave untouched by legislation. We men require women's suffrage as much for our own sakes as for women's sakes.

MRS. MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH.

—I believe emphatically that a woman's place is home; but where is her home? Mine is all the way from Boston to San Francisco and from Canada to the Gulf. The question is not what a woman should be allowed to do, but can she do it properly? In this reform (woman suffrage) home is the very watchword, for all the interests of the home, and all the evils that affect the home, are largely dependent upon politics. Women not only should have the power to deal with these, but they could wield it effectively.

WINSTON CHURCHILL.—I shall try my best to get women the franchise. The women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women.

W. E. BORAH, of Idaho, in The Delineator.—The vote as a political potentiality is a powerful factor at all times in shaping the policies of State campaigns and in determining in some measure, although not to the same extent, the qualities of candidates. And this factor is always for the good, for whether women may make mistakes or not in the matter of actual voting, men universally accredit to them the aptitude of getting upon the right side of those great moral and quasi-moral questions which are entering more and more into State campaigns.

REV. EDWARD McSWEENEY, Mt. St. Mary's, Md .- I hope that women will consent to vote, as they do in England, for public officers. For the life of me I never could see that Blanche of Castile, or Matilda of Canossa, or Victoria Guelph were less exemplary as women for their being all their lives mixed in politics; and I think that a great onward step in the progress of mankind will be made when every adult person shall take an active part in the government of our country. Should she decide to take part in politics, she will help to purify these, and then the vast number of men of intelligence and refinement who now avoid the polls will take a practical interest in good government.

REV. CAROLINE BARTLETT CRANE, of Michigan, at the St. Paul Conservation Congress.-Women have considered it a prime virtue to wholly subordinate themselves and their point of view to man; both because they have been and are economically dependent on men and because they love them-most of all, because they love them and wish to fulfil the ideals of men for women. But never shall we have the truly womanly woman until she is made free to think her thoughts and look at the world through her own eyes, and add her verdict to that of man upon the things of life which affect her and her children often far more poignantly than they affect him.

REV. WILLIAM C. GANNETT, Rochester, N. Y.—Womanhood and motherhood will yet be arguments for voting, as manhood and fatherhood are to-day; and the scorn will be for those whose "refinement" shirks the duty, and for the mannishness which would bar out a woman, as a woman, from the right.

EX-GOVERNOR WARREN, of Wyoming.—Our women nearly all vote, and since in Wyoming, as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the results are good and not evil.

FRANCES MAULE BJORKMAN.—I am a suffragist, not primarily because I believe that the woman's vote will purify the ballot, and not because I have a sense of

humiliation in being classed with infants and idiots, but because in the course of seven years' active newspaper reporting in Denver, Chicago and New York it has been positively demonstrated to me that a vote is a thing worth having.

MRS. EDNAH D. CHENEY.-We hear little today of the "angel" argument, that women are too fine for the coarse, rough work of the world, and should be shielded in hot-houses, where not even the wind of heaven should visit them too roughly. Whoever has worked side by side with women in sanitary commissions and prison boards, has seen them go fearlessly into police courts to secure the protection of families, or into foul wards of hospitals to save human lives, knows that this is not the type of American woman, however it may be the lady of romance. Your women on the boards of charities, in benevolent institutions, in churches, in their daily round of work, may spend health and strength and life in mitigating the effects of evil; but when the question is on removing causes, they have no vote.

PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JOR-DAN, of Stanford University.—Equal suffrage would tend to broaden the minds of women, and to increase their sense of personal responsibility. It may help to solve the problem of honest and clean local government, and make our cities centres of sweetness and light, as well as of activity and strength.

DR. CHARLES A. BEARD, Columbia University.—Woman suffrage will come as a result of the increasing economic independence of women, which will in turn sharpen her intellect, force upon her an interest in the social and economic conditions which are determining her own destiny in so great a measure, and finally give her that self-respect and self-sufficiency which prevent her from being content with the alternate adoration and contempt of the opposite sex.

BRYANT B. BROOKS, Governor of Wyoming.—I consider woman suffrage of great benefit to any commonwealth. There is certainly no argument which can be made against it.

GEORGE HODGES, D. D., Dean of Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.—I am in favor of bringing the votes of women to the reinforcement of all good causes.

MRS. CLARENCE H. MACKEY, New York City.—I want women to vote because it will improve the educational system of the whole country.

C. S. THOMAS, Ex-Governor of Colorado.—To the bread-winning portion of the sex (female) the ballot is a boon. She is a factor whose power must be respected. Like her brother, she must be reckoned with at the polls. Hence,

it is her buckler against industrial wrong, her protection against the constant tendency to reduce her wages because of helplessness. If no other reason existed for conferring this right upon womankind, this, to the man of justice, should be all sufficient.

EDWIN MARKHAM.—The woman movement of this country is its most significant movement, because it brings human hearts together. We want not the rule of gold, but the Golden Rule. To carry this out in this world we need the help of the women. I am a very ardent woman suffragist.

because every question of politics affects the woman in the home. Out of the woman's housekeeping allowance, which has not increased, come the increased profits of the beef trust, and the milk trust, and the sugar trust, and the canned goods trust. If women had a say-so in making the laws, they would have long ago clipped the wings of the predatory combinations that have increased the cost of living so greatly.

GEORGE F. HOAR.—We have driven our leading opponent from one position to another, until there is not a thoughtful opponent of woman suffrage to be found who is not obliged to deny the doctrine which is affirmed in our Declaration of Independence.

MRS. ZERELDA G. WALLACE.—
More and more the schools of America are passing under the control of woman, and she has so demonstrated her fitness to teach that this educational reform will not go backward. Then, for the safety of the nation, it must go forward, till, by her enfranchisement, her fitness to be the teacher of America's future citizens will be complete.

EX-GOVERNOR GARVIN of Rhode Island.—Whoever accepts the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence must believe in the right of women to vote. If taxation without representation is tyranny, if government derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, then the suffrage must be extended to women upon the same terms as to men.

BISHOP J. W. HAMILTON (Methodist).—I believe the work for equal suffrage to be a Christian work, and I try to aid it because I am a Christian minister. I always enjoy reminding people that the first woman's rights convention in this country was held in a Methodist church.

JOSEPH WALKER, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.— Some people believe in limiting the suffrage; I believe in broadening it. I believe that the welfare of the country is far safer in the hands of the ordinary men and women who are up against the hard, cruel facts of life than in the hands of the few of greater

wealth and education, perhaps, and supposed to be higher up in the social scale, but who, experience has shown us, are frequently more intent on exploiting than on serving the people.

GOVERNOR SHAFROTH, of Colorado.

—Woman suffrage is not only right, but practical. It tends to elevate. There is not a caucus but is better attended, and by better people, and held in a better place. I have seen the time when a political convention without a disturbance and the drawing of weapons was rare. That time is past in Colorado, and it is due to the presence of women. Every man now shows that civility which makes him take off his hat and not swear, and deport himself decently when ladies are present.

PROF. SOPHRONISBA BRECKEN-RIDGE, University of Chicago.—Under our present form of city life, housekeeping has become a public function, and the ballot has become a domestic necessity. The housekeeper must buy milk and meat; she must make the clothing, or buy it ready-made. She needs a vote on the ordinances which control the conditions. She must have something to say about the men who make and enforce them. She has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless she feels that the officials of the city are as much responsible to her as are the domestic servants she selects.

M. J. SAVAGE.—I have not found a respectable reason why women should not vote, although I have read almost everything that has been written on the subject, on both sides.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.—As a stockholder, a woman may vote upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other. But if she sells her stock, and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for. Why, in the name of good sense, if a responsible human being may vote upon specific industrial projects, may she not vote upon the industrial regulation of the State?

EX-CHIEF JUSTICE GROESBECK, of Wyoming.—The influence of the women voters has always been on the side of temperance, morality and good government, and opposed to drunkenness, gambling and immorality.

DR. H. HEBER NEWTON.—I am glad to express my emphatic conviction, not merely that woman is entitled to franchise, but that the logical issue of American citizenship, as of Christian justice and morality, is certain to put the ballot in the hands of woman.

MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD, Boston.— Not only must millions of women now earn their living outside the home, but the housekeeper, as well as they, is more and more dependent upon outside conditions which only a voter can efficiently control, and which every woman who loves her home ought to desire to help control.

BISHOP SPALDING (Roman Catholic).

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

FLORA ANNA STEELE.—Woman's natural task of child-bearing places them in the first fighting line. The essence of military service is the risking of life and the endurance of hardship for the general good. Surely if the long, irksome months ending in pain and danger which go to the making of every citizen were summed up, the grand total of devotion would be with the woman, and not with the man—even in war time.

PROF. FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER.

—Our cause is universal; its majesty is intrinsic; its logic is unanswerable; its success is sure.

REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM, D. D.— I most earnestly believe that the moral forces of society would be strengthened if the privilege and duty of voting were shared by women.

SIR ROBERT STOUT, Chief Justice of New Zealand.—Woman suffrage has been beneficial. It has interested women in questions of State and it is difficult to estimate its educative influence.

LADY STOUT, wife of the Chief Justice of New Zealand .- The .following table shows the average death rate of infants under one year old in ten years: infant's mortality per 1,000 births; in Hungary 215, in Germany 190, in France 149, in England and Wales 147, in Scotland 125, in New Zealand 77. As New Zealand's birth-rate is higher than that of England and Wales, and the infant mortality lower than that of any other country, I think even an "Anti" must acknowledge that the population rate has gained since women were enfranchised. * * * The most marked and beneficial effect of the franchise in New Zealand is that the women are awakening to the responsibilities of motherhood, and consider their living children of more value to the State than those that are peopling the graveyard.

HON. GEORGE FOULDS, Minister of Education and Public Health, New Zealand.—The extension of the suffrage to the women of New Zealand has made for the moral welfare of the whole community. With-

out being revolutionary, their influence has been on the side of progress and clean government. * * * I should say the almost universal verdict of the people of New Zealand would be that the admission of women to the franchise was not only right in principle, but satisfactory in practice.

HON. JOHN GEORGE FINDLAY, M. L. C., Atty. General and Colonial Secy., New Zealand.—The women's franchise in New Zealand has, on the whole, resulted in good to the well-being and progress of the Colony. As regards the use made by women of the vote, you have the statistics of the last elections in New Zealand, and particularly the last Federal Election (Australia), in which it will be found women exercised their vote as freely as the men. I consider that the educational work done by the organized women of the Colony since 1890 has been a great factor in stimulating humanitarian interest.

ANNE WHITNEY, Sculptor, Boston.— From the present posture of affairs and the comparative length of stride of the two countries toward civilization, it would seem possible that Turkey will arrive at the goal of woman suffrage a century before Massachusetts.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.—There is and can be but one safe principle of government—equal rights to all. Discrim-

ination against any class on account of color, nativity, sex, property, culture, can but embitter and disaffect that class, and thereby endanger the safety of the whole people.

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Eminent Opinions on Woman Suffrage

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

JANE ADDAMS.—If woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say that American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?

DR. HARVEY W. WILEY.—If the members of the women's clubs of the nation could vote, it would not be so difficult to secure pure food and drug legislation, nor to enforce laws properly when those were enacted. The women, above all others of our population, are intensely interested in pure foods and pure

drugs because they realize how much these things mean for the happiness and welfare of the home and for the lives and health of the children and other members of the family. If woman suffrage were not desirable for any other reason, it would be worth while to have it to have better food laws and better enforcement of those we have.

HON. WELDON B. HEYBURN, U. S. Senator from Idaho.—The general tone of political affairs in the State has been improved since the adoption of woman suffrage. In particular, greater care is exercised in the selection of candidates for office.

MARK TWAIN.—If women had the ballot, they would drive the corruption out. Each party would be compelled to put up its best candidates to stand any chance of winning. I would like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, Secretary National Child Labor Committee.—My immediate reason for favoring the enfranchisement of women is that the most serious problems of the present day are industrial, and our whole industrial system is affected by the employment of women and children. Naturally the child must be regarded as a ward of the State, because he lacks strength and experience for self-direction; but no such reason exists in the case of the woman. In my judgment, child labor will be abolished and civilized standards

of employment secured far quicker by the combined political action of men and women than by continuing to regard woman as the incompetent recipient of legislative favors. Beyond this, we cannot seriously claim to believe in the principle of popular government so long as we deny to one-half the people—possibly the more intelligent half—participation in the responsibilities of government.

HENRY GEORGE.—The natural right of a woman to vote is just as clear as that of a man, and rests on the same ground. Since she is called on to obey the laws, she ought to have a voice in making them.

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

G. W. RUSSELL, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand.—Prior to woman's franchise, the distinctive feature of our politics was finance. Legislative proposals were regarded almost entirely from the point of view (1) What would they cost? and (2) What would be their effect from a commercial standpoint? The woman's view is not pounds nor pence, but her home, her family. In order to win her vote, the politicians had to look at public matters from her point of view. Her

ideal was not merely money, but happy homes, and a fair chance in life for her husband, her intended husband and her present or prospective family.

BRAND WHITLOCK, Mayor of Toledo.—I have been asked why I believe in woman suffrage. One might as well ask why I believe in the sun or the stars or the ocean. I believe that women should vote because they are women, just as I believe that men should vote because they are men.

JOHN STUART MILL.—To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is governed is a means of self-protection due to every one. Under whatever conditions and within whatever limits men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.

HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, U. S. Senator from Oregon.—I am in thorough accord with the principles of woman suffrage and shall give my vote and whatever influence I may have in the advancement of the same whenever the opportunity presents itself.

TOM L. JOHNSON, late Mayor of Cleveland.—After all, democracy is not a matter of sex any more than it is a matter of race, color or previous condition, but a matter of people. The more perfect the recognition of the common rights of all people the more perfect and the more just the democracy. A truly enlightened and democratic form of

government would, of course, recognize the equal rights of women.

PHILLIPS BROOKS.—I am in favor of woman suffrage.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.—With all my head, and with all my heart, I believe in woman suffrage.

HON. JOHN W. KINGMAN, late Judge of U. S. Supreme Court of Wyoming.—At our first election, before women voted, we had a perfect pandemonium. At the next election women voted, and perfect order prevailed, and has prevailed ever since. In caucus discussions, the presence of a few ladies is worth more than a whole squad of police.

JOHN MITCHELL, Ex-President United Mine Workers of America.—I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has indorsed the demand that women be given the right to vote. It's a sure thing that any adult who is amenable to the laws of the country should have a voice in the making of those laws, under which he or she is governed.

HON. JOHN V. JOHNSON, late Governor of Minnesota.—I have repeatedly, in public and in private, declared my belief in equal suffrage. Certainly I think there can be little room for argument that the women of the United States with their broad culture and strong sympathies are equally entitled to every



REV. W. S. RAINSFORD, New York.— We have admitted woman's right to property and education. It is then only a question of time until we admit her right to the ballct; for by it she can best protect the one and express the other.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President American Federation of Labor.—I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.

MRS. CATHARINE WAUGH McCUL-LOCH, Justice of the Peace.—The most important reason why women should have the right to vote is because they need the ballot for their own protection from crime, disease, starvation, ignorance and manifold other dangers.

DR. RAYMOND V. PHELAN, of the University of Minnesota.—The woman suffrage movement is but part of the wider movement for democracy, which, from the intellectual point of view, means education and enlightenment for all classes and conditions of humankind, and which means, from the moral point of view, social justice.

MRS. MAUD NATHAN, President Consumers' League of New York.—My experience in investigating the conditions of women wage earners warrants the assertion that some of the evils from which they suffer would not exist if women had the right to place their ballots in the ballot box. In the States where

women vote, there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls.

HON. SAMUEL J. BARROWS, National Prison Commissioner.—Questions of philanthropy are more and more forcing themselves to the front in legislation. Women have to journey to the legislature at every session to instruct members and committees at legislative hearings. Some day we shall think it absurd that women who are capable of instructing men how to vote should not be allowed to vote themselves. If police and prison records mean anything, they mean that, considered as law-abiding citizens, women are ten times as good as men.

REV. THOMAS SCULLY.—The opposition to female suffrage is a matter of course. All great social and political reforms, as well as religious ones, have always been resisted by prejudices, customs, and the old cry of "inopportune." So it is with this. It is a battle—reason and justice opposed by senseless fears and selfish notions. The cause is just. It may be defeated to-day, but never conquered, and to-morrow it will be victorious.

HCN. H. B. ANTHONY, R. I.—When we seriously attempt to show that a weman who pays taxes ought not to have a voice in the manner in which the taxes are expended, that a woman whose property and liberty and person are controlled by the laws should have no voice in framing these laws, it is not easy.

If women are fit to rule in monarchies, it is difficult to say why they are not qualified to vote in a republic.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.—If prayer and womanly influence are doing so much for God by indirect methods, how shall it be when that electric force is brought to bear through the battery of the ballot box?

HON. McKENZIE CLELAND, Judge of the Municipal Court of Chicago.—If ever there was a time when we needed the sympathetic touch of woman in our laws, it is to-day. If ever there was needed in the affairs of state that unselfish genius which has ever been the peculiar endowment of womankind, it is now. Florence Nightingale with her lamp going from cot to cot in the hospital at Scutari, bringing comfort and cheer and hope, is but a picture of woman with the ballot.

OLIVE SCHREINER.—I have never regarded the desire (now as widespread as civilization itself), that woman should take her share in the duties and labors of the national life as in any sense a movement of the sexes against each other, but rather as a great integrative movement of the sexes toward each other.

PROF. WILLIAM T. HARRIS, late U. S. Commissioner of Education.—Just as woman in literature, both as authoress and as audience, has effected a radical reform, an elimination of the obscenity and harshness from literature

and art, so woman in the State will avail to eliminate the rigors of law, and much of the corruption in politics that now prevails.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.—In my opinion, suffrage for women is bound to come. There are many arguments against it, but no reasons.

REV. B. F. CRARY, former Presiding Elder of the M. E. Churches in Northern Colorado and Wyoming.—Liquor sellers and gamblers are unanimous in cursing woman suffrage.

PROF. JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, President National Consumers' League.-By nothing have we been more deluded and blinded than by the traditional interpretation of what politics means. It is really something very simple. People are everywhere finding out that their single strength is too weak. They have to group themselves and make certain regulations for protection; and that is politics. Are women less concerned than men in having clean streets, decent sewers, untainted milk, good schools, charities properly administered, hospitals put on a proper footing? Yet we cannot have to do with any of these things without taking part in politics, pure and simple.

LOUISE COLLIER WILCOX—I believe that until women win legal and political equality, civilization is and must remain practically at a standstill. No honorable and dis-

interested woman has a right to shirk any longer the moral obligation laid upon her to assume her responsibility as a citizen in the framing of public opinion and the making of the laws under which she shall live.

HON. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, Ex-Governor of Oregon.—I hope that this State will give women the ballot, and I hope that every State will do it.

HON. LYMAN U. HUMPHREY, Ex-Governor of Kansas.—The vote of the women has increased at each election, and it is a factor in securing purer and better municipal government

NORMAN HAPGOOD, Editor of Collier's.—I believe the participation of women in municipal elections would be likely to result in political improvement directly by increasing the amount of attention given to fundamental moral, economic and human considerations, and thereby decreasing the rule of mere partisanship and office-seeking.

LAURA CLAY, Kentucky.—The forward movement of either sex is possible only when the other moves also.

HENRY M. TELLER, Former U. S. Senator from Colorado.—Woman suffrage has resulted in nothing that is objectionable, and in much that is advantageous.

HON, FRANK W. HUNT, late Ex-Governor of Idaho,-Woman suffrage in Idaho puri-

fies politics. The woman vote has compelled not only State conventions, but more particularly county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office.

JOHN SPARGO.—In the great Empire State of the greatest republic in history, the present woman is still politically on a level with the vilest criminal and the most driveling imbecile. Woman is bound to the mound of the debris of all the ages—the debris of false conventions, outworn lies and useless labors. By a senseless servitude to useless things she is prevented from giving her offspring the intelligent care which otherwise would be possible. By ties which bind her to false ideas of sex, a cruel and vain standard of sex ethics, she is doomed to nourish blindly and ignorantly the offspring she as blindly and ignorantly bears.

MRS. SARAH PLATT DECKER, Denver.—Under equal suffrage, there is much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow citizens.

DR. M. CAREY THOMAS, President of Bryn Mawr College.—I confidently believe that equal suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated, public-spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliating conditions. Edu-

cated men will recoil in their turn from the sheer unreason of the position that the opinions and wishes of their wives and mothers are to be consulted upon every other question except the laws and government under which they and their husbands and children must live and die.

MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN, Chicago.— Foreign women, it is argued, are not fit to have the ballot. The foreign women are usually better in morals and intelligence than the foreign men to whom the ballot is given.

RT. REV. THOMAS BOWMAN, Methodist Episcopal Bishop, New Jersey.—In quite early life I formed the opinion that women ought to vote, because it is right, and for the best interests of the country. Years of observation and thought have strengthened this opinion.

HON. THOMAS W. PALMER, Former U. S. Senator from Michigan.—If we are ever going to have a state of society whose prograss shall be up and not down, I believe it must be through woman suffrage. Apart from the justice of the right conceded, the practical part must appeal to most men of unbiased minds.

CLARA BARTON.—I believe I must have been born believing in the full right of woman to all the privileges and positions which nature and justice accord to her in common with other human beings: perfectly equal rights—human rights.

LYON G. TYLER, President of William and Mary College.—I believe in sweeping away all limitations upon women and leaving to nature the determination of her proper position in society. No one denies that she is as much entitled as man to the fundamental rights—Life, Liberty and Property—and it is only logically just that she should have the means of protecting them. Prominent among these means are the right to vote and the right to hold office.

MRS. K. A. SHEPPARD, President New Zealand Council of Women.—To-day a young New Zealander in his teens no longer regards his mother as belonging to a sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere. That the lads and young men of a democracy should have their whole conception of the rights of humanity broadened is in itself an incalculable benefit.

BARONESS ALEXANDRIA GRIPEN-BERG.—The suffrage law of Finland gives all women over twenty-four years of age the parliamentary vote and makes them eligible on exactly the same terms as men. Ever since the step was taken the men have behaved admirably. Our male co-workers aid us and advise us in the kindest and most fraternal way.

MRS. EMILY A. FIFIELD.—Women need the ballot, because in these days of clubs and associations they are learning more about their obligations to society, and the great burdens it has to bear. To-day the community needs the most faithful work of all women who may have any capacity whatever, and every strong woman wishes to do her full share of such work.

DR. EARL BARNES, New Jersey.—To raise the political plane of America, we must begin with the children and gradually raise the tone of the entire population. As the majority of teachers in intelligent communities are women, women should be given the right of suffrage so that they may learn just what to impart to the minds of children.

SELMA LAGERLOFF, Sweden.—Women must enter all fields; they must be on hand everywhere, if the State is ever to be beloved like the home. We believe that the winds of God are bearing us onward, that our little masterwork, the home, was our creation with the help of man. The great masterwork, the State, shall be perfected by man when in all seriousness he takes woman as his helper.

REV. NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS, Brooklyn.—Women have more time to read and study and are improving their time. Eventually they will vote and tell the men for whom they shall vote. Eventually all the universities will be coeducational and the women will carry off almost all the prizes.

WILLIAM MARION REEDY, editor St. Louis "Mirror."—"Votes for women" is a slo-

gan that must win. It is the battle cry of a movement for the economic emancipation of the sex. All evils are curable only through freedom. A free womanhood is therefore necessary to cleanse our social and economic system.

RABBI CHARLES FLEISCHER, Boston.—We are not a democracy so long as woman does not take her place in full equality before the law with man. Rights are not to be measured by the numbers who want them. So long as there is one woman who wants the right to vote, she is, according to the spirit of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, entitled to that right.

MRS. HELEN GILBERT ECOB.—The disreputable women, in any city of the United States, represent but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of that class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.—I leave it to others to speak of suffrage as a right or a privilege; I speak of it as a duty.

* * What right have you women to leave all this work of caring for the country with men? Is it not your country as well as theirs? Are not your children to live in it after you are gone? And are you not bound to contribute whatever faculty God has given you to make it and keep it a pure, safe and happy land?

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT. Pres. International Woman Suffrage Alliance .-Some men say that they would protect women from the deterioration of voting. There is a class of women in this country who are already represented, women who are a power in government, and we who do not belong to that class ask, more than for any other reason, that we may have the right to protect and to defend and to represent at the polls the virtuous women of this country. Today, when you attack the saloon in any State of the Union you also attack the brothel; if you attack the brothel, you attack the gambling den; and it is this great triple alliance that today stands more than any other against the enfranchisement of women.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.—
The ballot is a citizen's tongue and hands. Without a ballot, and the dignity and power that sceptre gives, the moral influence of the city mothers is essentially crippled in combating the evils of society. If educated, intelligent and virtuous women had the right of suffrage, our best men would always find in them a reserve moral power to establish a safe and stable government.

RT. REV. BERNARD J. McQUAID, late Roman Catholic Bishop, Rochester, N. Y.—It fills me with joy when I think of the many changes that will be brought about when women have the right of suffrage. They will

defy the politicians and vote as any Christian man should and would vote if he had the moral courage.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

—Woman must be enfranchised. It is a mere question of time. She must be a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. Admit, in the slightest degree, her right to property or education, and she must have the ballot to protect the one and use the other. And there are no objections to this, except such as would equally hold against the whole theory of republican government.

ELLEN GLASGOW. — True democracy means, if anything, neither class government nor sex government, but a government of all the people by all the people. Evolution has brought us to the recognition of the political equality of men. It is evolution, it is the law of progressive democracy that is leading us inevitably to the enfranchisement of women.

HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD, Massachusetts.—I believe in woman suffrage because women are as integral a part of the commonwealth as men, and have equal social rights, and the first of all social rights is the right of self-government.

REV. CHARLES AKED.—Nothing since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the intellectual, moral and political emancipation of women. PROF. W. I. THOMAS, of Chicago University.—I think the case for woman suffrage may be regarded as virtually decided. We respond to reason slowly, but we are finally amenable to it. * * * The question is now in the condition where ways and means are beginning to be discussed rather than the general principle.

DR. MARGARET LONG, Colorado.— Women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment.

REV. GEORGE C. LORIMER.—All gatherings of women in clubs, assembles, church guilds, charitable and philanthropic organizations, mothers' conventions and so on, are measures looking to the final triumph of woman suffrage. There is no reason why every discrimination of which exists to-day against women should not be removed. Till then, humanity will never attain the highest, and the ideals which we are cherishing will never be fulfilled.

MRS. HELEN L. GRENFELL (for three terms State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Colorado).—Instead of thinking less of their homes after they were granted the ballot, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these close corporations something of the scientific spirit

of the age. Chairs of domestic economy were established in the State Agricultural College and the State Normal School. Interest in the old-fashioned, womanly arts has increased instead of diminishing.

REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Pres. National American Woman Suffrage Association.—Since 8,000,000 American women are employed in gainful occupation, every principle of justice known to a republic demands that these 8,000,000 toilers be enfranchised in order that they may be able to obtain and enforce legislation for their own protection.

WILLIAM M. SALTER.—Suffrage is not a mechanical thing by itself; it is the act of a citizen, and presupposes public aims. I do not plead for a mere mechanical right to put a piece of printed paper into a ballot box. I plead for this right in connection with all it implies; I plead for woman's right to become a full grown human being.

LINCOLN STEFFENS.—The question as to woman's suffrage is a question of democracy. All Democrats believe in it; and whoever does not is simply not a Democrat.

RT. REV. SAMUEL K. FALLOWS, Bishop Reformed Episcopal Church, Chicago.—A woman is just as well qualified to cast a vote for every municipal officer in Chicago as any man.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.—It seems

to me almost self-evident, an axiom, that every householder and taxpayer ought to have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being.

PROF. CHARLES ZUEBLIN, Boston.—
Properly understood, suffrage does not mean
the appointing of ward heelers; it means the
park system, and public schools, and hospitals,
and playgrounds, and public libraries. In matters of this kind we can make no distinction
between men and women. To-day, to secure
the best results in city government, we must
have the common service of men and women.

LUTHER BURKANK, California.—There is not a greater disgrace existing in the world to-day than that our women should not be allowed to vote while foreigners, who know nothing of our government or our institutions and have no interest in them, should be allowed to vote. That such a condition should exist in a civilized country is astounding beyond belief.

ELIZA CALVERT HALL, Kentucky.— The franchise is not given to a man in order that he may express the political views of his wife, his sister or his maiden aunt. It is conferred on him that he may express his own views; and, as this is a republic, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," and as women are people, the wife, the sister and the maiden aunt should have the right to express their own views.

MRS. A. WATSON LISTER, Secretary of the Women's National Council of Australia.-One striking result of equal suffrage is that members of Parliament now consult us as to their bills, when these bear upon the interests of women. The author of the new divorce bill asked all the women's organizations to come together and hear him read it, and to make criticisms and suggestions. I do not remember any such thing happening before in all my years in Australia. When a naturalization bill was pending, one clause of which deprived Australian women of citizenship if they married aliens, a few women went privately to the prime minister and protested, and that clause was altered immediately. After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms, without avail, because we had no votes, you cannot imagine the difference it makes.

EDWARD T. DEVINE, General Secretary New York Charity Organization Society.— For as long as I can remember I have been an advocate of the suffrage for women. What appeals to me, as a citizen, as a campaigner for social amelioration and for social justice, is the substantial value, for the advancement of all the specific causes in which I am interested, and for the solution of the problems about which I am most deeply concerned, of

the active participation of women in the tasks of citizenship. Who can doubt that all these fundamental questions, these still unsolved problems of our common life, will yield their solution more certainly and more quickly when woman's experience, her insight and point of view, her traditions and resources are brought to bear directly upon them?

FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH, Massachusetts.-The most compelling force in human society is now beginning to operate in conjunction with the brave spirits who so long have struggled to bring their sisters to the light; this force which even of itself will slowly overcome old habits of mind and breed a desire on the part of woman for the ballot. This is the power of economic determinismsheer necessity. Steadily, surely, relentlessly woman is being forced into the struggle for a livelihood with every stage of industrial evolution. In every walk of life she is colliding with the facts and forces that will bring her at last to see that the ballot is imperative, if she is ever to enjoy common justice.

PROF. HENRY E. KELLY.—Colorado has never heard of a case of family discord that was even alleged to have originated in woman suffrage.

HON. HUGH H. LUSK, Ex-Member of New Zealand Parliament.—The family is the foundation of the State. We find that equal suffrage is the geatest family bond and tie; the greatest strengthener of family life.

LADY HOLDER, wife of Sir Frederick W. Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia.— Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be before they obtained the franchise, and politicians deal more earnestly with home and social questions, but no neglect of private duties on that account can be laid to the women's charge.

HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.—The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum.

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

PROF. EDWARD H. GRIGGS, New Jersey.—The ballot is an educator, and women will become more practical and more wise in using it.

HENRY B. BLACKWELL.—A limited suffrage is always subject to corrupt influences, just in proportion to its limitation. Universal suffrage for all citizens, irrespective of sex, is the power that will save the people from political and industrial serfdom.

MARY JOHNSTON, Virginia.—We have a thing called indirect influence, the indirection of which is extreme indeed. It has been claimed that we are furnished with an ancient arquebuse called "virtual representation." Virtual representation. There is no such thing in the field of law, nor, I should imagine, in any other field. The elector is directly represented by the man he sends to the legislature. An army corps "virtually represented" on the battlefield sounds somehow like something out of "Alice in Wonderland." The arm the women want is the standard one of tested efficiency. It is called the Ballot.

LADY HENRY SOMERSET.—It is said that women ought not to vote, because they do not fight. But she who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms.

RT. REV. J. W. BASHFORD, Methodist Episcopal Bishop in China.—If Christianity is completely to restore that which was lost in Adam, how can it stop short of completely abolishing the subordination of woman.

LORD MAYOR TALLON of Dublin.— The women of Ireland, who vote in municipal elections, have suffered no loss either of dignity or domesticity.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.—We need the participation of woman in the ballot box. It is idle to fear that she will meet with disrespect or insult at the polls. Let her walk up firmly and modestly to deposit her vote, and if any one ventures to molest her, the crowd will swallow him up as the whale swallowed up Jonah.

REV. WALTER WALSH, Dundee.—You can get at the best side of the electorate through the women being interested in the higher side of life, and voting for the things that promote it. In Scotland, where women have the municipal vote, every reformer knows that if he can get the women to understand his program, he will be stronger at the polls.

MRS. MARY KENNEY O'SULLIVAN, Vice-President Women's National Trade Union League.—When women organize and vote, they will get equal pay for equal work.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE, New York City.—A certain minister says women ought not to vote because suffrage is not a natural but a derived right. So is the right of children to a common school education. So is our right to sanitary and police protection. It is not natural. Heaven did not make policemen. But who will say that girls should be shut out from school, or women from police protection because it is not a natural right?

MRS. FANNY B. AMES.—The factory girl needs the ballot for the same reason that she needs education, or any other privilege that will lift her in the scale of human beings. There is a great body of law which applies exclusively to the working girl, and regulates

her relations with her employer. She must work under these laws, but she has had no voice in making them.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS. Boston.—The change in my opinion with respect to woman suffrage is due to the result of my own experience in the various movements with which I have been connected in which we have tried to solve the social, economic and political problems that have presented themselves from time to time. As years have passed I have been more and more impressed with the difficulty and complexity of those problems, and also with the power of society to solve them; but I am convinced that for their solution we must look to the many, not to the few. We need all the people, women as well as men.

HON. JOSEPH M. CAREY, Governor of Wyoming.—It is only a question of time when the women of all the states in the Union will be voting. We have had woman suffrage on trial in Wyoming for forty-three years, and it is an unqualified success. It undoubtedly adds greatly to woman's power and opportunity for good.

HON. OLIVER W. STEWART, Illinois.

—The granting of the ballot to women is along the line of the higher development of our humanity. I hope the time may never come when I can be so forgetful of the interests, rights, or liberties of any human being

as to refuse such a simple act of justice, however few the number asking for it.

LOUISA M. ALCOTT.—Every year gives me greater faith in it, greater hope of its success, and a more earnest wish to use what influence I possess for its advancement.

BARONESS ALLETTA KORFF, Finland.-In Finland over 50 per cent. of the laws introduced into the three successive Diets have concerned the welfare of children. Many have been for rendering medical aid to poor women throughout the country districts, and for instructing them in the proper care of infants; many have treated of the improvement and extension of the public school system and the care of school children: still others have dealt with special classes of children, orphans, waifs, and juvenile delinquents. The schools of domestic training are of great importance, especially in the country districts and among the poorer class of people. They are becoming most valuable factors in the cultural development of the country, and are doing more than perhaps could be done in any other way to raise the general standard of living.

REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN.—I do not believe that the extension of the suffrage to women is right; I know that it is right. I know it through the familiar arguments advanced by its advocates, and I know it through my own experience with the vic-

tims of a world conducted in the interests of the capitalistic male human being. When it is argued that general woman's suffrage would give power to "immoral" women, I reply that no woman has a better right to the ballot than the street-woman, because no other woman is quite so directly the victim of those governmental and industrial conditions that can be cured only by either violence or the ballot.

HON. WALTER R. STUBBS, Governor of Kansas.—I am and always have been in favor of equal suffrage. The question will be submitted to the voters of this State at the fall election of 1912, and will undoubtedly result in the full enfranchisement of the women of Kansas.

PROF. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University.—The present world-movement for the enfranchisement of women shows that, under the influence of advancing civilization, the nations of the earth are becoming ready for universal suffrage and the conception of society which it implies. For, in the ultimate analysis, it is not the extension of political rights to the last disfranchised class, important as this is, that is so deeply significant in this movement, nor even the fact that this class consist of women, but the new sense of social possibilities which it betokens.

REV. DAVID GREGG.-Everybody feels

the justice of the Golden Rule. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Would men have women rob them of their ballot? No. Then let not men rob women of their ballot. That is the Golden Rule put into practical form.

REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, President United Society of Christian Endeavor.—I do not know of any unanswerable argument against woman suffrage, and I know a great many arguments in its favor. As I have seen its operation in New Zealand and other parts of the world, my belief in it has been strengthened.

GEORGE W. CABLE.—I have never seen an argument against woman suffrage that was not flimsy. Men are much disposed to exaggerate the difficulties of voting intelligently, when they talk of women voting. By the time a public question is ready for the popular vote it has become a very simple question that requires little more than honesty and common sense to vote upon it. If our mothers are not fit to vote, they ought to stop bearing sons.

MARY E. WOOLLEY, President of Mt. Holyoke College.—In temperance work, on school and health boards, in prison reform, in peace conferences, in factory and shop inspection, in civil service reform, in attempts to solve social and industrial problems, women are not only a factor, but in many cases the chief workers. It seems almost inexplicable

that changes, surely as radical as giving women the vote, should be accepted as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance. The time will come when one shall look back upon the arguments against granting the suffrage to women with as much incredulity as we now read the arguments against their education.

JOHN H. MICKEY, Ex-Governor of Nebraska.—In the Nebraska Legislature twenty-four years ago I voted "aye" on the submission of a suffrage amendment to the voters of Nebraska. I have never had occasion since to change my views.

W. E. MULLEN, Attorney General of Wyoming.—Woman suffrage stimulates interest and study, on the part of women, in public affairs. Questions of public interest are discussed in the home; more papers and magazines are read, and the interests of the State and the home are promoted.

PETER FINLEY DUNNE, Chicago ("Mr. Dooley").—If Molly Donahue wint to vote in a livery stable, th' first thing she'd do wud be to get a broom, sweep up th' floors, take th' harness from th' walls, an' hang up a picture iv Niagary be moonlight; chase out th' watchers an' polis, remove th' seegars, make th' judges get a shave, an' p'raps invalydate th' iliction. It's no job f'r her, an' I told her so.

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.-The

weapon of Christian warfare is the ballot which represents the peaceable assertion of conviction and will. Society everywhere is becoming converted to its use. Adopt it, O you women, with clean hands and a pure heart!

* * If manhood suffrage is unsatisfactory, it does not all show that woman suffrage would be. On the contrary, we might make it much better by bringing to it the feminine mind, which, in a way, complements the masculine, and so completes the mind of humanity.

GEORGE MEREDITH.—I am strongly in favor of woman suffrage. Until you throw open to women every avenue of employment in which they can use their faculties you will never realize the service they can render. I would give them all a vote and give it to them at once.

EMIL G. HIRSCH.—Every right goes with a duty. Women pay taxes and do public service and hold up before us the standard of righteousness, and they ought to have a vote.

HON. JOHN BURKE, Governor of North Dakota.—In my opinion, the woman suffrage movement is growing, and it is only a question of time until there will be adopted in all the States legislation granting women the right of suffrage.

MRS. ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.—I believe the ballot would be a good thing for American women, especially those of the

leisure class. If it did nothing else, it would give them legitimate interests which they lack now.

HON. HENRY WALDO COE, Former U. S. Senator from Oregon.—I have a mother to whom I owe everything, and I should not think of denying her the right to vote. The woman who takes an interest in the affairs of the country takes the best interest in the home.

REV. CHARLES F. THWING, President Western Reserve University and Adelbert College.—The woman suffrage movement seems to me to be right not so much for what it is in itself as for what it effects; it is in the line of the general elevation of the race; it represents a higher civilization; it increases the power of those things that make for righteousness.

GEORGE C. PARDEE, Ex-Governor of California.—I see no reason why women—simply because they are women—should not have the privilege of the suffrage.

HON. HIRAM JOHNSON, Governor of California.—I stand for votes for women.

HON. ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, U. S. Senator from Wisconsin.—I have always believed in woman suffrage to the same extent as man suffrage for the reason that the interests of men and women are not superior nor antagonistic one to the other, but are mutual and inseparable. Co-suffrage like co-

education will react, not to the special advantage of either men or women, but will result in a more enlightened, better balanced citizenship and truer democracy.

REV. CHARLES G. AMES.—Political enfranchisement would go far to quicken women's sense of social and public responsibility, and would put into their hands a mighty instrument for making their interest in reform effective.

LUCY STONE.—Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does picket duty by his cradle. Later on, she is his quartermaster and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to a man, shall he say to his mother, "If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody?" It is a coward's argument!

HON. OSWALD WEST, Governor of Oregon.—I am in favor of the woman suffrage movement. I think there is justice in the demand of its advocates, and in my opinion it will in time be successful in this State. I would not attempt to prophesy whether woman suffrage will be national in its scope within ten years, but I do believe that within that time many more States will have adopted it than at present.

MRS. RUSSELL SAGE.—By the year 1914 the suffrage movement will have advanced to the point where the necessary amendment to

the Constitution, urged by a monster petition of women who own property, will be passed by the legislative bodies of New York State; and when once the women of the Empire State go to the polls, the women of all the States of the Union will be given the same right.

PROF. FREDERICK D. MAURICE.—By withholding suffrage from women we make them, it seems to me, politicians of the worst sort. On the other hand, if the legislature frankly admitted women to the exercise of the suffrage, it would, I believe, gradually raise the tone of the whole land, by raising the tone of those who, often to their injury, govern its governments.

HON. THOMAS B. REED .- No one who listens to the reasons given by the superior class for the continuance of any system of subjection can fail to be impressed with the noble disinterestedness of mankind. Hence, when it is proposed to give the women an opportunity to present their case to the various State Legislatures to demand equality of political rights, it is not surprising to find that the reasons on which the continuance of the inferiority of women is urged are drawn almost entirely from a tender consideration of their own good. The anxiety felt lest they should thereby deteriorate would be an honor to human nature were it not an historical fact that the same sweet solicitude has been put

up as a barrier against every progress which women have made since civilization began.

HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE.—I believe in woman suffrage, not for women alone, not for men alone, but for the advantage of both men and women.

HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, Indiana.—A just man ought to accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the rights which he demands for himself. It makes no difference whether all women want to vote, or whether most want to vote. So long as there is one woman who insists upon this simple right, the justice of man cannot afford to deny it.

REV. CHARLES F. DOLE, Massachusetts.—Politics is properly the friendly consideration of all manner of common interests, in which the women are as much concerned as the men are. Why should the State then keep up the old world barrier of political inferiority against mothers, sisters and wives? No one can give any reason, except such arguments of conservative timidity as have generally withstood eery step in the adancement of mankind.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.—We used to ask for suffrage because women needed it as a means to larger opportunities. But the aspect of the woman question has changed. Women are now saying, as in the days of the war, "The country needs us."

LOUIS F. POST, Editor of "The Public."—
To say that women are too frail to be burdened with the vote is sheer nonsense, unless it means much more than the burden of going to the polls and dropping a ballot into a box. * * * Unless it means that the voting right would impose a duty to take a vital interest in public affairs, the argument falls flat. But if this is the gist of the argument, then it is a plea for the exemption of women from taking any vital interest in public affairs; and the woman who in fact takes no interest in public affairs is unfit for mothering citizens in a democratic republic.

PROF. LUCY M. SALMON, Vassar Colllege.—College women are learning that the enemy of society is not the woman in Colorado who votes, but the woman in New York who plays bridge. It is not the woman who takes an intelligent interest in the life of which she is a part, but the woman who sits by the window and watches the callers of her neighbors across the way. Not the woman who works in the shops or the factory, but the woman whose days are passed at the bargain counter. Not the woman who earns money, but the woman who wastes it, because she has never learned its value.

W. A. JOHNSTON, Chief Justice Supreme Court of Kansas.—In consequence (of woman suffrage) our elections are more orderly and fair, a higher class of officers are chosen, and

we have cleaner and stronger city governments.

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY, Secretary National Consumers' League.—Does anyone believe that if the women had power to make themselves felt in the administration of affairs we should have 80,000 children on half time in the schools in New York City? Does anyone believe we should have to boil our water before we dare to drink it? It would make a vast difference in American cities if women could enforce their will and conscience by the ballot.

AMELIE RIVES TROUBETZKOY.—I have believed in the political freedom of women ever since I read John Stuart Mill on the subject over twenty years ago.

AMOS R. WELLS, Editor of the Christian Endeavor World.—Desiring to learn how the women were using their privilege in the four enfranchised States, I wrote to a number of the clergymen in those States, taking their names at random from the subscription lists of our paper. I received twenty-five replies. Four leading denominations were represented, and a goodly proportion of the writers were doctors of divinity. The answers were almost unanimously favorable to woman suffrage. I had asked whether the experiment was working well, fairly well or poorly. One gentleman in Wyoming thought it was working poorly, three in Colorado thought it was work-

ing fairly well, and all the rest were positive, and some of them enthusiastic, in their statements that it was working well.

MRS. CHARLOTTE PERKINS GIL-MAN.—Politics govern even the purity of the milk supply. It is not "outside the home," but inside the baby.

E. W. HOCH, Ex-Governor of Kansas.—
By the way, who gave man the right to decide
this matter, anyhow? Why haven't women as
much right to disfranchise men as men have
to disfranchise women? Isn't it, as a matter
of fact, a brutal usurpation of power, a relic
of primitive barbarity, when might made
right, unworthy of a chivalrous, modern manhood? I believe the time is hastening when
the manhood and womanhood of our land will
be mutually blended in civil government as
they are now beautifully blended in the
highest and best type of civil government—
the ideal home.

MRS. LYDIA KINGSWELL COM-MANDER, New York.—I consider the ballot the best cure for race-suicide.

SAMUEL MILTON JONES, late "Golden Rule" Mayor of Toledo.—When the question is fairly put to them, I find no men who deny this proposition of the equality of the sexes. Who but a blasphemer could say that his mother is inferior to himself? No one would expect to develop an ideal family life where the mother was regarded as inferior to the

father, where the children were taught to look upon the mother as an inferior being. Spiritual equality must be admitted before there can be perfect co-operation. As the perfect family cannot be produced except by the equal co-operation of the father and mother, so no scheme of government will ever be a just government that does not build upon this principle as its foundation stone.

PROF. R. E. MACNAGHTEN, McGILL University, Montreal, formerly of Tasmania.— Ninety per cent. of the men of Australia would agree that the concession of the vote to women has been a real benefit to the State. They have very largely declared themselves against privilege, against monopolies of all kinds, against the raising of the cost of living, in favor of individual liberty, in favor of temperance, moral and physical cleanliness, and all that goes to build up a good national character.

THEODORE PARKER.—I believe in the admission of woman to the full rights of citizenship and share in the government, on the express grounds that few women keep house so badly or with such wastefulness as chancellors of the exchequer keep the State, and womanly genius for organization applied to affairs of the nation would be extremely economical and beneficial.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.—There is no problem upon which an intelligent woman cannot throw some new light. In neglecting woman's help, men are blundering, not merely in what they do, but still more badly in what they do not do; in the terribly important provinces of life which they leave untouched by legislation. We men require women's suffrage as much for our own sakes as for women's sakes.

MRS. MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH .-

I believe emphatically that a woman's place is home; but where is her home? Mine is all the way from Boston to San Francisco and from Canada to the Gulf. The question is not what a woman should be allowed to do, but can she do it properly? In this reform (woman suffrage) home is the very watchword, for all the interests of the home, and all the evils that affect the home, are largely dependent upon politics. Women not only should have the power to deal with these, but they could wield it effectively.

WINSTON CHURCHILL.—I shall try my best to get women the franchise. The women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women.

W. E. BORAH, U. S. Senator from Idaho.— The vote as a political potentiality is a powerful factor at all times in shaping the policies of State campaigns and in determining in some measure, although not to the same extent, the qualities of candidates. And this factor is always for the good, for whether women may make mistakes or not in the matter of actual voting, men universally accredit to them the aptitude of getting upon the right side of those great moral and quasi-moral questions which are entering more and more into State campaigns.

REV. EDWARD McSWEENEY, Mt. St. Mary's, Md .- I hope that women will consent to vote, as they do in England, for public officers. For the life of me I never could see that Blanche of Castile, or Matilda of Canossa, or Victoria Guelph were less exemplary as women for their being all their lives mixed in politics; and I think that a great onward step in the progress of mankind will be made when every adult person shall take an active part in the government of our country. Should she decide to take part in politics, she will help to purify these, and then the vast number of men of intelligence and refinement who now avoid the polls will take a practical interest in good government.

REV. CAROLINE BARTLETT CRANE, of Michigan.—Women have considered it a prime virtue to wholly subordinate themselves and their point of view to man; both because they have been and are economically dependent on men and because they love them—most of all, because they love them and wish to fulfill the ideals of men for women. But never shall we have the truly womanly woman until she is made free to think her thoughts

and look at the world through her own eyes, and add her verdict to that of man upon the things of life which affect her and her children often far more poignantly than they affect him.

REV. WILLIAM C. GANNETT, Rochester, N. Y.—Womanhood and motherhood will yet be arguments for voting, as manhood and fatherhood are to-day; and the scorn will be for those whose "refinement" shirks the duty, and for the mannishness which would bar out a woman, as a woman, from the right.

HON. FRANCIS E. WARREN, U. S. Senator from Wyoming.—Our women nearly all vote, and since in Wyoming, as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the results are good and not evil.

FRANCES MAULE BJORKMAN.—I am a suffragist, not primarily because I believe that the woman's vote will purify the ballot, and not because I have a sense of humiliation in being classed with infants and idiots, but because in the course of seven years' active newspaper reporting in Denver, Chicago and New York it has been positively demonstrated to me that a vote is a thing worth having.

MRS. EDNAH D. CHENEY.—We hear little to-day of the "angel" argument, that women are too fine for the coarse, rough work of the world, and should be shielded in hothouses, where not even the wind of heaven should visit them too roughly. Whoever has

worked side by side with women in sanitary commissions and prison boards, has seen them go fearlessly into police courts to secure the protection of families, or into foul wards of hospitals to save human lives, knows that this is not the type of American woman, however it may be the lady of romance. Your women on the boards of charities, in benevolent institutions, in churches, in their daily round of work, may spend health and strength and life in mitigating the effects of evil; but when the question is on removing causes, they have no vote.

DAVID STARR JORDAN, President of Stanford University.—Equal suffrage would tend to broaden the minds of women, and to increase their sense of personal responsibility. It may help to solve the problem of honest and clean local government, and make our cities centres of sweetness and light, as well as of activity and strength.

DR. CHARLES A. BEARD, Columbia University.—Woman suffrage will come as a result of the increasing economic independence of women, which will in turn sharpen her intellect, force upon her an interest in the social and economic conditions which are determining her own destiny in so great a measure, and finally give her that self-respect and self-sufficiency which prevent her from being content with the alternate adoration and contempt of the opposite sex.

HON. BRYANT B. BROOKS, Ex-Governor of Wyoming.—I consider woman suffrage of great benefit to any commonwealth. There is certainly no argument which can be made against it."

REV. GEORGE HODGES, Dean of Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.—I am in favor of bringing the votes of women to the reinforcement of all good causes.

MRS. CLARENCE H, MACKAY, New York City.—I want women to vote because it will improve the educational system of the whole country.

HON. C. S. THOMAS, Ex-Governor of Colorado.—To the bread-winning portion of the sex (female) the ballot is a boon. She is a factor whose power must be respected. Like her brother, she must be reckoned with at the polls. Hence, it is her buckler against industrial wrong, her protection against the constant tendency to reduce her wages because of helplessness. If no other reason existed for conferring this right upon womankind, this, to the man of justice, should be all sufficient.

EDWIN MARKHAM.—The woman movement of this country is its most significant movement, because it brings human hearts together. We want not the rule of gold, but the Golden Rule. To carry this out in this

world we need the help of the women. I am a very ardent woman suffragist.

DOROTHY DIX.—Women should vote, because every question of politics affects the woman in the home. Out of the woman's housekeeping allowance, which has not increased, come the increased profits of the beef trust, and the milk trust, and the sugar trust, and the canned goods trust. If women had a say-so in making the laws, they would have long ago clipped the wings of the predatory combinations that have increased the cost of living so greatly.

GEORGE F. HOAR.—We have driven our leading opponent from one position to another, until there is not a thoughtful opponent of woman suffrage to be found who is not obilged to deny the doctrine which is affirmed in our Declaration of Independence.

MRS. ZERELDA G. WALLACE.—More and more the schools of America are passing under the control of woman, and she has so demonstrated her fitness to teach that this educational reform will not go backward. Then, for the safety of the nation, it must go forward, till, by her enfranchisement, her fitness to be the teacher of America's future citizens will be complete.

HON. L. F. C. GARVIN, Ex-Governor of Rhode Island.—Whoever accepts the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence must believe in the right of women to vote. If taxa-

tion without representation is tyranny, if government derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, then the suffrage must be extended to women upon the same terms as to men.

REV. J. W. HAMILTON, Methodist Episcopal Bishop, Boston.—I believe the work for equal suffrage to be a Christian work, and I try to aid it because I am a Christian minister. I always enjoy reminding people that the first woman's rights convention in this country was held in a Methodist church.

HON. JOSEPH WALKER, Massachusetts.—Some people believe in limiting the suffrage; I believe in broadening it. I believe that the welfare of the country is far safer in the hands of the ordinary men and women who are up against the hard, cruel facts of life than in the hands of the few of greater wealth and education, perhaps, and supposed to be higher up in the social scale, but who, experience has shown us, are frequently more intent on exploiting than on serving the people.

HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH, Ex-Governor of Colorado.—Woman suffrage is not only right, but practical. It tends to elevate. There is not a caucus but is better attended, and by better people, and held in a better place. I have seen the time when a political convention without a disturbance and the drawing of weapons was rare. That time is

past in Colorado, and it is due to the presence of women. Every man now shows that civility which makes him take off his hat and not swear, and deport himself decently when ladies are present.

SOPHRONISBA BRECKEN-PROF. RIDGE, University of Chicago.-Under our present form of city life, housekeeping has become a public function, and the ballot has become a domestic necessity. The housekeeper must buy milk and meat; she must make the clothing, or buy it ready-made. She needs a vote on the ordinances which control the conditions. She must have something to say about the men who make and enforce them. She has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless she feels that the officials of the city are as much responsible to her as are the domestic servants she selects.

HIS EMINENCE PATRICK FRANCIS MORAN, Late Cardinal of Australia.—The woman who votes only avails herself of a rightful privilege that democracy has gained for her. No longer a mere household chattel, she is recognized as man's fellow worker and helpmate, and credited with public spirit and intelligence. As a mother, she has a special interest in the legislation of her country, for upon it depends the welfare of her children. She knows what is good for them just as much as the father, and the unselfishness of maternity should make her interest even keener.

She should deem it one of the grandest privileges of her sex that she can now help to choose the men who will make the laws under which her children must live, and exert her purer influence upon the political atmosphere of her time.

M. J. SAVAGE.—I have not found a respectable reason why women should not vote, although I have read almost everything that has been written on the subject, on both sides.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.—As a stockholder, a woman may vote upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other. But if she sells her stock, and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for. Why, in the name of good sense, if a responsible human being may vote upon specific industrial projects, may she not vote upon the industrial regulation of the State?

HON. H. V. S. GROESBECK, late Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court of Wyoming.—
The influence of the women voters has always been on the side of temperance, morality and good government, and opposed to drunkenness, gambling and immorality.

DR. H. HEBER NEWTON.—I am glad to express my emphatic conviction, not merely that woman is entitled to franchise, but that the logical issue of American citizenship, as

of Christian justice and morality, is certain to put the ballot in the hands of woman.

MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD, Boston.—Not only must millions of women now earn their living outside the home, but the housekeeper, as well as they, is more and more dependent upon outside conditions which only a voter can efficiently control, and which every woman who loves her home ought to desire to help control.

RT. REV. JOHN LANCASTER SPALD-ING, Roman Catholic arch-bishop, Peoria, Ill.—The experiment (of equal suffrage) will be made, whatever our theories and prejudices may be. Women are the most religious, the most moral, and the most sober portion of the American people, and it is not easy to understand why their influence in public life is dreaded.

FLORA ANNA STEELE.—Women's natural task of child-bearing places them in the first fighting line. The essence of military service is the risking of life and the endurance of hardship for the general good. Surely if the long, irksome months ending in pain and danger which go to the making of every citizen were summed up, the grand total of devotion would be with the woman, and not with the man—even in war time.

PROF. FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER.— Our cause is universal; its majesty is intrinsic; its logic is unanswerable; its success is sure. HON. CLARENCE D. CLARK, U. S. Senator from Wyoming.—Woman suffrage worked with wonderfully good results while the territorial form of government lasted, and when Wyoming became a State was put into the constitution. So far I am informed, nobody who has the interest of the State at heart has ever desired or suggested a change.

SIR ROBERT STOUT, Chief Justice of New Zealand.—Woman suffrage has been beneficial. It has interested women in questions of State and it is difficult to estimate its educative influence.

LADY STOUT, wife of the Chief Justice of New Zealand.—The most marked and beneficial effect of the franchise in New Zealand is that the women are awakening to the responsibilities of motherhood, and consider their living children of more value to the State than those that are peopling the graveyard.

HON. GEORGE FOULDS, Minister of Education and Public Health, New Zealand.—
The extension of the suffrage to the women of New Zealand has made for the moral welfare of the whole community. Without being revolutionary, their influence has been on the side of progress and clean government. * * * I should say the almost universal verdict of the people of New Zealand would be that the admission of women to the franchise was not

only right in principle, but satisfactory in practice.

HON. JOHN GEORGE FINDLAY, M. L. C., Attorney General and Colonial Secretary, New Zealand.—The women's franchise in New Zealand has, on the whole, resulted in good to the well-being and progress of the Colony. As regards the use made by women of the vote, you have the statistics of the last elections in New Zealand, and particularly the last Federal Election (Australia), in which it will be found women exercised their vote as freely as the men. I consider that the educational work done by the organized women of the Colony since 1890 has been a great factor in stimulating humanitarian interest.

HON. ROBERT S. VESSEY, Governor of South Dakota.—In my opinion, the suffrage movement is one that will ultimately win. In the first place, I have been unable to find any good reason why men should have the right of suffrage that does not equally apply to women. I have no fear that woman will be made less womanly because of the extension to her of this right, and I do believe that it will materially improve the quality of conscience expressed at the ballot box of the country, and also give to women a just and proper consideration in matters pertaining to legislation. In other words, the success of the movement will accomplish much for our

government by more adequately equalizing justice in the interests of the entire citizenship.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.—There is and can be but one safe principle of government—equal rights to all. Discrimination against any class on account of color, nativity, sex, property, culture, can but embitter and disaffect that class, and thereby endanger the safety of the whole people.

REV. JOSEPH M. GLEASON .- The Catholic Church teaches above all things reverence for women and veneration for motherhood, but there is no danger to the dignity of womanhood or motherhood to be feared from the ballot. The fact that a woman is the mother of sons and daughters will tend to make her more careful in voting for the government under which her children are to be reared. I am looking at the question as a priest of the Catholic Church. We need the women to hold back the forces of corruption and give decency and fair-mindedness a chance. She should be man's equal, not alone in the home, but in the body politic, and she will. You might as well try to stop the torrents of Niagara as to stop equal suffrage.

HON. JAMES H. HAWLEY, Governor of Idaho.—I have stood for women suffrage for forty-one years. Woman exercises the franchise quite as intelligently as man, and with a higher degree of conscientiousness. All our

best women vote, and, by so doing, exert a powerful influence for good in the administration of public affairs.

HON. FRANCIS E. WARREN, U. S. Senator from Wyoming.—Our women are intelligently active in public affairs, but, withal, as womanly and as devoted to home and family as their sisters in states where women do not vote. Woman suffrage has elevated public morals and been a material factor in maintaining the local good government we enjoy.

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Senators vs. Working Women

MISS MAGGIE HINCHEY

replies to

NEW YORK SENATOR

on

The Family and Family Relations



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Senators vs. Working Women

The futile sentimentality of a number of the New York Senators and Assemblymen was put to the blush and the laugh at Cooper Union on the evening of April 22, when an inspiring mass meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Wage Earners' and the Collegiate Equal Suffrage Leagues. The College Women, in caps and gowns, acted as ushers for the meeting and Mrs. Charles Tiffany on their behalf handed the meeting over to Miss Leonora O'Reilly, President of the Wage Earners' Suffrage League. She marshaled a squad of practical working women who presented their views with such convincing directness that they were compelled to return to the front of the platform and bow several times in response to the enthusiastic applause. Young women who have stood for betterment of conditions in their respective trades, each took a quotation from speeches of law-makers setting forth obsolete quibbles why women should not vote and made reply.

Maggie Hinchey, Laundry Worker, replies to the New York Senator who says:

"Now there is no question in the world to my mind but what the family and family relation are a more important thing than any law or any law-making or holding of office."

There is nothing so beautiful to speak of as the home, the family and the family relations, but we are working people and where are our homes? You cannot call it a home where we go at night to rest our weary bones for six or seven hours. We are like the birds of the air with their nests, and when a storm comes there is no more nest. The wages of the laboring man are so small that he cannot make both ends meet, much less save anything in case of sickness or death. When death comes and the widow is left with a family to provide for she takes her little ones to a nursery to be taken care of while she goes to work in a laundry. She finds that the nursery cannot take the place of home to her children because a nursery has regular hours, time for opening and time for closing, but she has to work 14 or 17 hours a day and, therefore, she

has to leave her children to the mercy of the neighbors or let them go hungry and uncared for. When she gets home at night she is too tired, she cannot attend to her children.

What is the result? After a few weeks or a few months we find those children in consumptive homes, and we find another job for the undertaker.

I would like to call your attention to the laundry girls' strike and what was the cause of that strike. We worked 16 and 17 hours a day and the salary was \$5.00, \$5.50 and \$6.00 a week and no pay for overtime, no half hour for lunch and no sanitary conditions whatever. When we went to picket the striking shops the police were there in the morning waiting for the girls. The police told the girls to go back to work, that the strike was all over. The girls who did not go back were arrested, taken to court and sent to the island, where the marks of our finger tips were taken because we were such desperate criminals. Desperate criminals we were for refusing to be sub-cellar-laundry slaves seventeen hours a day.

How would the wise Senator from

New York like to take care of the family and the family relations under such conditions?

Well, we did not feel as though we had committed any crime; we wanted to keep others from going to work under the conditions which we could endure no longer.

We wanted to give a chance to the mothers of families to get home in the evenings to attend to their children and to care for them.

We wanted to give a chance to the boy and girl that had left school too young to know anything to go out in the evenings to hear a lecture, or to go to some night school and get some education.

We wanted to give all workers a chance to get a fair education, for it is little they learned in the public school or in any school for that matter.

That is one reason why we want the vote; it is women who should be the teachers of the young.

We want the vote to get the laws enforced.

When we get better conditions and regular hours, and a living wage, through our Unions like working men, we want the ballot in our hands when we go to Albany, so as the politicians will understand what we are talking about.

Votes and money are the only language a politician understands. We haven't got the money because we are workers.

We mean to get the ballot to help ourselves and others along.

Is there anything more horrible than to see a woman about to become a mother standing at a machine holding 80 pounds of steam, 16 or 17 hours a day, day in and day out up to the hour of maternity, and four days later to see her laid in a casket with her baby by her side? She did not have strength and vitality to give breath to her child. Do you call that justice to working women and working girls? Mr. Senator, where is your law-making for the protection of the family and family relations?

We want the ballot ourselves to make laws and see that by the laws that are made we will get justice.

We are working girls and we get so little wages for the work of our hands and the sweat of our heart's blood, yet if we sell our souls we can get plenty from the men who make the laws and break the laws.

Let us go back for a moment and think of Abraham Lincoln when he freed the black slave. Did he think there was going to be a white slave? If he was in the White House to-day he would have given the vote to the working women to protect themselves. He would not allow such cruelty, brutality and slavery to be put upon the working women and the working girls and their homes and families, in this great country under the banner of the stars and stripes, of which we are so proud.

Wage Earners' Suffrage League NEW YORK

Senators vs. Working Women

MRS. LILLIAN HEAFFELY Neckwear Maker

and

MISS MELINDA SCOTT Hat Trimmer

replies to

NEW YORK SENATOR

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY 48 East 34th Street New York



Price, Five Cents

Senators vs. Working Women

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and says she enjoys it! As man's helpmate she prepares the meals and serves the best portions to her mate. She takes what is left after the children are served. She brings children into the world at the risk of her own life; but should a quarrel arise between man and wife and a separation be the outcome, the man says the children belong to the father. The father, by due process of law, takes the children from the helpmate, who has risked her all for them. Is it not time to ask who make the laws? Men. For whom do men make the laws? For men. This is why we women demand the vote. Votes MAKE THE LAWS. VOTES ENFORCE THE LAW; THE LAWS CONTROL CONDITIONS. Working women and mothers want the vote to control conditions in order to make the world a place fit for children to come into-fit for the peaceful, sympathetic nature of women to build a place, for the family worth the name Home.

Melinda Scott, Hat Trimmer, Replying to "Cornelia's Jewels. Where Are They To-day?"

At the hearing in Albany before the Senate last month the Senator from the Thirteenth Assembly District said:

"Woman is designed to be the mother; that is the field for her. Like Cornelia, the Roman mother, when she was visited by her friends and one of them was displaying the handsome jewels that she wore, and when she had proudly finished displaying the jewels, she turned to Cornelia and said, 'Where are your jewels?' Cornelia called her two lovely boys, and, turning to them, said, 'These are my jewels.'"

Can you imagine a Senator who is supposed to be up-to-date, and to represent the people, to make the laws to protect Cornelia, having to go back to ancient Roman history to try and find an argument why women of the present day should not be enfranchised? I wish the Senator from the Thirteenth Assembly district would come with me for a few minutes and visit the modern Cornelia and her jewels, to three rooms within a few minutes' walk from here, where we

Mrs. Lillian Heaffely, Neckwear Maker, answers the New York Senator who says:

"Women—they are peaceful; they are sympathetic; they minister to man in the home."

Friends, I speak for an organization of 1,000 neckwear makers in New York. who have endorsed woman suffrage. I wish to answer the statement made by a Senator in Albany at the last hearing that "Women are peaceful, women are sympathetic, women are to minister to man in the home." Let us agree that the Senator knows what he is talking about, providing the man is spared to the woman in the home. But what will the Senator advise the woman to do when early in the morning her husband leaves home to go to work as engineer on a railroad? Before noon a dreadful collision has occurred; many are injured; one is dead. The good father who had only a few hours before bidden goodby to his family is the one killed. Here we have a woman willing to minister to man in the home deprived by an industrial accident of her children's and

her own natural protector. What is she to do? She has no means of support other than his wages; she knows not where to turn. Friends advise her to take her case to the courts; she does so. After the hearing the jury retire, but return in a very short time and give a verdict, "Nobody to blame." That is always the case when it is a woman's case in court. "Nobody to blame."

Then this good mother must go to work to support her children. Her wages are so small that she must work long into the night to make both ends meet. The children are left alone during the day or to the mercy of some kind neighbor who volunteers to help take care of them. This neighbor has so many children of her own she can only give a passing glance at the fatherless ones. What is the result? They fall in with bad company, and end in prison. Who is the sufferer? The mother who has struggled so hard to keep her children in the right path, but who is compelled to work such long hours that she must of necessity neglect them. Would that Senator who says that women's whole duty is to minister to man in the

home could hear the mother's anguished cry: "Oh, God in Heaven, teach me what to do to save my children and all the children from crime!" At last she is learning she must stem the sins of the world, to lighten the share of the world's burden that her children must bear.

The only way to do this to-day is to let every woman have a voice in making the laws under which children must grow up.

The schools in which our children are taught, the streets in which our children play, the very food on which our children are fed are all question of politics to-day. Who make the laws? Men. This is why women ask for the ballot. Housewives and mothers ask for the ballot in order that they may not only minister to man in the home, but that they may help minister to the needs of the larger home, which is the world.

Who makes the laws which fail to protect women from long hours in unsanitary workshops, from night work and the insults of bosses? Men! Why? Because everyone believes that man car-

ries greater responsibilities and has larger intelligence than woman. Is that true? Do you believe that is true of the woman of whom I have just spoken? She labors long into the night to bring up her children in an honest way. She does her duty as homekeeper and mother after she earns the food for her family.

Men have been struggling for a living since the beginning of time, but not without the aid of woman. woman fights with man she is called his helpmate, but when she dares to fight alone or against man she is called his competitor. As such she is treated just the same as any other competitors. The law of competition says: Put her out of business, the sooner the better. As helpmate she has to sit by calmly, while the man, her mate, draws all the money. accepts all the comforts, has all the fun that there is to be had, while she becomes a drudge. As a drudge she sees her mate pass his affections on to some other woman who is not a drudge. As a helpmate in the home, she has to clean the house and prepare it for the man to come home to rest and smoke. She is practically smoked out of her own house

find Cornelia, a descendant of the Roman mother. One of the rooms is lighted by two windows, one is totally dark, and the kitchen where the work is done is lighted only by an air-shaft, and the tiny lamp that burns before the statue of the Madonna is the only bright spot in that room. The family consists of the mother and her eight children, all under 14 years of age. The mother is obliged to support the family by sewing pants, and the children are obliged to help her. Seven cents is the price paid, and the united efforts of Cornelia and her eight jewels cannot finish more than seven pairs a day. Cornelia, with a yellow handkerchief around her head, cannot lift her strained and weary eyes long enough from the work to nod a welcome, and the children push their needles through the cloth more persistently; they have no time to talk to visitors.

We go on a little further and we find another Cornelia, her three jewels making violets at three cents a gross, 144 violets for three cents, and by working until midnight they can make the grand sum of 60 cents. Again, we go on and we find these jewels of the tenement work-

ing making feathers, knotting 237 knots to an inch for 5 cents; an 18-inch feather that takes two days to make brings these jewels of the tenements 80 or 90 cents. We go on a little further and we find jewels again working on corset covers. running in two rows of ribbon and sewing on three buttons for half a cent a corset cover.

And what about the children of the textile mills, who leave their homes before daylight in the morning and do not return to them until after dark, standing in the mills for long and continuous hours in the vile atmosphere with their nerves strung up to the highest tension? And how, then, do we find the modern Cornelia?-operating a sewing machine with a child at her breast, working to keep her "jewels" from starvation and the poorhouse. SACRED MOTHERHOOD. WHAT A FARCE! What do these children know of green fields and sunshine? What do they know of laughter and song? They have never had a chance; they have been handicapped from the beginning of life. To go forth stunted in body and mind, perhaps for a few years, until their weary bodies are worn

out and they just go out and cease to be, having known nothing of joy or happiness, and yet the modern Cornelia loves her jewels with as great a love as the Roman mother, but she is powerless to save them from the Juggernaut of the present economic system. She has had no chance to make laws that would protect her and them. Men legislating as a class for women and children as a class have done exactly what every other ruling class has done since the history of the world began—they have discriminated against the class that has no legal voice.

How do you like the picture? Oh, you makers of the laws and conditions under which Cornelia and her jewels win a living at the present time! I did not have to go back to Roman history for these facts; they are happening in New York right here and now. If women had the ballot, they would have helped to make laws that would have protected Cornelia and her jewels. They would have dared to pass the 54-hour bill without the cannery exemption, in spite of big business. Yea, and if necessary they would have saved

women and children from disease. Not only that, but they would see to it that the laws were enforced which would give them far more than all this sickening sentiment about motherhood and the home.

We working women cannot help wondering when we hear all this gush about the home how many of us would have a home if we did not go out from the home and work for it. If the Senator from the Thirteenth Assembly district had continued the story he would have told you of Cornelia's jewels, Tiberius and Caius, who were living and fighting for the common people, and in trying to get back for the people the lands which had been stolen from them they were killed by the Senators and their allies of that generation.

I do not want to be governor of the State, I do not want to be a policeman, nor an assemblyman, nor yet a senator, but I do want the ballot to be able to register my protest against the conditions that are killing and maiming "Cornelias' jewels" of the present day.

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A Common-Sense View of Woman Suffrage

By JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS

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By Courtesy of the Editor



National American Woman Suffrage Association

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A Common-Sense View of Woman Suffrage

By JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS

"Woman's sphere is the Home."

That worthy sentiment has been echoed so often that by this time it is apt to provoke a smile—not the sentiment so much as the reiteration of it, especially when given forth with that complacent air of originality which usually accompanies platitudes. But like most "bromidioms" it contains a certain amount of truth or else it would not have lasted long enough to become a bromidiom.

To be sure, of three hundred trades and professions followed by men, women are found in all but three or four of them. Whether we approve of it or not, one woman out of every seven gains a livelihood by some other means than marriage. Nevertheless, no matter how much woman "invades" man's "sphere," man is not likely to invade her peculiar sphere. Bearing children may not be the only thing she can do, but from the point of view of the race, it is the most important thing any one can do. Whether we rhapsodize over the beauty and sacredness of motherhood or appraise that function coolly from the point of view of science, in either case the rearing of children will center about the sex which bears them, so long as we have the institution of the family. And so long as we have the institution of the home it will remain the specialty of woman rather than man.

All the arguments for woman suffrage which are worth considering must cluster about this axiomatic truth.

Also all arguments against woman suffrage.

I

"I am just an old-fashioned wife."—

—A bride in a new fashioned apartment house.

The old-fashioned wife did not clamor for the vote. Why not?

Well, for one thing, she had a great many other matters on her mind. In addition to bearing about a dozen children, and rearing as many of them as did not die, she had to spin and weave and make soap. Either with her own hands, or as forewoman of an establishment as complex, if not as vast, as a modern department store, she was an active factor—and a creative factor—in nearly everything required for the home, from the curing of hams and children to the cooking of hams and the educating of the children.

Her husband produced the raw materials; she turned them into finished products. She was his helpmeet in a very literal and practical way. Perhaps they were not invariably so happy and contented with each other as sentimentalists would have us believe, but at any rate, owing to old-fashioned conditions it was possible for them to take more than an objective interest in each other's occupations.

They worked together, they complemented each other's efforts; they understood each other's jobs; and the home was a self-sufficient, self-sustaining unit in a way and to an extent that is impossible in modern times.

In modern times the home may and should be just as important spiritually, but economically it is not a unit at all. It cannot be. In the industrial sense the home is going out of the house. Spinning-wheels are now quaint articles of bric-à-brac, which cost a good deal and gather dust. Even spinsters can no longer pursue the calling which won them that epithet. It does not pay to make soap or brew simples of herbs. Besides, the neighbors would complain of the odor. The children can be better educated by experts trained for that purpose at schools outside of the home. Wives do not, cannot, except in rare cases, keep up an active, practical partnership in their husband's occupations.

In other words, nearly all the old-fashioned, orthodox opportunities for efficient mother-hood, for complete wifehood, except the most elementary, have gone out of the house. And they have gone out to stay. More of them keep on going out as the years roll on. We may not like the idea, but we can no more bring them back into the house than the homemade tallow dips which once illuminated it, rather dimly.

"Do you want the ballot?"
"Oh, no! I have a baby."

What is to be done about it? Well, we

might as well make the best of it. It is still woman's duty and pleasure to look after the home, if it is man's duty and pleasure to pay for it. And if the modern woman cannot attend to her old-fashioned job in the old-fashioned way then she will simply have to do it in a new-fashioned way, or else skimp her job.

Since milk now comes in bottles from some place miles away, a good housekeeper must at least see that it is good milk, free from typhoid germs. If not, some one else will have to attend to this duty for her.

Since the children are now taught at schools instead of at her knee, a devoted mother must at least see to those schools, their methods, their sanitation, their playgrounds. If not, some one else must perform this old-fashioned duty for her.

Since the modern husband no longer follows his trade in the home, a good wife must at least keep in intelligent touch with man's world—if, that is, she proposes to be an inspiring helpmeet after she ceases to be an alluring bride. If not, somebody elsé may become his inspiration.

All this, of course, goes without saying. It is axiomatic. It is like declaring vociferously that woman's sphere is the home.

Now, as a matter of fact, the average modern woman is willing and anxious to be a good wife, a devoted mother. She is feverishly anxious. It seems to be a fad nowadays, especially among my sex and my profession, to decry the modern woman as a frivolcus loafer. There never was a time when mothers took such intelligent care of their babies. There never was a time when wives pondered more seriously the problems of wifehood. Their critics are making the stupid mistake of blaming individuals for conditions which they cannot control. On the contrary, the conditions control the individual. And conditions have changed so fast that modern woman is bewildered. She has not found herself.

How is she to follow and fill her sphere, now that it has broken out of the house? How is she to regain these orthodox functions, many of which have slipped from her grasp without her knowledge and consent? Directly or indirectly all these traditional responsibilities are now shaped and determined not by each separate family group, but by all the families together—in other words, by the government. The government is controlled by politicians. Politicians are controlled by the ballot.

"It would destroy the home,"

To say that woman should not vote is simply to say that she should not be entrusted with what have always been her natural responsibilities. It is simply to say that we should not let her have the authority necessary to put through the work which we nevertheless turn over to her, and for which we nevertheless hold her accountable. In fine, that her sphere is no longer the home, but merely the house.

This is not a matter of taste or of opinion;

it is a matter of fact and logic. We may not fancy the notion of women voting—that is a matter of taste; and whether she is fitted for the vote is a matter of opinion. The present point is that if she is to do her old-fashioned share of the work of the world, merely as a homemaker and as a housekeeper, the ballot is becoming as necessary now as the broom was once. Even to have a clean house it is necessary to have clean streets. To have clean streets it is necessary to elect a clean mayor. The same may be applied to schools and school-boards, health and health-boards; in fact, all government is merely housekeeping on a large scale.

For some departments of this housekeeping men may always remain better qualified than women. For other departments of it women may always remain better qualified than men. But it takes both man and woman to make a home. As Miss Jane Addams says: "Most of the departments in a modern city can be traced to woman's traditional activities, but in spite of this, so soon as these affairs were turned over to the care of the city they slipped from woman's hands, apparently because they then became matters for collective action and implied the use of the franchise."

Now it may be that modern man is capable of attending properly to "woman's traditional activities," and his own besides—though thus far he has not proved it. It may be that modern woman is incapable of retaining her ancient share of life's responsibilities—though

that has not been proved either. Meanwhile what are you going to do about it, you who believe in the "old-fashioned wife" and in home as "woman's sphere"?

TT

"Women cannot go to war."

Now it was perfectly natural that these natural functions slipped out of her hands. The vote originally was given only to those who bore arms. Like education, it was not thought needful nor proper for those who bore children. Certain clergymen (who bear neither—but are educated) still urge this eloquently as an unanswerable objection to enfranchising the sex which must pay taxes it cannot regulate and obey laws it cannot make.

Such objections are valuable, for the reason that all jokes are valuable, but as arguments they are hardly worth answering. Besides, minds which still hold fast to such ideas are closed like horse-chestnuts—hard to open and hardly worth while.

"It's unwomanly."

• Yet at the very thought of the ballot in the tender hand of a woman, lovely woman, objections always bristle up like hairs on the back of a dog at the approach of a stranger. All new ideas are natural enemies until they prove themselves friends. It is well that such is the case. It keeps off suspicious characters. It makes good ones wait until they have shown themselves to be good. Every new idea, every improvement in civilization has had to win its

way against the indifference or opposition of the majority. This is particularly true of every change in the status of woman from the time she ceased to be a beast of burden, and we decided to give her a soul and a seat at our dinner table.

It is perfectly natural that there should be objections to an idea which superficially seems so radical as even the municipal suffrage for women. To be sure, that kind of voting has already been entrusted to them throughout England, Ireland, Scotland and several other enlightened parts of the world, though only in spots in quaint America. Commercially, we are the most progressive nation in the world. In certain other ways which are also necessary for successful success we have fallen behind the times. It is possible that even the enlightened readers of this magazine were for the most part unaware of the simple facts about municipal suffrage mentioned in this paragraph.

"But women do not want the vote."

Theoretically, whether women want the vote or not has nothing to do with the matter, anymore than whether they want children or homes to lock after. Practically, however, that objection has everything to do with it; for until women want it badly enough to demand the vote they will not get it. It is silly, however, to look upon it as a mere privilege or added "right;" it should be regarded as a duty, an obligation, a means to an end—and that end is a "womanly" one if wifehood.

Incidentally they are demanding it in greater numbers every year. When John Stuart Mill presented his petition to Parliament it was signed by only 1,499 women. That was in 1866. Thirty years later a similar appeal was made to Parliament by no less than 257,000 women. The next year there were over 1,200 different petitions in favor of a woman suffrage bill, 800 more than those presented in favor of any other bill. Since that time 400 cut of 670 members of the House of Commons have given pledges to support woman suffrage.

In America the movement, somewhat delayed, is spreading more quietly. The affair has not become acute. Let us hope that it can remain quiet, can avoid being "acute."

"Woman is not fitted to vote,"

This is undoubtedly true of many of themjust as it is of many men. But that is not to say that the majority of each sex cannot fit themselves for voting. Women can do a great many things when they have to, as may be seen in the case of hundreds of women every year when thrown on their own resources. When we consider her handicaps, not merely her natural handicaps, but the unnatural handicaps imposed upon her by civilization and sentiment, when we consider that for ages she has been discouraged from trying to do anything outside the "home," it is no wonder that she cannot do many things as well as man. The wonder is that she does many things as well as she does. Besides, as Miss

Jane Addams says, "Those matters in which woman's judgment is most needed are far too primitive and basic to be largely influenced by what we call education.

"Woman suffrage would double the ignorant vote."

Nowadays we are educating more girls than boys at the high schools. Nevertheless, there would be, of course, an increase in the "ignorant vote," but in those very classes it is the women who uphold what there is of a moral standard. It is worth adding that in our penitentiaries only five and a half out of every hundred inmates are women. The rest are of the voting sex.

"It doesn't work."

To be sure, there are some women who do not utilize this prerogative where they have it, just as there are many men who are similarly derelict. But as a matter of fact and history it has worked, it is now working and will keep on working in all those parts of the world where it has been tried, as may be easily ascertained by any one who is willing to take the trouble to look into the records of Australia, New Zealand, Finland, Norway or any of the four States of our union where women have the full ballot.

As a single instance, the whole world has heard of Judge Lindsey's children's court. The whole world is now adopting his idea. According to Judge Lindsey himself the whole world owes this to the women voters of Denver, without whose aid the machine would

have prevented the Judge's dream from coming true. If we calculate the far-reaching effect of this one thing—which most of us can't calculate—it alone would be enough to justify woman suffrage, and even suffragettes.

"Then women would have to hold office, too."

All men can vote, but not all men hold office. Some are fitted for it and some are not. Women would either be fitted for it or not. If fitted for it, elect them. If not, don't,

"Women can do so much by indirect influence."

This is undoubtedly true. It is also true that they can do more by both direct and indirect methods more than by indirect methods alone. Ask women who have tried "indirect" methods of putting through child-labor laws. sanitary regulations, or any other reform which their husbands "hadn't time to bother with." Sweet feminine charms and pretty clothes are effective enough in the case of bills the bosses don't object to, but when it is something which clashes with the profits of the boss's bosses, practical politicians merely smirk and smile gallantly and say: "Well, I'll see what can be done for you."

"Women haven't time to vote."

That of course is a good argument for giving women the ballot. For in those States where she is still allowed to work ten and fourteen hours a day she needs the eight-hour law in order to get the ten minutes necessary to cast a ballot once a year or so.

There are two kinds of women, those who have time to play Bridge and those who have not. The former ought to vote because they have time to; the latter because they have not.

TII

"Do you believe in Woman Suffrage?"
"No; I love my husband."
(And all the bachelors beamed.)

Most "arguments" against woman suffrage are about as absurd as these. None that I have seen, and I have searched, has logic, justice or common sense. Why, then, is there still considerable objection to it?

Because of an influence which is stronger than logic, justice or common-sense. The most potent objection to every change is always outside the realm of reason. It is sentiment. Sentiment comes from the heart, logic merely from the head—when it comes at all. In this case it is the most powerful and permeating sentiment in the world, the sex sentiment. The idea of women voting is distasteful to our sex-idealization. All the arguments and logic in the world cannot overcome this unless aided by a higher and healthier sex-ideal.

Our present ideal of woman, beautiful as it is in theory, has worked out in practice, owing to our change in conditions, in such a way that men and women are being put asunder by marriage instead of being joined together. In lieu of a productive helpmeet woman is becoming a non-productive consumer. Not because she wants to be, but because she cannot help it. He and she are occupied with different

When Plato stated his belief that women should take a part in state affairs two thousand years ago, he asked his hearers to refrain from laughing. The dignity of the idea was commonly recognized by advanced thinkers then, as it is by advanced thinkers to-day, but the prejudice against it was felt then as it is felt now.

"My husband says it's absurd."

Few men like the idea, and many women object to it for this reason. They may not know that this is the reason, but it usually is without their knowing it. You see, we are a very gallant sex; we give them everything they have, even their ideals of themselves. And most women are so sweet and obliging that they accept whatever we give them and think it lovely. In many cases they can't help themselves. There are scores of married women who believe in suffrage, but dare not say so because their "provider" considers it nonsense, and I have heard college girls arguing earnestly and well for woman suffrage. stop abruptly when a young unmarried man entered the room, avoiding the subject so long as he remained.

Most men know little about the true significance of the woman suffrage movement, and care less. They regard it as either a huge joke, or a great disgrace upon the sex they would like to adore. They have an idea that it means the unsexing of woman. They don't think, they only feel. Their feelings are perfectly natural. We all have them, only some of us are willing to acknowledge our prejudices and the others are too ignorant to do so. The latter judge the cause by its worst advocates. The thousands of silent suffragists are not heard.

So, there is nothing remarkable about man's prejudice against woman having a vote. It is due not only to ignorance of the actual scheme of civilized life and its changed conditions, but also to an inherent masculine repugnance, for woman having any public capacity whatever. It is chivalric in one sense, like offering her a seat in a crowded car; it is selfish in another, like underpaying the same woman for her labor; but there it is, and it must be recognized, met, and adjusted in the present movement as in all previous steps upward in the accommodation of woman to the needs and desires of civilization. This does not mean that it will destroy sex-idealization. God forbid. None of the previous steps has done so. It was merely predicted that each step would do so.

The first storekeeper in Saco, Maine, to employ a saleswoman was boycotted by all the men of the town, and the women abjured him on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such "publicity." It was not considered "womanly"—meaning what men were

accustomed to expect of women. Well, they lived it down. Storekeepers to-day are neither boycotted nor abjured for employing young women in public, nor even for underpaying them in private.

When Lucy Stone began the movement for securing to married women the right to their own property—a movement which seemed quite outrageous and revolutionary at the time—men did not like it. It hurt their feelings. It seemed insulting to their honor. And the women, ever ready to back men up in their ideals of sweet femininity, asked with dignified scorn, "Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?" That has been lived down, too.

The first efforts for the higher education of women were similarly frowned upon by well-meaning but unimaginative men and women, who knew nothing of the unseen laws of change and who regarded their ideals, as many of us regard ours to-day, as the last word in the first permanent stage of civilization.

It seems amusing to us. Even very young men, who, next to old men, are the most conservative in regard to women, because the most ignorant, no longer regard college girls as freaks; but in those days it was as "unwomanly" to go to college in America or England as to go out upon the streets with a naked face in Turkey or Persia. And when Elizabeth Blackwell began to study medicine! Why, the women at her boarding-house were so scandalized that they self-righteously re-

fused to speak to her, and when passing her upon the street they haughtily drew their skirts aside and doubtless felt not a little sanctified in so doing. Well, even that prejudice has been lived down.

None of these "unwomanly" departures has made women less attractive to men. Nature her ancient custom holds, let lack of imagination say what it will. There probably never were such attractive women as ours of to-day. This cannot be proved, but it is believed. And if it is believed we need not worry about sentiment.

IV

"America is the most progressive Nation in the world."

New ideas come hard, but they come, despite the indignant protests of callow youth and crabbed age. When Harvey announced his theory of the circulation of the blood, not a physician over forty years old took stock in his "new-fangled notion." That seems a rather early age for the hardening of the arteries of the mind, but it has been known to happen in regard to other new-fangled ideas.

"It is so easy to be stupid, to believe that things which used to exist still go on, long after they are past; to commit irreparable blunders because we fail to correct our theories by our changing experience." It is all right to look after the home so long as we can do so in the house, but if it requires the mechanism of the vote down in that horrid butcher shop (where she goes marketing every

day)-"oh, no; that is unwomanly. Let the men attend to that."

It is true that men are not attending "to that" particularly well. They are so busy making money to pay the present high cost of living. It is true that the municipal house-keeping of our American cities is a joke in the family of nations, a scandal in the history of our own, but what have women to do with that? "I'm just a sweet old-fashioned wife and my husband gives me everything I want."

It is true that one-half of the young lives which make up the city's annual death-rate might be saved by a thorough application of sanitary science, but the suffragettes are such dreadful creatures, "elbowing their way" into man's affairs. My children are all right, and my husband is good to me. Even if I am of no particular use to him, even if I am becoming less interesting to him every day, look at my expensive clothes. Gaze on my new pearl collarette. It advertises his credit, every time. I wear it in public. And he would not like me to vote. He wants me just to be sweet and pretty, soft and luxurious, and to know nothing that he does not know better.

For the sex sentiment, with all its poetry and romance, its beauty and nobility, is essentially selfish, exclusive, anti-racial—like all other individualistic instincts, until assimilated and made racially satisfactory as well as individualistically desirable.

It is no wonder that men, even those who

think, are reluctant to grant the vote to women. There is only one kind of voting that we instinctively approve in woman, and that is when she votes for Us as ruler of her sphere. There was a time in the history of the race when we did not grant her even that suffrage. We took her by force, whether she voted for us or not. Brides still put on the wedding ring as a relic of servitude, just as bridegrooms take them on a wedding journey as a relic of the pleasant custom of running away with them.

V

"Oh, I suppose it's bound to come, but it's inexpedient now."

Woman bears children, is therefore weaker, is therefore no warrior. In that one sentence we can account for every change which has gradually, strugglingly, taken place in the status of woman, from the time we generously decided to give them souls up to this time when we are condescendingly thinking of giving them votes. The political enfranchisement of women is merely part of a greater, if less noisy movement, which has been going on since the beginning of civilization and which will not stop until mere might is no longer right. This is not a sentimental ideal, as muddleheaded people think, but a shrewd, practical principle, which inheres in the gregarious instinct, and which is applied by the wisdom of the race, step by step, when expediency prompts it.

Those who see the inevitableness of woman suffrage, those who see its ultimate expediency, are merely a little in advance of those who do not—that is all.

Additional copies of this booklet may be had from National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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A Woman's Virtue and Love

A PLEA TO MEN

By

EDWARD GRACE

General Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association, St. Paul, Minnesota



THE VIR PUBLISHING COMPANY
99 Church Bldg., Fifteenth and Race Sts.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Extract from a letter of MR. JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, famous lecturer, author of "The Reign of the Demagogue," formerly editor of "The Atlanta Constitution," and now making a special study of social purity problems.

"I want to tell you that I am simply delighted with your purity speech. It is strong, direct, dramatic, forceful and eloquent. It ought by all means to be published. Few things among the printed matter of the Purity League are equal to it, and I bespeak an early copy if you do publish it. I should like to keep this copy if you can spare it."

Extract from letter of MR. WILLIAM FRAN-CIS, State Secretary Minnesota Y. M. C. A.:

"Any Association would be doing legitimate work by persistently scattering such wholesome information. Our modern society, whether we believe it or not, does bring very young boys in contact with impure persons who acquaint them with perverted, criminal sexual relations, rather than with their sacred functions. There is, therefore, no longer any justification for false modesty; and I am glad to note that there is nothing in your address which should prevent its being scattered broadcast."

Extract from letter of MR. G. K. SHURTLEFF, General Secretary Y. M. C. A., Cleveland, Ohio:

"I have read with great interest the newspaper extract of your excellent address. I am glad you have both the gift and willingness to tackle such a hard and intricate problem."

WINONA, MINN.

TO MR. EDWARD GRACE,

Dear Brother:

Your strong and masterly address on Purity is a magnificent appeal to the nobility and chivalry and consciences of men. It ought to be placed before them.

We earnestly urge upon you the duty of putting it into print in such shape that it may be widely scattered and read. It cannot but do great good. Trusting you will comply with this request, we

remain.

Very truly yours in behalf of a clean manhood,

G. E. BAUMGARTNER, Cashier Deposit Bank.

ALLAN BELL, Pastor First Presb. Ch. N. G. NORTON, Prest. Laird-Norton L.

WM. McIntosh, Supt. C. & N. W. R. R.

Shops. H. M. KINNEY, Supt. Winona Wagon Works.

A. H. SNOW, Judge of District Ct. J. A. TORMEY,

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WM. H. LAIRD, Prest. Ind. Nat. Bk.

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J. F. BORTIC. Pastor Olive Branch M. E. Ch.

F. E. DAVISON, Pastor Free Bapt. Ch.

E. D. DYAR, Prest. Merchants' Bk. J. M. BOOTH,

Cashier 1st Nat. Bk. LESTER L. WEST,

Pastor 1st Cong. Ch.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:-

A vast quantity of literature is in circulation, setting forth to men the evil effects of impurity upon men. Doubtless these ruinous effects upon physical, mental, moral, manhood can be neither over-estimated nor over-emphasized.

But the fact remains that for the sake of gross gratification very many men will risk all the penalty liable to fall upon their own heads; some remaining persistently indifferent to the personal consequences of their folly, and others clinging tenaciously to the delusion that somehow they may "sow" and need not "reap."

Experience has proven that, after every appeal to self-interest has failed, many men have been successfully restrained from impurity by touching their consciences with simple but vivid realization of the appalling effects of impurity, not upon themselves, but upon women.

That this pamphlet may increase the determination of our pure young men to remain pure; that it may inspire them to more deadly combat against sensual license; that it may furnish them additional argument with which to dissuade men from recklessly destroying tens of thousands of young women every year; these are the dreams and prayers of the author.

Sincerely,

EDW. GRACE.

A Plea for Purity

Many of the considerations that naturally cluster about this subject are so sad and so fearful that I have not dared to trust myself to speak about them this afternoon without most earnest meditation and most solemn prayer.

As far as I have been able to read and learn of the opinions of experts upon the general theme of prostitution, I find them agreed that the most discouraging and dangerous condition which at present blocks the way toward real reform is the prevalence of a very low estimate of the sacredness of manly and womanly purity. The special object of this afternoon's talk, therefore, is to plead that the men of our city lead the way to high and holy ground for the protection of woman's virtue and woman's love.

It will be necessary for me to use plain language, but it will be deliberate language. While assured that anger and abuse will not avail in discussing the poisonous views which many men entertain upon this subject, I am quite as certain that to veneer, to palliate their views, would be equally vain. I must squarely condemn many current opinions, but I want the condemnation to be characterized by calmness and kindness. And let us strive not to condemn men, but measures.

A pure, sweet, good woman is the most superb creature that inhabits the globe. God made woman after he made man. I have always maintained that He purposely improved on the man when he made the woman. I do not say this in a jocular sense. I am tremendously in earnest about it. Woman was the last of God's creations, and He deliberately intended that she should be the best, and she is the best. For the very reason that woman was intended by God to be the finest of created beings, nothing, therefore, is so sad, nothing so terrible as the fall and debasement of this wonderful, this beautiful, confiding, sensitive, nervous being-woman. This fact granted, it follows, reasonably and irresistibly, that one of the most sacred duties of civilized manhood is to protect and preserve womanhood; and that the darkest stain upon manhood is the betrayal and debauchery of womanhood.

All virtue in this world depends upon a pure womanhood. Universal total depravity could be enthroned by no other abnormal force so certainly and so speedily as by impure womanhood. Few men are bad enough, and few have the opportunity, to destroy many women. But each woman thus destroyed sinks low enough, and has ample opportunity to degrade many men. The one woman seduced by one man, in her turn succeeds in destroying the manhood of twenty-yea, sometimes twenty times twenty-men. For, mark you, in God's sight, the woman's purity is no more certainly degraded by this sin than is the man's. Many old men, guilty of great crimes throughout long lives, have confessed on their death beds that the parts played in the ruin of women have given them more remorse, driven them to deeper desperation, and now haunt them with more terrors as they peer out into eternity, than all their other sins piled up together.

Young man, you may account Cashier Spalding, who robbed the Globe Bank, a great criminal, but let me tell you that there are many who believe that if Cashier Spalding had not first lost his self-respect by shameless licentiousness he would never have robbed that bank. Robbing a bank is almost a virtue compared with the sin of betraying the wonderful affections of a pure woman. Robbing a bank is a deplorable crime, but robbing God's superlative creation, robbing a woman's soul, must not be compared with robbing a bank.

CURRENT EXCUSES MEN OFFER FOR IMPURITY.

And, now, what are some of the excuses men offer for this crime? Let us call them up, one by one, and question them. The first one says:

"THE GIRL WAS WILLING."

Now, man, tell the whole truth, how came she willing? What steps did you take to find out whether or not she was willing? What part did you play in enticing her down to the place, "'twixt earth and hell," where she was willing? "The girl was willing!" So substantially are all the victims of the devil himself willing. Who made them willing? Perhaps not a woman among all the abandoned creatures of Winona could prove that rape, that force, caused her downfall. No, men, it is not stories of rape such women tell, it is

stories of affection and trust and betrayal; it is stories of having been taken through the process of being made "willing" by the scheming brain, the evil eye, the unbridled lust of some man. Men, think of this young fellow facing us with the only defense, "I never forced a woman!" Why, my young man, your ingenuity in discovering that your poor darling was "willing" is ten times as likely to send her into the depth of depths than if you had forced her.

"I HAVE NEVER VIOLATED A PURE WOMAN."

Let us call up another man: What, sir, is your excuse? "I have never violated a pure woman." Do you mean by this excuse that you let some other fellow run the risk of sending her to the devil, and now you are paying the devil her board?

In a certain village, not long ago, a young girl was seduced. Overwhelmed with the terror and shame of her pregnant condition, she fled across the border to a city in an adjoining state and was there taken through her confinement by the madam of a house of ill-fame, who then started her out on a life of prostitution. How did the madam accomplish this? And what kind of a start do you suppose this poor, despairing creature got? The madam sent word to some select young men, young men who had "never touched a virtuous woman," that she had taken a new, lovely girl to board. One after another, these select young men, each supposing that he was the only one favored by the madam's special notice, paid her roundly for the privilege and visited this young mother. Is it not evident that those young men, who "wouldn't touch a virtuous woman," finished up the ruin which some other man began?

It does not always follow that the woman is irrevocably lost by the single act of the man who flings her over the precipice of shame. Very frequently she is finally undone by men stationed all along down the gorge; men, who, whenever her slender, white, bleeding fingers clutch at a root or rock, unloose the clasp and let her fall to a further depth.

I am told that when a pack of hungry wolves attack a beautiful fawn at bay, there are always a few cautious ones who wait and watch until she is completely overcome and then rush in to share her life blood.

"THE GIRLS ARE AS MUCH TO BLAME AS THE MEN."

Then comes a man assured that he presents a valid and ample excuse. He says, "the girls are as much to blame as the men." In reply I say, sometimes some of them have been, but not always, not even often, and almost never equally to blame with the man who takes the first improper liberty. Innate feminine delicacy preserves a woman from unprovoked impurity of motive toward a man. Her natural pride and modesty protect her against making the first indelicate advance. Her attitude toward his first impropriety is instinctive resistence. If all men will wait for the women who are now pure to make the first lustful suggestions, at least ninety per cent. of prostitution would soon fade away.

FIVE VOICES PLEADING FOR WOMEN.

Furthermore, there are five substantial reasons why the special protection of manhood and of law should be extended all girls, including the few who "are as much to blame as the men."

MORAL EFFECTS ON WOMEN.

First—Even if it is true that the sexual desire of the sexes is equal, it is certainly true that the moral effects of sinful gratification of this common desire are very unequal. As the full realization of her sin dawns upon her, the young female becomes overwhelmed with shame and despair. Having committed an unpardonable offense, she is liable to sink rapidly into abandon. But the average young male experiences only a small sense of disgrace as compared with her, and feels none of the desperate despair born of fear that he must suffer life-long condemnation as the penalty of his folly.

SOCIAL EFFECTS ON WOMEN.

Second—The inequality of social effects are largely responsible for these differences in moral effects. No matter how high or how low her station in life has been, the guilty female is termed "ruined" and "unfit for society," but not so the guilty male—unless he occupy some exalted position like that of a minister or the president of a college. Men refuse to marry the guilty female, but women do not refuse to marry the guilty male. Women refuse to associate with the guilty female; but neither men nor women refuse to associate

with the guilty male. How many thus "abandoned" males are there in the world as compared with "abandoned" females? First and second, then, it is because of the peculiar and terrible moral and social effects of this sin upon women that we ask for her special protection by manhood and by law, until she is old enough to appreciate these effects.

MULTIPLIED FORCES SEEKING HER VIRTUE.

Third.—Besides, the aggravating effects of a woman's loss of chastity there is the aggravating prevalence of this loss to stand as additional cause for extending her special protection. When immature boys, by tens of thousands, are being yearly destroyed, body, mind and soul, by some subtle art of mature women, then the necessity for discouraging these women by a prison penalty will have arisen; and, I doubt not, will find a speedy welcome to the statute books of every state in the nation. I can see no objection, at the present time, in having, alongside of the law for punishing men who seduce girls, another law for punishing women who entice boys. I am quite certain, however, that for one woman who will deserve the penalty, there will be fifty men upon whose heads the righteous sentence should fall.

RESPECTABLE SOCIETY NO SAFE-GUARD.

Fourth.—The young girl cannot avoid the seducer by remaining within the necessary environment of a respectable life. He may be the rich merchant who employs her; the lawyer whose

typewriter she operates; the physician who attends her in sickness; the priest to whom she confesses, the pastor in whom she confides; the singer who meets her at choir practice; the honored guest who sits at her father's table; or the man whom her mother permits the freedom of her home and trusts above all others. On the other hand, comparatively few women who are welcomed to respectable society have designs upon young boys. To come in contact with so vicious a woman the boy (or man either) much more often than the girl, steps outside the realm of respectability. I admit that society sirens, like those who tempted Napoleon, are still at work; but it is not young boys, but mature men whom they seek to entrap.

FREQUENTLY BECOMES A MOTHER.

Fifth.—Special protection should be extended the young female, because, as a result of her betrayal, she frequently becomes a mother, upon whose helpless, despairing breast the little one nestles; and around whose breaking heart its affections entwine. This evidence of her guilt can only be averted by sinful, criminal, dangerous, and sometimes fatal malpractice, which leaves her broken in body and conscience and the more ready prey for the utter abandonment of the brothel.

Let these five reasons for woman's special protection be like five voices pleading with every man's conscience who has in contemplation a woman's debasement. Vile, indeed, must be be if he does not turn square about and resolve, God helping him, to set his face and bar his heart

against the demon of lust that whispers in his mind when five such voices are shricking in his soul.

"IT IS A NECESSARY EVIL."

But here steps up the champion of a fourth excuse, far more subtle and hideous than any of the others. This man says, "it is a necessary evil."

Now, to expose this excuse, to exhibit its absurdity and horror, I wish to employ a little impossible imagination. I understand that there are those who will tell us that looking at this question from this imaginary standpoint is "sentimental rot." I know there are those who will ever have their boasted wisdom warped and biased and degraded because they are too selfish and coldblooded to understand that strong, deep, holy, emotions surging through the heart are the angels sending true, noble, manly, thoughts surging through the head. Let noble manhood bring all the light of wisdom, logic, philosophic and psychologic inquiry possible to bear upon the problem; but never ask such manhood to eliminate its natural sympathies and sentiments and emotions from so sacred a question as the protection of woman's virtue and love.

Woman's virtue and love! O men, think of them! Next to the Pearl of greatest price, the most valuable pearls beneath the sun! So priceless are they that it would not be a waste to unite the armies of the world to stand guard eternally for their protection! And yet, there are men who, even while fully admitting their loveliness, deliber-

ately admiring their inscrutable glory, calmly enjoying the play of their eternal halo, and fully realizing their inestimable worth, will still trifle with these two gleaming, heavenly pearls as if they were the merest pebbles, and will carelessly roll them over and over, and juggle them into the air, till both have fallen and are lost in the dust forever!

THE IMPOSSIBLE STORY.

The Great Maker of the Universe selects the wisest and purest man in the land, makes him an absolute monarch, endows him with mysterious safety from all harm and with absolute power to decree what he will for the overthrow of our modern sensual anarchy.

The monarch decides to try a few experiments in a great state's largest city. He first decrees that every house of ill fame be closed, that all their inmates be provided with good homes and honorable employment, those rejecting these provisions to be imprisoned.

AN ATTORNEY'S PLEA FOR ILL FAME.

Then comes an eminent criminal attorney and, in behalf of one or two merchants with whom the fallen women mainly trade, and in behalf of all the saloons in the city, and in behalf of a few pimp hotel proprietors who supply certain guests with rooms and women, and in behalf of a class of men pleading that the brothel is essential to their health and existence, and in behalf (if you will believe him) of some of the pure women of

the city who are afraid that the removal of the brothels will endanger them, and in behalf of free circulation of money, and in behalf of other interests too numerous to mention, this attorney enters his solemn protest, sets up the plea of "necessary evil," etc., etc., and earnestly petitions his majesty to restrain his officers from further execution of such puritanic intolerance and oppression.

The monarch listens attentively announcing that he wishes to be just and reasonable, and, therefore, desires to question the attorney a little.

"Mr. Attorney, do you make this plea in your own behalf, also?" Do you find, sir, that you cannot get along without brothels?"

"No, sir," exclaims the attorney, indignantly, "I am not so low as that, but it's the other fellows,"

"Very well," continues the monarch firmly, "I am decided to invite all the people of this city to a great open air convention, to be held on yonder hill in the suburbs, where shall be considered fully the decree I have entered for the removal of the evil houses from this community. Now, Mr. Attorney, you go and gather up all the 'other fellows,' bring them to the convention, and I will listen to their complaints publicly, in the presence of their friends and townsmen, where they will have every opportunity to receive sympathy for their deplorable condition."

The attorney starts out to find these "other fellows." How many will he find? Well, as a matter of fact, it is extremely doubtful if he could find a single man in all the city who has the

courage of his convictions sufficiently under control to face his townsmen with the proud assertion that he, personally, can not restrain his own passion nor sustain his own business without being aided and abetted by prostitutes.

But, for purposes of illustration, we are indulging in the most altruistic type of imagination and, therefore, we shall not scruple to state that our legal champion of the "necessary evil" plea is quite successful in gathering many citizens who are of a sufficiently noble mould to publicly describe their losses and experiences of torture since being deprived of brothels.

THE KIND OF MEN WHO SUFFER.

Most of them are great, strapping men of two hundred pounds or more, with physical force to resist an ox, but without moral force to crush a flea. A few are married men who have left chaste, confiding wives and gone, with the kisses of their babes upon their lips, to dance and carouse with degraded women. Then comes one or two young men who have spent the first half of the night with sweet, pure maidens of respectable homes and the last half with vile, diseased women of ill fame.

These men tell their stories and their attorney makes an impassioned plea for their dire necessity. The monarch patiently listens. After the last word has been eloquently spoken a long pause and almost painful silence ensues, while every ear is strained to catch the decision of the monarch. At last he speaks.

"This attorney insists that humanity and justice demand that I provide for the necessity of these men. My decision is to provide for them."

Then he whispers a command to two officers. who immediately spring upon their horses and ride rapidly toward the city. A look of astonishment is upon every face. The triumph of the attorney is somewhat clouded by embarrassing uncertainty of the monarch's purpose. The long row of suffering supplicants seems strangely restless and uneasy. Something gleaming from the monarch's eve fills all with mysterious apprehension. Finally, as if to set at rest the painful strain upon the nerves of the vast throng, the monarch simply says, "I have sent for a woman, she lives not far away, the officers will soon return." For a long time after this declaration a death-like hush is upon the people. Then, way in the distant valley, the officers re-appear, without their horses, leading between them a young woman. As they come nearer, her remarkable beauty can be distinguished. No lovelier, purer daughter ever trod the earth than yonder weeping maiden. Slowly, gradually, a murmur passes from mouth to mouth over the mighty sea of people. At first it is but a low hiss from a single pair of lips, but it grows and swells to shouts of rage and screams of horror and wails of despair. Stones are thrown, clubs are wielded, revolvers are fired. In the midst of all, with folded arms, stands the monarch on the platform, untouched and undismayed. Not a muscle in his stern face has quailed nor softened.

Relentlessly forward move the officers with their fainting victim. The hot breath of passion comes quicker and quicker over the long row of lust gluttons as they view the striking beauty and matchless form of the woman who is to be offered up, a living sacrifice, for their passion. But, wonder of wonders, gaze at the lawyer! Is he stricken with the heat of the broiling sun? Has he turned to marble? Is he dead? No, see, the blood is surging back into his face. The strength returns to his trembling frame. He rushes toward the monarch like a madman, and shaking his clenched fists into his face and gnashing upon him with his grinding teeth, he calls on heaven and earth and hell to damn his majesty forever. Then turning from the undaunted and immovable monarch, he rushes toward the officers, and falls on his knees in their pathway, with the wild, piercing, never-to-be-forgotten cry upon his lips,

"GREAT GOD! MY SISTER! MY SISTER!"

Then sister and brother are led up to the austere monarch. Stepping to the front of the platform, he gazes upon their bowed heads. First he addresses the maiden. And for the only time during this strange scene his stern face relaxes, his voice trembles, tears stream down his cheeks, as with infinite tenderness he hushes her sobs by the comforting assurance that the preservation of her womanhood is about to be left entirely to the decision of her only brother, who, since her birth has loved her as his own life. Then, turning from the maiden, amid the almost painful stillness of

the people, broken only by an occasional sob of some true-hearted man or tender-hearted woman, the monarch addresses her brother, the attorney, in these words:

"Sir, a few moments ago you stood in this spot pleading the interests of this city's ill-fame. You first admitted that the evil places here were too shameless and prevalent, and that certain measures of restriction to one district with proper police surveillance would be reasonable and rational, but that a law for their total abrogation is impracticable, tyrannical and absurd. To sustain this position you elaborated these three points: First.—That the city's business interests required them. Second .- That a certain class of otherwise law-abiding citizens were so constituted that they must be provided with them. Third .-That the virtuous women of the city would be in danger if these places were removed. All that I shall now say is to refute the logic and morality of every position you have taken.

"All cities are cursed with a few self-selected champions of what they are pleased to term 'reasonable' and 'rational' methods of dealing with vice. They pride themselves on a certain cold-blooded wisdom, which mainly proves itself by consummate ability to charge all other people who disagree with being sentimental and absurd. These frigid logicians have ever made a total failure of dealing with a city's prostitution.

CONFINED TO ONE NOTORIOUS DISTRICT.

"I challenge you, Mr. Attorney, to point me to a single city in this nation that ever succeeded in controlling its ill fame by confining it to any certain, notorious, known-to-everybody district and there tenderly watching over it with a police force. Instead of being reasonable and rational this method has been a visionary, impractical, dismal failure. Such police regulations for the conduct of brothels are exactly as senseless, and in the sight of high heaven ten times as horrible, as would be certain regulations in compliance with which banks might be robbed and stores looted.

"The only rational method of dealing with prostitution in any city is to have as absolute laws prohibiting its existence as there are laws prohibiting forgery or arson or robbery, and to enforce these laws as rigidly and vigilantly as the law against murder. Perhaps it is true that you can never totally abolish a city's prostitution, but after a single decade's honest, faithful trial, of this method, you will have no more murder than before in the city, and fifty per cent. less prostitution. And then, and then only, will come the comforting consciousness that for the prostitution that is left, you are no more responsible than for the other crimes that still curse the municipality."

NEVER CAUSES BUT EVER PREYS UPON PROSPERITY.

"Now, Mr. Attorney, you hold that because live, progressive cities have the largest number of brothels and dead cities the fewest, therefore, the business interests of the city require the continuance of these places. But, sir, these places multiply in a city only as an effect, never as a cause of that city's prosperity. Their only interest in

her prosperity is to prey upon it, and when she suffers a reverse they are the first to desert her. They never facilitate but are simply incidental to prosperity.

WORST MEDIUM FOR CIRCULATION OF MONEY.

"You say, 'they keep money in circulation.' But what kind of circulation? The best possible circulation for a city's money is through the medium of legitimate transactions, where both buyer and seller are equally benefited. If the transaction injures either buyer or seller the circulation is less healthy; and if both are debased and injured, the worst possible medium of circulation for that city's money is in operation. If all the money now circulating by means of saloons and brothels were to cease, and begin circulating through its legitimate lines of trade, every industry would feel the impulse of new life.

"All commercial prosperity, not founded upon righteousness, must eventually fail. All this nation's commercial supremacy founded upon dishonor and shame must ultimately bring dishonor and shame to this nation. The more of this sort of so-called success we build up in America the more infamy will be upon our name in her history, and the more toil and pain and anguish will we heap upon those who, yet unborn, must some day dig their way out of the decay and stench and ruin inherited from our selfishness and sin.

"We have already sacrificed many sacred trusts upon the altar of commercialism. Let us pause long and earnestly before we commit the final infamy, and, in the name and for the sake of 'business' offer up our women.

DESTROYING ONE WOMAN TO SAVE ANOTHER.

"Now, Mr. Attorney, think a moment of your position that it is necessary for one portion of our women to be sent to hell in order that the rest may be preserved for heaven.

"From what class of men do we need to protect our daughters? Is it from the unmarried men who have controlled their passions and remained pure? No, it is from both married and unmarried men who have had their passions fed, fanned and fired by these very brothels. If indulging lust makes men safer for respectable women to encounter and entertain, why is it the notorious fact that so large a number of the frequenters of brothels and seducers of women are married men with living wives?

"The very consciousness of the existence of an authorized row of brothels in a city, more than any other one influence poisons the minds of men and boys and fills their imaginations with licentious dreams.

"A youth spent his vacation visiting a married brother in Cincinnati. The brother showed him the Cincinnati elephant, and, for the first time, he spent a night in a brothel. During the next year he ruined three of the young girls of his native city.

"Well do I remember, Mr. Attorney, when I, a young man, just of age, was combating the dark passions of my nature, walking my bedroom floor

at midnight, saying, 'this mind shall win the victory over this body.' What was my passionate nature fighting? Was it a temptation to destroy an innocent girl? Never! I was fighting against accepting an invitation to join the boys in a visit to a palatial den of iniquity, where they told me a dainty maiden, the loveliest of them all, had expressed a desire to make my acquaintance. And what was the chief argument that appealed to me that night, up there in my bedroom, alone with my lust and the devil? The demons whispered that it was necessary for me to go, that other better, smarter fellows than I went; that even the mayor and the city council and the law recognized my necessity and provided for it; and that because this necessity was so great even my church submitted to it.

"But there came and stood by my side in that mad moment a Presence, invisible and infinite, who was at once my Counselor and my Saviour.

"Now, Mr. Attorney, suppose I had gone out that night, do you mean to tell me that I would have been a safer companion afterward for the virtuous young girls with whom I associated?

"I do not believe, Mr. Attorney, that all men who hold your ideas are totally bad. They have simply been brought up in the atmosphere of legalized nastiness till their moral fibre and manly instincts are warped and twisted and degraded.

"It's the devil's own deadliest philosophy that a man must commit one degradation to keep from committing another.

"Now, Mr. Attorney, you have brought yonder row of individuals before me as samples of men so constituted that they cannot live without the brothel. Listen while I speak to them.

"Men, after witnessing the scene enacted here to-day, how many of you now feel that you can live without indulging this vice?"

Ten of the least dissipated hold up their hands. "I wish to warn you, men, that every fast woman in the city has either reformed or been sent to prison; therefore, it must be either your own attorney's lovely sister or no one. How many of you are willing, men, even if it kills you, to save this beautiful girl?"

All but five hold up their hands.

"Officers," says the monarch, and now his voice is like a peal of thunder, "march those five remaining men in front of this platform, ten paces back of where the brother and sister stand."

"Mr. Attorney, turn about and face these men! Gaze upon them! They are the only men in all this great throng who have not paid respectful attention to every word I have uttered. They have scoffed and jeered and swore at what little has reached their ears, and have kept a bottle of whiskey passing frequently backward and forward.

"Mr. Attorney," and the monarch's voice was never so stern as now, "Mr. Attorney, is it true, sir, that our present mammoth system of open shame ought to be left to stalk onward, unmolested over God's green earth, withering the grass, fading the flowers, clouding the skies, flooding perdition with women's souls? And doing all, sir, for what? For what? Think of it, sir, all, all, for gross gratification of uncurbed licentiousness of

such men as stand facing you! Oh, sir, for shame, for shame, upon the infernal sentiment that the priceless pearls of woman's virtue and love should even once be prostituted to man's debasement and her own destruction!

"I insist, sir, that you look at these men! Is not the sight you behold enough in itself to refute every argument you have offered? What perjury to decency! What defamation of virtue! What slander upon manhood! Five polluted, groveling beasts, looking at the purest of women, only through the dense, poisonous vapor of unbridled lust!

Shall we sacrifice your sister to them? That is their demand. They refuse to release her. Passion for her controls every nerve of their bodies, every fibre of their minds, and is dearer than their souls. Shall we let them have her, sir? Speak, man! Speak man! Shall we?"

"For God's sake, no, sir!" exclaims the lawyer in broken tones."

"Well, if not your sister, then what other man's sister? For, believe me, sir, some poor heart breaks for almost every girl whose virtue is lost. And, if there be a few so friendless, so defenseless, with no one to care, no one to teach, no one to protect, and no heart to break, the more is the pity and shame.

"Nearly all these lost angels have had some one who has loved them just as you love your beautiful sister. If a few have odds against them from hereditary taint and false and neglected training, shall that fact, instead of appealing for our special protection, be our license to turn loose such beasts as stand before you to prey upon their unearned but utter helplessness?

"Ah! Mr. Attorney, believe me, if there be one among such women, whose father disowned her before she was born, whose mother deserted her when she was born, and who never had a brother like you, even that poor child still has a father and a mother and a brother. The Almighty God is her Father and her Mother, and Jesus Christ is her brother.

"The man who dares start a woman's feet in the path to hell dares to break the heart of such a MOTHER; dares the vengeance of such a BRO-THER; dares the extremest sentence within the infinite power of such a FATHER."



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THE BIBLE

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WOMEN VOTING

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THE BIBLE ON WOMEN VOTING

There are many modern problems to which no Bible Concordance can give us a clew. There are social questions today pressing for solution which Christ never named in words. He never said specifically that we should drag the little girl widows of India from the funeral pyre; that we should unbind the tortured feet of Chinese women; that we should keep little children from work in underground mines; that we should make sanitary our prisons or do Red Cross work. Nor did Jesus say in so many words, "Let women vote."

But Christianity will solve these newer problems if we study the spirit of Christ's words and then apply the treatment most in accord with His life and teachings.

No class needed Jesus more than did women. Their long continued slavery, their degradation, their ignorance, the age-long suppression of every aspiration, made them the saddest class to whom Christ came.

He was a friend who differed from every human friend women had ever gained. The kindness of men had been limited to the women they made their slaves or their toys, but Christ's kindness extended to every woman who came before Him. He did not slight the Samaritan woman of alien blood; He did not chide the mothers with little children who doubtless wearied Him. He did not repulse the Magdalene with her box of precious ointment, nor did He scorn the woman taken in sin, but He looked beyond to her equally guilty accusers and administered this rebuke: "He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her."

He gave no encouragement to Martha's notion that every woman's place was in the kitchen. He said Mary had chosen that better part.

He said that He came to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them that were bruised.

Women knew that they were poor, were broken-hearted and bruised. They were bound by custom, were captives of greed and lust and were the most powerless of human beings. They endured all the sufferings of the men of their own rank and in addition the slights and abuses heaped on them because they were women. They better appreciated the need of the gospel of love, of peace, of equality, of benevolence than could the sanctimonious Sadducee, the hypocritical Pharisee, or the purse proud publican. Christ told them that He came that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly. To their empty lives, to their starved hearts, to their longing minds, this was a glorious prospect, the prospect of an abundant, rich, full life. They recognized in His gospel the greatest uplifting force that had ever come to women. So they were numerous among His followers, last at the cross and first at the sepulcher.

The Jews to whom Christ came were

better prepared than any other existing nation for a just recognition of women. They had learned in the books of Moses that men and women were made of the same flesh and blood, and that over the newly created world they had been given joint dominion.

They easily explained woman's subservient position as a punishment for sin, and every Jewish mother hoped her coming child might lift the curse from her sex. Perhaps some thought the Genesis statement, that woman should bring forth her children in sorrow and be subject to her husband, a divine command for all ages. Some early Christian teachers so construed it when they forbade the use of any anesthetic by a woman in childbirth, on the ground that God wanted women to suffer. Who could worship or love so cruel a God? Our God never wanted women to suffer, to be humiliated, to be degraded. Some one's sin, doubtless the sin and neglect of many, are responsible for women's physical suffering and social degradation. This statement in Genesis was not a law, but a prophecy of what the future held for women-a prophecy fulfilled by the sufferings of millions of wives and mothers through thousands of years. This prophecy should no more be called a command of God than the statement made at the same time to man, that he should eat his bread in the sweat of his face and that he should eat the herb of the field. If that also is a command to endure through countless generations, then any man who eats meat is wicked, for it was said that he would eat herbs, and any man who eats without perspiring is flying in the face of his Creator. This is no more absurd than to claim that

God ordained women to suffer and to

obey.

The scientists of today quite agree with the Genesis parable concerning creation; that creation was in the ascending scale, first the lower creatures, then the higher animals, then man, and last at the apex the more complex woman. The order of creation affords no argument why women should obey men, though Paul in I. Tim. 2:13 so seems to regard it. It might rather be a reason why men should obey women. The question as to joint government was foreshadowed in the Genesis statement, "to them" that is male and female humanity, "gave he dominion."

The Jews, it is true, were for centurics only semi-civilized, and were always somewhat affected by the less civilized heathen nations near them. We cannot expect to find their early treatment of women a model fit in every respect for modern twentieth century men to follow. But they strove toward better things. Their Ten Commandments directed the honoring of mothers as well as fathers. Even their calling women unclean at certain times so protected women from lustful approach that the health and purity of the Jewish people have been a marvel down to the present day. Even the provision for a bill of divorcement gave women a certain legal standing not granted among nations where a wife could be cast off with no reason at a husband's pleasure. Moses recognized the daughters' right to a share in their father Zelophehad's inheritance, evidently the early beginning of women's property rights

The Jews showed liberality toward the brilliant women who could do work commonly accounted too high for women.

Miriam composed and sang her song, as did Mary her Magnificat. Deborah led her armies to victory and then for forty years ruled her people in peace. One great victory did not make her covet the title of a great warrior. She sought rather to cultivate the arts and industries which best flourish in times of peace. Huldah, the prophetess, and Anna, the priestess, did their holy work with none to object because of their sex.

The Jews' high ideal of what women might do, and be, was set before them in the last twenty-one verses of the last chapter of Proverbs. A lofty type of womanhood is there pictured, a woman well developed in every department of learning and endeavor, a woman who might well typify all the brilliant women of even this country. Into this portrait of the ideal woman were doubtless put traits from the lives of many great Jewish women. It was a composite word picture. This ideal was like the Ten Commandments, a great and noble image of perfection toward which they constantly strove. These verses, before the days of books, passed from one generation to another by repetition. Parents taught their children to recite such poems, and these children in turn taught their own little ones. Doubtless Mary taught these words and many other psalms and proverbs to Jesus after the manner of Jewish parents. She could do it. Mary's own Magnificat showed her to be a woman of lofty feeling, patriotic sentiment, fervent piety and intellectual strength. Sons of such mothers respect women. These words may have been the very ones which were most responsible for Christ's kindly treatment of women, for by no word or look or gesture did He treat them as inferior to men.

To women after His resurrection was the first command given to spread abroad the tidings that he was risen. Not only the Marys but many other women were among the faithful workers in the early church. They helped form the audiences and they were among those who preached or prophesied. The four daughters of Philip prophesied, with no criticism concerning their sex, and Dorcas was a renowned almoner of the early church.

The great leader Paul had taught them many things about liberty and the kindly treatment of slaves. To him one human soul (Onesimus, a slave) was as great as another (even Philemon, the master). Paul taught them that there was neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but that they were all one in Christ Jesus. He frequently recognized and approved of women's work in the church. Among the women commended by Paul or honorably mentioned by him were Phoebe, Priscilla, Mary, Junia, Tryphena, Tryphosa. Persis, mother of Rufus, Julia, Nereus' sister Claudia, and Apphia.

Some have claimed that Paul wholly opposed women's preaching and recommended to them only humbler tasks. But a careful reading of all his letters will show that he was only trying to conform somewhat to the customs of the day then prevalent among the Eastern peoples and was advising a line of conduct which might draw toward women the least possible criticism. He plainly recognized them as preachers when he advised them to keep their heads covered when they preached or prophesied (I. Cor. 11:5), or when they prayed (13th verse) -only a becoming deference to Eastern custom. He commanded (Phil. 4:3), "Help those women which labored with me in the gospel." His commendation of Phoebe,

who succored many, even himself, and who served the church in Cenchrea. doubtless as deacon, his frequent references to Priscilla, who trained Apollos how to preach, show his attitude toward the dignified utterances of holy women. He recognized (I. Tim. 1:5 and 3:15, Acts 16:1) the valuable training Timothy had received from his mother Eunice and grandmother Lois, "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures." Timothy's father was a Greek from whom he could not have learned this.

It is true that he advised the Corinthian women about what to wear when they prophesied, and also asked them to keep silence (I. Cor. 14:34), adding that it was a shame for them to speak, or (properly translated) to chatter in the church. So it would be now. It would be a shame for men or women so to behave. But the Corinthian women were not graduates of universities and theologicals books as some yomen are today.

Whatever it was Paul meant, he plainly intended it for those of ancient times and not for us today under such different conditions His kindness to the humble (Rom. 15:1)-"We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak"-might well rouse men to help women; and his encouragement-"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free"-should spur women to help themselves. When we cease our scrutiny of these few verses and read all Paul wrote we discover a great love for liberty and justice which today would doubtless place him with John Stuart Mill, Jacob Bright, Abraham Lincoln. William Lloyd Garrison and other men who have stood for woman suffrage.

Peter, too, is another whose words about wifely submission have been translated by our opponents to mean, "Do not let women vote." Now voting has nothing to do with obeying a husband. We may or may not obey and yet be disfranchised. Being disfranchised is worse than obeying the command of our own husbands; it means obeying the laws made by every one's else husband. If Peter meant that all women everywhere should obey whatever sort of a husband each might have, sober or drunken, honest or knavish chaste or dissolute, intelligent or ignorant, kind or cruel, pious or blasphemous, then on that subject Peter was not inspired. Even the best of husbands today may sometimes err in a command to a wife, and a discreet and pious wife will use her own best judgment as to when she should obey and when she should disobev. Our vow to our church pledges us to obey God. our oath of allegiance to our native land pledges us to obey our country's laws. regardless of our husbands' orders. Governments no longer punish a husband for a wife's crime. She must go to jail or be hung for her own deeds. So she is wise to consider before she obeys. Peter shows his unfamiliarity with scripture in holding up Sarah as an example of obedient wifehood. She may have called Abraham "Lord." to flatter his vanity. for all of Laban's relatives were "up to tricks." but when it came to poor Hagar and innocent Ishmael, Abraham obeyed Sarah. Perhaps Peter intended a humorous touch when he advised wives to obey as Sarah did: that is, to obey when it suited them.

Peter's words, too, should all be read, to appreciate fully his words to wives. He who found it so hard to be patient and submissive, recommended to all submission as a cardinal virtue. "Be subject to every ordinance of man, . . . king, . . governors. Honor the king. Servants be in subjection to your masters. Wives be in subjection to your husbands. Ye younger, be subject unto the elder. Gird yourselves with humility to serve one another." So if any husband ever quotes Peter as authority for wifely obedience, the wife in turn may quote Peter's words, "Gird yourselves with humility to serve one another."

Paul also commended to all, both men and women, "Submitting yourselves one to another" (Ephesians 5:21), and "Put on therefore humbleness of mind" (Col.

3:12).

The women today who graduate from universities and lead great reform movements are different from the majority of women to whom Paul and Peter wrote. We today carry out the spirit of these writings in conforming generally to the laws and customs of the nations among which we dwell, changing as these non-

essentials differ. With Christ's example before us, with Paul's words that there is neither male nor female in Christ Jesus, but that we are all one, and Peter's words to husbands and wives that they are heirs together of the grace of life and should be of one mind, what ought we to do to bring our present civilization up to the high standard set by the Gospel? We must first admit that Christianity has been the inspiration which has already partly lifted women out of the degradation of heathenism and the bondage of the dark ages. But it has not yet brought woman full freedom for self-development and helpfulness. It has not yet made her man's political equal throughout Christendom. There are more important matters before us today than whether a woman should speak veiled or unveiled, whether she should wear jewels or not, and whether her hair should be braided or not.

Women should be joint guardians with their husbands of their children. They should have an equal share in family property. They should be paid equally for equal work. Every school and profession should be open to them. Divorce and inheritance should be equal. Laws should protect them from man's greed by limiting the hours of woman's labor, and protect from man's lust by punishing severely vile assaults on women. Women under official custody should be under the control of women. Troubled childhood should be safeguarded. All these desirable reforms can only come through the vote of women, and such laws have been passed where women vote. To secure this vote for women in the United States Christian women must unite.

Christian men are in power in all European countries, in America, both North and South, in Australia, and in great portions of Africa and Asia. If they will carry out in their laws Christ's teachings concerning women, there will be freedom and justice through civilized nations, and Christian women coöperating powerfully with Christian men will help bring in the era of peace on earth and good will to men promised by the angels 1900 years ago

CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH.

WOMAN SUFFRACE ASSOCIATION
408 ESSEX BLDG.
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The Scriptural Status of Women

By E. M. Souvielle



The Scriptural Status of Women

By E. M. Souvielle

UITE properly thinkers on any question of right, justice or morality turn to the Bible for its counsel and guidance, as the oldest book in the world and also the only history of the race ever written. Less properly, most writers give what is actually merely a paraphrase of its statements quite as though it always needed an expositor or as if it did not speak plainly.

Such a treatment of Shakespeare or Bacon or any other extant history would not be accepted, or a paraphrase of the meaning tolerated, while all attempts to do so would speedily be discovered and exposed. Equally so, any explanation of the Bible words are tinged with the understanding and theory of the expositor and therefore not of importance.

A purpose to investigate any question in the Bible requires exact quotations and references. In this question of the status of a half of the human race before the law the Bible is the final arbiter.

The first chapter in the Bible states, Gen. I:27, that "male and female created he them." God then blessed them and gave them dominion and made them "one flesh," Gen. II:24.

There was no discrimination of sex. They are the same food, inhabited the same garden, and associated with the same companions of angels.

After their fall the greater sin was attributed to Adam, as sinning in full knowledge, while Eve was beguiled. This is not questionable for God gave to the woman a promise that her "seed" should be the means of a restoration, Gen. III:15. Here occurs the first discrimination between them and it is wholly in favor of the woman. God then decreed upon them the same sorrow and the same word is used of both, and God clothed them in the same manner and with the same form of dress, Gen. III:21, with the skins of beasts. This taught them what death was, and that sin had reduced them still nearer to the beasts, even to needing their robes, instead of rendering them nearer to the angels (the elohim) with whom they were familiar and whom they recognized as superior to themselves in station, powers and intelligence.

There were preserved through the flood four men and four women from the old world that perished.

On two occasions Abraham "harkened to the voice of Sarah," once by the command of God.

In the code of laws that God gave by the hand of Moses there appears no sex discrimination and no authority for the man to steal a woman's treasure, herself, and place the blame upon her. "Honor thy father and thy mother" brings an equal blessing. All the difference that appears is in the last commandment, that a man "shall not covet his neighbor's wife," the only reference to a special sex proclivity.

After entering the promised land the council of seventy and the twelve heads of the tribes refused an inheritance to the daughters of Zelophehad, the first who stood for the rights of women, whose names were Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah. Their stand should be honored by a memory. Moses took their cause before the Lord, who said, "The daughters of Zelophehad speak right: thou shalt surely give them a possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren." Numbers XXVII:7.

Here, at the first foundation of the chosen nation God made it plain that he was not a respector of persons nor of sex, and decreed equality. He also established one tribe as the royal tribe and another for the service of the temple, and these three rights are inalienable and equally in force today. History demonstrates of the two tribes that it is true, why contend against the other?

The crimes against sex found no discrimination in punishment except in the case of force, where the woman was declared guiltless and the man was to be stoned to death.

Of the mother and sister of Moses who saved his life and taught him of his parentage and faith little is noted, yet they had prepared him for his great destiny, under the hand of God.

The stories of Miriam and Deborah are examples of what women would do when opportunity presented or necessity compelled. There were many women among the prophets and priests.

The crowning blessing to humanity came upon a woman when the angel said to Mary, "Blessed art thou among women, and told her that her divine Son should fulfill the hope of the ages and the promise to Eve, as rehearsed by the voices of all the prophets. Her son's last thought of a human being was for her, when he gave her John for a son.

In his life Jesus healed as many women as men, and knew nothing but their need. He talked freely with an alien woman of Samaria, revealing himself to her as the Messiah, and sent the first message after his resurrection by a woman to the disciples.

In the incident of the woman taken in sin, brought before him by the Pharisees with the scribes, the two sects that represented the learned classes, in John VIII, there are a number of facts that should be specially noted:

The Pharisees did not recognize that she had an associate in sin, as they stated that she was taken "in the very act." They also pretended to quote Moses as to her merited punishment. These two statements were both false, the first to nature and fact, and the second is a perversion of the law which Moses promulgated at the command of God, which said that both should be stoned.

The Pharisees in this accusation boldly advocated a double standard of sex morality, an idea not dead in the world of today. Jesus refused to accept their theory and their judgment and turned both upon themselves. A most remarkable feature of the incident is that the "least" important in station and in self esteem left the scene first, while the "greatest" in his own righteousness and pride of sex did not feel the prick of conscience till he found himself alone as an accuser, when, unsupported by another, and self-confessed, he dared not stand for his cherished double standard and place the blame upon the woman.

While Jesus, with the eloquence of silence, took this effective means of delivering her from malice, he did not excuse sin as clearly shown in his merciful and forceful admonition to her, "Go, and sin no more."

The highest conception of human perfection and beauty as exemplified in art throughout the ages is that in which sex does not appear, and is really in accord with what is said of the future redeemed humanity in which there is to be "neither male nor female."

This ideal was and is the hope of the church by the conquering of the animal by the spiritual, the natural by the Divine.

None can read into the word of God an excuse for a male and female morality, as there is one law for the race, for one destiny of perfection, in a glorious and certain promised and ordained restoration.

Equality before the law of God has never been denied. Equality before the enactments of man is an equally ordained and established fundamental right which cannot be withheld, except in defence of sin and against the underlying principle of all law which is blind to discrimination.

The Greeks, in recognition of the evident fair and gentle nature of law, made Justice, Wisdom and Love personified by women from the true significance of principles. War, rapine and intemperance were typified by the masculine form as these are pre-eminently male propensities throughout creation. The intelligent ruler of the earth in his development in TWO, which were made ONE, was given a moral law because of the endowment with a moral knowledge and an incentive to attain to spiritual perfection made possible by obeying for love and not by compulsion.

Law implies liberty and by no logic can force be named law. The very idea compels a freedom of choice; it entails responsibility and holds a penalty for its disregard, though the word has for centuries been perverted, and not at all understood. It is not oppression but stands for the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

The message of the Bible is, come out of the evil my people "and ye shall be my sons and daughters saith the Lord Almighty." Perfect law and perfect beauty know no sex, which is the sign and seal of incompleteness and imperfection. HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
408 ESSEX BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

The Bible for Woman Suffrage

By Bishop J. W. Bashford

Many reforms have been greatly hindered by false interpretations of the Bible.

Opponents of woman suffrage generally go back as far as Genesis for arguments, but even then they do not go back far enough. They stop with a true account of the false relation into which man and woman were thrown by sin, and quote this account as the original charter for mankind: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." If they will only go back to the creation of Adam and Eve, and to their natural and divine relation before the fall. they will fail to find a sentence which hints at the subordination of woman. Woman was not made in man's image, neither was the dominion of the world committed to him alone. On the contrary, the record plainly says: "In the image of God created He him, male and female created He them, and God said: Let them have dominion over all the earth"

Now when Adam and Eve descended from the sphere of spirituality to the animal sphere, when they turned from a life of faith to follow appetite, God said to man that even nature should rebel against his animal life: "The earth shall bring forth thorns and thistles." The history of every drunkard and man of lust proves that nature fights against him, and confirms the prophecy.

And God said to woman that in this lower animal life with man she would be constantly worsted: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." Six thousand years of history have proved the terrible truth of this

prophecy.

And yet this declaration of woman's subordination-which does not belong at all to the account of her original creation, and which is directly due to sin, and which we see sprang from the very nature of the two and from the sinful contest on which they then entered-is quoted repeatedly as the divine declaration of the ideal state of the sexes, and we are constantly told that any attempt to change it is a violation of the divine constitution. As well might one declare that the thorns and briars which God said the earth should bring forth on account of man's sin are an expression of the ideal attitude of nature toward man, and that we violate the divine constitution in tilling the soil and improving its products.

Again, the whole effort of Christ was to restore to mankind what was lost in Adam. "For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." If Christianity is completely to restore that which was lost in Adam, how can it stop short of completely abolishing the subordination of woman, which the Bible declares to be the direct result of sin, and of leading us back to that Edenic proclamation, "Let them have dominion over all the earth"?

Paul wrote the letter to the Corinthians, and all his other letters, not from the platform of rights, but from the higher platform of love. He declares in the ninth chapter that he has, from the standpoint of justice, a clear right to payment for his labor, but refuses it; says he has a plain right to eat any kind of meat, but declares that if meat cause his brother to offend he will eat no meat while the world stands. He asks the Jews and Romans who may be in Corinth, not to confess Christ in Hebrew or Latin unless an interpreter is present, tells the women to keep silence in the meetings and obey their husbands, forbids the slaves to contend for their freedom, but to choose service rather. He even says: "Let no man seek his own but every man his neighbor's good," and the argument fitly culminates in the marvelous exaltation of love in the thirteenth chapter.

After reading Paul's letter as a whole, who would dream of affirming that Paul is writing, not an apotheosis of love, but a magna charta of personal rights? As well might we say that the fact of his taking no compensation for his labor, that his command to Jews and Romans not to confess Christ at Corinth, is proof that they had no right to confess Christ in Hebrew or Latin, and that his prohibition of any man to seek his own is proof that a man has no right to his property, as to say that Paul's command to women to keep silence in the churches, and to obey their husbands, is proof that they had no right to speech or liberty.

But still more, as if Paul foresaw that his words on the subjection of women might be tortured into falsehood, in this very letter to the Corinthians, after mentioning the historical fact that the man is the head of the woman, he adds, "Nevertheless, neither is the man without woman nor the woman without the map in the Lord";

and in Galatians he declares unqualifiedly: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Our children will be as much astonished that we could hold to the divinely-ordained subordination of women in the face of this last clause, as we are now astonished that slave-holders and Jews could hold to the divinely-ordained subordination of the slaves and the Gentiles in the face of the first two clauses.

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The Bible on Women Voting

By Catharine Waugh McCulloch

There are many modern problems to which no Bible Concordance can give us a clew. There are social questions today pressing for solution which Christ never named in words. He never said specifically that we should drag the little girl widows of India from the funeral pyre; that we should unbind the tortured feet of Chinese women; that we should keep little children from work in underground mines; that we should make sanitary our prisons or do Red Cross work. Nor did Jesus say in so many words, "Let women vote."

But Christianity will solve these newer problems if we study the spirit of Christ's words and then apply the treatment most in accord with His life and

teachings.

No class needed Jesus more than did women. Their long continued slavery, their degradation, their ignorance, the age-long suppression of all their aspirations, made them the saddest class to

whom Christ came.

He was a friend who differed from every human friend women had ever gained. The kindness of men had been limited to the women they made their slaves or their toys, but Christ's kindness extended to every woman who came before Him. He did not slight the Samaritan woman of alien blood, He did not chide the mothers with little children who doubtless wearied Him, He did not repulse the Magdalene with her box of precious ointment, nor did He scorn the woman taken in sin, but He looked beyond to her equally guilty accusers and administered this rebuke: "He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her."

He gave no encouragement to Martha's notion that every woman's place was in the kitchen, and there only. He said Mary had chosen that better part.

He said that He came to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them that were bruised.

Women knew that they were poor, were broken-hearted and bruised. were bound by custom, were captives of greed and lust and were the most powerless of human beings. They endured all the sufferings of the men of their own rank and in addition the slights and abuses heaped on them because they were women. They better appreciated the need of the gospel of love, of peace, of equality, of benevolence than could the sanctimonious Sadducee, the hypocritical Pharisee, or the purse proud publican. Christ told them that He came that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly. To their empty lives, to their starved hearts, to their longing minds, this was a glorious prospect, the prospect of an abundant, rich, full life. They recognized in His gospel the greatest uplifting force that had ever come to women. So they were numerous among His followers, last at the cross and first at the sepul-

The Jews to whom Christ came were better prepared than any other existing nation for a just recognition of women. They had learned in the books of Moses that men and women were made of the same flesh and blood, and that over the newly created world they had been given

joint dominion.

They easily explained woman's subservient position as a punishment for sin, and every Jewish mother hoped her coming child might lift the curse from her sex. Perhaps some thought the Genesis statement, that woman should bring forth her children in sorrow and be subject to her husband, a divine command for all ages. Some early Christian teachers so construed it when they forbade the use of any anesthetic by a woman in childbirth, on the ground that God wanted women to suffer. Who could worship or love so cruel a God? Our God never wanted women to suffer, to be humiliated, to be degraded. Some one's sin, doubtless the sin and neglect

of many, are responsible for women's physical suffering and social degradation. This statement in Genesis was not a law, but a prophecy of what the future held for women—a prophecy fulfilled by the sufferings of millions of wives and mothers through thousands of years. This prophecy should no more be called a command of God than the statement made at the same time to man, that he should eat his bread in the sweat of his face and that he should eat the herb of the field. If that also is a command to endure through countless generations. then any man who eats meat is wicked, for it was said that he would eat herbs, and any man who eats without perspiring is flying in the face of his Creator. This is no more absurd than to claim that God ordained women to suffer and to obey.

The scientists of today quite agree with the Genesis parable concerning creation; that creation was in the ascending scale, first the lower creatures, then the higher animals, then man, and last at the apex the more complex woman. The order of creation affords no argument why women should obey men, though Paul in I. Tim. 2:13 so seems to regard it. It might rather be a reason why men should obey women. The question as to joint government was foreshadowed in the Genesis statement, "to them" that is male and female humanity, "gave he dominion."

The Jews, it is true, were for centuries only semi-civilized, and were always somewhat affected by the less civilized heathen nations near them. We cannot expect to find their early treatment of women a model fit in every respect for modern twentieth century men to follow. But they strove toward better things. Their Ten Commandments directed the honoring of mothers as well as fathers. Even their calling women unclean at certain times so protected women from lustful approach that the health and purity of the Jewish people have been a marvel down to the present day. Even the provision for a bill of divorcement gave women a certain legal standing not granted among nations where a wife might be cast off with no reason at a husband's pleasure. Moses recognized the daughters' right to a share in their father Zelophehad's inheritance, evidently the early beginning of women's property rights. He early recognized

the right of women to the fruits of their own toil when repulsing the shepherds who were about to steal the water drawn by the daughters of Jethro for their own flocks.

The Jews showed liberality toward the brilliant women who could do work commonly accounted too high for women. Miriam composed and sang her song, as did Mary her Magnificat. Deborah led her armies to victory and then for forty years ruled her people in peace. One great victory did not make her covet the title of a great warrior. She sought rather to cultivate the arts and industries which best flourish in times of peace. Huldah, the prophetess, and Anna, the priestess, did their holy work with none to object because of their sex.

The Jews' high ideal of what women might do, and be, was set before them in the last twenty-one verses of the last chapter of Proverbs. A lofty type of womanhood is there pictured, a woman well developed in every department of learning and endeavor, a woman who might well typify all the brilliant women of even this century. Into this portrait of the ideal woman were doubtless put traits from the lives of many great Jewish women. It was a composite word picture. This ideal was like the Ten Commandments, a great and noble image of perfection toward which they constantly strove. These verses, before the days of books, passed from one generation to another by repetition. Parents taught their children to recite such poems, and these children in turn taught their own little ones. Doubtless Mary taught these words and many other psalms and proverbs to Jesus after the manner of Jewish parents. She could do it. Mary's own Magnificat showed her to be a woman of lofty feeling, patriotic sentiment, fervent piety and intellectual strength. Sons of such mothers respect women. These words may have been the very ones which were most responsible for Christ's kindly treatment of women, for by no word or look or gesture did He treat them as inferior to men. To women after His resurrection was the first command given to spread abroad the tidings that he was risen. Not only the Marys but many other women were among the faithful workers in the early church. They helped form the audiences and

they were among those who preached or prophesied. The four daughters of Philip prophesied, with no criticism concerning their sex, and Dorcas was a renowned almoner of the early church.

The great leader Paul had taught them many things about liberty and the kindly treatment of slaves. To him one human soul (Onesimus, a slave) was as great as another (even Philemon, the master). Paul taught them that there was neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but that they were all one in Christ Jesus. He frequently recognized and approved of women's work in the church. Among the women commended by Paul or honorably mentioned by him were Phoebe, Priscilla, Mary, Junia, Tryphena, Tryphosa, Persis, mother of Rufus, Julia, Nereus' sister Claudia, and Apphia.

Some have claimed that Paul wholly opposed women's preaching and recommended to them only humbler tasks. But a careful reading of all his letters will show that he was only trying to conform somewhat to the customs of the day then prevalent among Eastern peoples, and was advising a line of conduct which might draw toward Christian women the least possible criticism. He plainly recognized them as preachers when he advised them to keep their heads covered when they preached or prophesied (I. Cor. 11:5), or when they prayed (13th verse)—only a becoming deference to Eastern custom. He commanded (Phil. 4:3), "Help those women which labored with me in the gospel." His commendation of Phoebe, who succored many, even himself, and who served the church in Cenchrea, doubtless as deacon, his frequent references to Priscilla, who trained Apollos how to preach, show his attitude toward the dignified utterances of holy women. He recognized (I. Tim. 1:5 and 3:15, Acts 16:1) the valuable training Timothy had received from his mother Eunice and grandmother Lois, "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures." Timothy's father was a Greek from whom he could not have learned this.

It is true that he advised the Corinthian women about what to wear when they prophesied, and also asked them to keep silence (I. Cor. 14:34), adding that it was a shame for them to speak, or (properly translated) to chatter in the church. So it would be now. It would

be a shame for men or women so to behave. But the Corinthian women were not graduates of universities and theological schools, as some women are to-

Whatever it was Paul meant, he plainly intended it for those of ancient times and not for us today under such different conditions. His kindness to the humble (Rom. 15:1)-"We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak"-might well rouse men to help women; and his encouragement-"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free"should spur women to help themselves. When we cease our scrutiny of these few verses and read all Paul wrote, we discover a great love for liberty and justice which today would doubtless place him with John Stuart Mill, Jacob Bright, Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison and other men who have

stood for woman suffrage.

Peter, too, is another whose words about wifely submission have been translated by our opponents to mean, "Do not let women vote." Now voting has nothing to do with obeying a husband. We may or may not obey and yet be disfranchised. Being disfranchised is worse than obeying the command of our own husbands; it means obeying the laws made by husbands of every one else. If Peter meant that all women everywhere should obey whatever sort of a husband each might have, sober or drunken, honest or knavish, chaste or dissolute, intelligent or ignorant, kind or cruel, pious or blasphemous, then on that subject Peter was not inspired. Even the best of husbands today may sometimes err in a command to a wife, and a discreet and pious wife will use her own best judgment as to when she should obey and when she should disobev. Our vow to our church pledges us to obey God, our oath of allegiance to our native land pledges us to obey our country's laws, regardless of our husbands' orders. Governments no longer punish a husband for a wife's crime. She must go to jail or be hung for her own deeds. So she is wise to consider before she obeys. Peter shows his unfamiliarity with ancient scripture in holding up Sarah as an example of obedient wifehood. She may have called Abraham "Lord," to flatter his vanity, for all of Laban's relatives were "up to tricks," but when it came to poor Hagar and innocent Ishmael, Abraham obeyed Sarah. Perhaps Peter intended a humorous touch when he advised wives to obey as Sarah did; that is, to obey

when it suited them.

Peter's words, too, should all be read, to appreciate fully his words to wives. He who found it so hard to be patient and submissive, recommended to all, submission as a cardinal virtue. "Be subject to every ordinance of man, *** king, *** governors. Honor the king. Servants be in subjection to your master. Wives be in subjection to your husbands. Ye younger, be subject unto the elder. Gird yourselves with humility to serve one another." So if any husband ever quotes Peter as authority for wifely obedience, the wife in turn may quote Peter's words, "Gird yourselves with humility to serve one another."

Paul also commended to all, both men and women, "Submitting yourselves one to another" (Ephesians 5:21), and "Put on therefore humbleness of mind" (Col.

3:12).

The women today who graduate from universities and lead great reform movements are different from the majority of women to whom Paul and Peter wrote. We today carry out the spirit of these writings in conforming generally to the laws and customs of the nations among which we dwell, changing as these non-

essentials differ.

With Christ's example before us, with Paul's words that there is neither male nor female in Christ Jesus, but that we are all one, and Peter's words to husbands and wives that they are heirs together of the grace of life and should be of one mind, what ought we to do to bring our present civilization up to the high standard set by the Gospel? We must admit that Christianity has been the inspiration which has already partly

lifted women out of the degradation of heathenism and the bondage of the dark ages. But it has not yet brought woman full freedom for self-development and helpfulness. It has not yet made her man's political equal throughout Christendom. There are more important matters before us today than whether a woman should speak veiled or unveiled, whether she should wear jewels or not, and whether her hair should be braided or not.

Women should be joint guardians with their husbands of their children. They should have an equal share in family property. They should be paid equally for equal work. Every school and profession should be open to them. Divorce and inheritance should be equal. Laws should protect them from man's greed by limiting the hours of woman's labor, and protect from man's lust by punishing severely, vile assaults on women. Women under official custody should be under the control of women. Troubled childhood should be safeguarded. All these desirable reforms can come through the vote of women, and such laws have been passed where women vote. To secure this vote for women in the United States, Christian women must unite.

Christian men are in power in all European countries, in America, both North and South, in Australia, and in great portions of Africa and Asia. If they will carry out in their laws Christ's teachings concerning women, there will be freedom and justice through civilized nations, and Christian women co-operating powerfully with Christian men will help bring in the era of peace on earth and good will to men promised by the

angels 1900 years ago.

Evanston, Ill.

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Hvorfor kvinder onsker at stemme.

KVINDER ER BORGERE

OG ÓNSKER AT GJÓRE SIN BORGERLIGE PLIGT.

Arbeidende kvinder behöver at stemme forat kunne regulere de forhold, hvorunder de arbeider.

Tror arbeidende mænd, at de kan beskýtte sig selv uden stemmeret?

Husholdere behöver stemmeret forat kunne regulere de sundhedsforhold, hvorunder de og deres familier maa leve.

Tror MÆND, at de kan faa, hvad der behóves for deres distrikt, medmindre de kan stemme for de mænd, som kan skaffe dem det?

Módre behóver stemmeret forat kunne regulere de moralske forhold, hvorunder deres bórn maa opdrages.

Tror MÆND, at de kan modarbeide slette forhold, som truer deres born, medmindre de kan stemme for de mænd, som stýrer distriktet.

Lærere behóver stemmeret forat sikre sig retfærdig lón og forat have indflýdelse paa det offentlige skolestýre.

Tror MÆND, at de kunde tilveiebringe bedre skoleforhold uden ret til at vælge borgermesteren, som udnævner skoleraadet?

Forretningskvinder behöver stemmeret forat sikre for sig selv rimelige udsigter for sin forretning.

Tror forretningsMÆND, at de kan beskýtte sig selv mod ugunstig lovgivning uden ret til at stemme?

Skatbetalende kvinder behöver stemmeret forat beskýtte sin eiendom.

Ved ikke MÆND, at "skattepligt uden representation" er týranni?

Alle kvinder behöver stemmeret, fordi de i lige grad som mænd er interesseret i god regjering og i lige grad ansvarlige for borgerlig retfærdighed.

Alle mænd behóver kvinders hjelp til at opbýgge en bedre og retfærdigere regjering og

Kvinder behover mænd til at hjelpe dem at sikre sig sin ret til at opfølde sine borgerlige pligter.



National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 FIFTH AVENUE

Hovedkvarter:

NEW YORK CITY

Warum die Frauen stimmen wollen:

Frauen sind Bürger

und wollen ihre Bürgerpflicht erfüllen

Arbeitende Frauen brauchen den Stimmzettel, um die Arbeitsverhältnisse, unter denen sie beschäftigt sind, zu reguliren.

Die Manner wiffen gang gut, daß fie felbft ohne den Stimmgettel ichnislos maren.

Hausfrauen branchen den Stimmzettel, um die sanitären Zustände zu reguliren, unter welchen sie und ihre Familien zu leben gezwungen sind.

Glauben die Manner, daß sie in ihren refp. Distritten Berbesserungen erlangen fonnen, wenn sie nicht die richtigen Bertreter erwählen?

Mitter brauchen das Stimmrecht, um die moralische Umgebung, unter welcher ihre Kinder aufwachsen, zu reguliren.

Glauben die Manner, daß fie verdammenswerthe Buftande, welche ihre Kinder bedrohen, andern tonnen, ohne daß fie Gelegenheit haben, die Beamten der Gemeinde zu mahlen.

Cehrer brauchen den Stimmzettel jur Erlangung gerechter Salare, und um die Leitung ber Schulen ju beeinstuffen.

Glanben die Manner, daß fie beffere Schulverhältniffe schaffen können, ohne für den Mayor zu stimmen, welcher die Schul-Behörde ernennt.

Geschäftsfrauen branchen den Stimmzettel, um sich Bewegungsfreiheit in geschäftlichen Unternehmungen zu sichern.

Glauben denn Geschäftsmänner, daß fie fich gegen schädliche Gesetzgebung ohne den Stimmzettel schützen können?

Stewern zahlende Frauen brauchen ben Stimmzettel, um ihr Grundeigenthum zu schützen. Wissen bie Männer nicht, daß "Besteuerung ohne Bolksvertretung" Thrannei ist.

Mue Frauen branchen den Stimmzettel, weil sie in gleichem Maaße wie die Männer ein Interesse baran haben, ob die Regierung gut oder schlecht ist, und weil sie in gleichem Maaße für bürgerliche Engend verantwortlich sind.

Mue Manner branchen die Silfe der Franen am Stimmfasten, um eine bessere und gerechtere Regierung aufzubauen und

Francen brauchen Männer, welche ihnen helfen, das Recht zu erlangen, ihre Bürgerpflichten zu erfüllen.



Frauen-Stimmrecht gleichbedeutend mit Männer-Stimmrecht

(Auszug aus der Prinzipien=Erflärung der American Federation of Labor)

Staats-Verbände, die sich für Frauen-Stimmrecht erklärt haben

California Connecticut Colorado Iowa Illinois Indiana Kansas

Maine
Massachusetts
Michigan
Minnesota
New Hampshire
New York

New Jersey

Oklahoma
Oregon
Pennsylvania
Tennessee
Washington
West Virginia

Ohio

"Ich bin für unbedingtes Frauen-Stimmrecht als ein Alt humaner Gerechtigkeit.

"Es ist eine Ungerechtigkeit, daß Frauen Gesetzen unterworfen find, bei deren Abfassung sie nicht mitreden founten.

"Männer würden es als ein Unrecht empfinden, wenn sie dies Recht nicht hätten, und Frauen empfinden gerade so."

Samuel Compers

"Ich bin in Harmonie mit der Erklärung der American Federation of Labor, welche das Berlangen, ben Frauen das Stimmrecht zu verleihen, unterstützt.

"Stets ftand ich ein für Gerechtigkeit, und die Lojung der Franen-Stimmrechtsfrage ist, wie mir scheint, nur ein Aft der Gerechtigkeit.

"Ich perfönlich glaube, daß es uns Allen zum Bortheil ware, wenn die Franen das Stimmrecht erhalten würden."

John Mitchell

"Ich würde allen Arbeitern in Amerika rathen, für das Frauen-Stimmrecht zu wirken.

"Ich rufe ihnen zu, mur Muth!

"Ich halte feine Rede über irgend ein Thema, ohne darin bas Franen-Stimmrecht gu erwähnen."

Reir Hardie

In New York giebt es 500,000 arbeitende franen. Sollte das Stimmrecht denen nicht gerade so viel werth sein, wie den Männern der Arbeit?



Aeber das Stimmrecht

Wer gab den Männern das Recht qu stimmen, und wann?

Besiten alle Manner in ben Bereinigten Staaten bas Stimmrecht?

Ja, wenn sie über 21 Jahre alt und hier geboren oder naturalisirt sind. (In manchen Staaten mussen sie auch lesen können.)

Saben alle diese Manner barum nachgesucht, bag man ihnen bas Stimmrecht verleibe?

Rein, nicht einer von ihnen that dies. Dies Recht gehört ihnen laut ben Geseten bes Landes.

Ms bie Gefete gemacht wurden, ersuchten ba bie Manner um bas Stimmrecht?

Nein, die mit der Abfassung der Gesetze betrauten Bertreter waren weitsehend genug, zu wissen, daß sie mit den paar stimmberechtigten Bürgern der Kolonialzeit, jenen Männern, die in Bezug auf Religion, Geburt und Besitzthum, allen Ansprüchen genügten, keine Republik gründen konnten. Alle jene Bedingungen wurden hinweggesegt und die Majorität der Männer erhielt das Stimmrecht.

Man beachte, daß die Männer politischer Ursachen wegen das Stimmrecht erhielten und nicht, weil sie darum fragten.

Die Nachtommen jener Manner befigen feitdem das Stimmrecht.

Wer wird den Franen das Stimmrecht verleiben, und wann?

Besiten alle Frauen in ben Bereinigten Staaten bas Stimmrecht?

Rein, nur jene die in Colorado, Idaho, Utah und Byoming ihren Bohnfit haben.

haben alle Frauen in den Bereinigten Staaten um Berleihung des Stimmrechts petitionirt?

Nein, aber die Zahl der Frauen, die darum gefragt haben, ist größer als die Zahl der Männer, bie überhaupt um irgend Etwas während der ganzen Geschichte dieses Landes gefragt haben.

Frauen find Burger diefes Landes, "ob offiziell anerkannt ober nicht."

Frauen sollten bas Stimmrecht erhalten aus denselben politischen Ursachen wie die Männer, und nicht weil sie darum nachsinden.

Aus welchen politischen Gründen sollten bie Frauen bas Stimmrecht erhalten:

- 1. Frauen sind Volk; dies kann Niemand bestreiten. Abraham Lincoln definirte eine ideale Republik als "eine Regierung des Volkes durch das Volk und für das Volk;" unsere ist jedoch eine Regierung des Volkes durch eine Hälste des Volkes.
- 2. Wir können dies keine ideale Republik nennen, so lange eine Hälfte des Bolkes entrechtet und ungeschützt ift.
- 3. Das Land braucht die Rrafte aller feiner Burger.
- 4. Männer und Frauen bedürfen der Gelegenheit gemeinsamer Betheiligung und unter gleichen Bedingungen.

Ber giebt den Frauen bas Stimmrecht?

Der Kongreß tann es durch ein Amendement zur Bundes-Conftitution thun. Staats-Legis- laturen können es durch Staats-Amendements thun.

Wann werden fie es thun? Fragt die Bahler.



OM STEMMEGIVNING

Hvem gav MÆNDENE ret til at stemme, og naar?

Kan alle mænd stemme i De forenede stater?

Ja, dersom de er over 21 aar og er fódt her i landet eller er naturaliseret. (I nogle stater maa de ogsaa være istand til at læse.)

Har alle disse mænd bedt om ret til at stemme?

Nei, ikke en af dem bad derom. Retten er dem givet ved landets lov.

Da lovene blev givet, BAD da alle mænd om ret til at stemme?

Nei, de repræsentanter, som gav lovene, var langsýnte nok til at vide, at de ikke kunde grundlægge en republik af de faa borgere, som havde stemmeret i kolonidagene — de mænd, som kunde vise kvalifikation med hensýn til religion, fódsel og eiendom, saa alle disse kvalifikationer blev tilsidesat, og MAJORITETEN af mænd fik stemmeret. Mærk! Det var af politiske grunde og IKKE, fordi mændene bad om stemmeret. Disse mænds EFTERKOMMERE har stemt hele tiden siden.

Hvem vil give KVINDER deres ret til at stemme, og naar?

Kan alle kvinder stemme i De forenede stater?

Nei, kun de, som bor i Kolorado, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Washington og Kalifornien.

Har alle kvinder i De forenede stater bedt om ret til at stemme?

Nei, men ANTALLET AF KVINDER, SOM HAR BEDT om stemmeret, er STÓRRE end ANTALLET OF MÆND, SOM HAR BEDT om NOGET i hele landets historie.

Kvinder er borgere i dette land, "enten de er offentlig anerkjendt som saadanne eller ei."

Kvinder skulde modtage sin ret til at stemme af de samme POLITISKE GRUNDE, som mænd modtæger sin, og ikke FORDI de BEDER om den.

HVILKE ER de politiske grunde for at give stemmeret til kvinder?

1. Kvinder er folk; ingen vover at benegte det. Abraham Lincoln forklarede en idealsk republik at være en "regjering af folket, ved folket og for folket;" men vor regjering er en regjering AF folket ved HALVDELEN af folket.

2. Vi kan ikke gjóre denne til en idealsk republik, dersom vi lader halvdelen af

folket være UANSVARLIG og UBESKYTTET.

3. Landet BEHOVER ALLE sine borgeres arbeidskraft.

4. Mænd og kvinder behóver at have anledning til at GJÓRE SIT BEDSTE i fellesskab og paa lige vilkaar.

HVEM kan give kvinder deres ret til at stemme?

KONGRESSEN kan gjóre det ved en NATIONAL ÆNDRING af grundloven.

STATERNES STORTING kan gjóre det ved ændring af statsgrundlovene.

Naar vil de gjóre det? Spórg deres vælgere.



National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 FIFTH AVENUE

Hovedkvarter: NEW YORK CITY

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRACE ASSOCIATION 403 ESSEX BLDG.

MINNEAPOLU rauen im

Man sagt uns immer, daß der Plat der Frau im Heim sein sei. Gut, lassen wir es dabei bewenden. Aber, was erwarten wir von ihr im Heim? Es genügt nicht, daß sie im Heim ist. Sie ist nicht am Plate, wenn sie sich nicht dem moralischen und physischen Wohlbesinden der Familie, besonders der Kinder, mit Erfolg widmet. Sie wird mehr wie irgend Jemand dafür verantspartisch aufelden mass aus die Lander wie und der Verantspartisch auf der Verantspartisch auch wortlich gehalten, was aus den Kindern wird.

Sie ift verantwortlich für die Reinlichteit im Hause

Sie ift verantwortlich für die gesundheitfördernde Zubereitung ber Speisen

Sie ift verantwortlich für die Gefundheit der Rinder

Sie, vor Allem, ift für beren moralifche Entwidlung verantwortlich

In welchem Maaße kann die Mutter bier bestimmend mitwirken?

Sie fann ihre Wohnung reinhalten, aber wenn es ben Nachbarn gestattet ift, im Schmutz zu leben, fann sie es nicht verhindern, daß ihre Wohnung mit schlechter Luft und Dünften, sowie Ungeziefer angefüllt wird.

Sie taun die Sprifen gut tochen, aber wenn handlern geftattet ift, minberwerthige Nahrungsmittel, unreine Milch und faule Gier zu vertaufen, tann fie ihren Rindern teine gesunde Speise reichen.

Sie kann ihre Wohnung in hygienischer Beziehung tadellos halten, aber wenn im übrigen Theil bes Hauses gesundheitsschädliche Zustände herrschen sich Abfälle ansammeln, Gänge und Treppen schmutzig sind, kann sie ihre Kinder nicht gegen die aus solchen Zuständen resultirenden Krankheiten und Anftedungsgefahren ichuten.

Sie fann alle Magregeln zum Schutz gegen Fenersgefahr anwenden, aber wenn das haus schlecht gebaut wurde, die Fener-Rothleitern ungenügend sind, kann sie ihre Kinder nicht gegen die Gefahr schützen durch Fener verstümmelt oder getödtet zu werden.

Sie fann ihre Tenfter öffnen, um ihren Rindern die fo nothwendige Luft gu geben, aber wenn die Luft mit Unsteckungsteimen der Schwindsucht und übertragbaren Rrantheiten geladen ift, tann fie ihre Rinder gegen diefe Befahren nicht fcuben.

Sie fann ihre Kinder zur Bewegung in frischer Luft hinaussenden, aber wenn die fie auf der Strafe umgebenden Buftande unmoralisch und erniedrigend find, tann fie bieselben nicht gegen diese Gefahren schützen.

Allein tonn fie hier nicht Wandel schaffen. Wer und was tann?

Die Gemeinde kann es thun—die Stadtverwaltung, welche von dem Volke erwählt wurde, über die Interessen des Volkes zu wachen.

Und wer bestimmt, was die Stadtverwaltung thun foll?

Erstens, die Beamten der Verwaltung; zweitens, die, welche diese Beamten erwählen.

Grmählen die Franen die Beamten? Nein, die Männer! Dann sind es die Männer und nicht die Franen, welche die Berantwortung tragen für

Unfanitäre Justande Ungefunde Häuser Feuersgefahr Ungesunde Speisen Gefahr der Erkrankung an Schwindsucht und anderen Urankheiten Unmoralische Einflüsse der Strasse

Thatsächlich sind die Männer für die Zuftände verantwortlich, unter welchen unsere Kinder leben, aber wir halten die Frauen für die aus solchen Zuständen hervorgehenden Resultate verantwortlich. Wenn wir die Frauen für folche Resultate verantwortlich halten wollen, erheischt nicht die Gerechtigkeit, daß wir ihnen das Recht einräumen, zu sagen, wie die Zustände sein sollen? Dies kann in sehr einfacher Weise geschehen. Laßt sie stimmen!

Frauen sind ihrer natürlichen Beranlagung und Erziehung nach zum Haushalten bestimmt. Man gebe ihnen Gelegenheit sich im Haushalt der Stadt zu bethätigen, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, daß sie einmal gründliche Hausreinigung machen.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Headquarters: 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

WOMAN SUFFRACE ASSOCIATION

Kvinder i hjemmet

Man siger os uafladelig, at kvindens plads er i HJEMMET. Vel, lad det være saa. Men hvad venter vi af hende i hjemmet? Blot det at være i hjemmet er ikke nok. Hun forfeiler sin opgave, medmindre hun tager vare paa sin families, iser sine bórns helbred og velfærd i saavel moralsk som legemlig henseende. Mere end nøgen anden er hun ansvarlig for, hvad de blir.

Hun er ansvarlig for sit hjems renslighed. Hun er ansvarlig for madens sundhed. Hun er ansvarlig for bornenes helbred. Hun, fremfor alle, er ansvarlig for deres moral.

Hvorlangt kan en moder kontrolere disse ting?

Hun kan holde sine egne værelser rene; MEN hvis naboerne faar lov at leve i smuds, kan hun ikke fri sine værelser fra at fýldes med daarlig luft og lugt eller fra at blive herjet af utói.

Hun kan koge sin mad godt, MEN dersom kjóbmanden faar lov til at sælge daarlige madvarer,

uren melk eller bedærvede æg, kan hun ikke lave sund fóde for sine bórn.

Hun kan tage vare paa sin egen rórlægning og afkastning fra kjókkenet, MEN hvis rórlægningen i resten af huset forsómmes og er usund, hvis affald ophober sig, og gange og trapper er skidne, kan hun ikke beskýtte sine bórn fra deraf fólgende sýgdom og smitte.

Hun kan gjóre sit bedste forat forebýgge ildebrand, MEN hvis huset er daarlig opfórt. hvis redningsmidlerne i ildebrandstilfelde er utilstrækkelige, kan hun ikke værge sine bórn fra at blive

skadet eller omkomme ved ildebrand.

Hun kan aabne sine vinduer ferat give sine born den luft, som man siger os er saa nodvendig, MEN hvis luften er fuld af smitte, kan hun ikke beskýtte sine born fra smitsomme sýgdomme.

Hun kan sende sine born ud forat faa frisk luft og bevælgelse, MEN dersom de forhold, som omgiver dem paa gaden, er umoralske og karakternedbrýdende, kan hun ikke beskýtte dem for disse farer.

Alene kan hun ikke ordne disse ting. Hvem kan?

Býen kan gjóre det, býstýret, som er valgt af folket til at varetage folkets interesser.

Og hvem afgjór, hvad býstýrelsen skal gjóre?

FÓRST, býstýrets bestillingsmænd, og for det ANDET de, som vælger dem.

Vælger kvinderne dem? NEI, mænd vælger dem. Det er saaledes mændene og ikke kvinderne, som i virkeligheden er ansvorlige for

De urene huse, Daarlig rórlogning, Den usunde fóde, Fare for ildebrand, Fare for tuberculosis og andre sýgdomme, Umoralsk indflýdelse paa gaden.

I virkeligheden er mænd ansvarlige for de forhold, hvorunder bórnene lever, men man holder kvinder ansvarlige for fólgerne af disse forhold. Dersom vi holder kvinder ansvarlige for fólgerne, maa vi da ikke i simpel retfærdighed lade dem have noget at sige angaaende, hvad disse forhold skal blive? Der er en simpel maade at gjóre dette paa: Giv dem de samme midler, som mænd har. Giv dem stemmeret.

Kvinder er af natur og opdragelse husholdere. Lad them have en haand med i býhusholdningen, selvom de skulde komme til at indfóre en leilighedsvis husrengjóring.



National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

און ווען זיע מום עם נים, האלם מען זיע פאר א שלים-מול'ניצע. דיע ווערם נעהאלמין פעראנטוואָרמליך מעהר וויע דער אז זיע זאל זארנען פאר דיע נעזונד און פאר דעם וואויל-שמאנד פון דער נאנצען פאמיליע בעזונדערם פאר דיע קינדער, אבער אז א פרוי זאל אויפטון אין איהר היים? דאם זיין אליין אין הויז איז דאף נאך ניט נענונ. מען מיינט דאף מען ואָנם אלץ או אַ פרויס אָרם אין אין דער היים. לאמין אנגעהמען או דאס איז ריכמינ. וואס ערווארם-מען

זרע איז פעראנטווארטליך פיר ריינליכקיים אין הויה. מאן פאר דאם וואם עם קומם ארוים פון דיע קינדער.

זרע איז פעראנמוואַרמליך אז דאס עסען זאל זיין געוונד.

זרע איו פעראנמווארמליך פיר דיע געוונד פון דיע קינדער.

אין הייפסועכליך איז זיע פעראנטוואַרטליך פאר דיע קינדערס אנשטענדינקיים.

וים קטן האלמיםן ריין איהר איינפנע הייו, אבער או מעו לאום צו או איחרע שכנחים ואלין לעבעו נניע נויים געהט אבער איהר בואכט אריסצופיהרעו דיעוע אריפגאבען?

וים מענ קענען גום קאָבען, אבער ווען מען לאום צו או דוע קרעמער און דיע פערלערם ואלין פערקור אין שמוץ קען זיע נים האלמען איהרע רומים פריי פון שלעכמע לופט, פון אלערליי גערויכען און פון אונגעציפער.

ויע קען מרייען צו האלמען ריין איהר איינענעם סינק און מוילעט און ארוים מראגען איהר פען שלעבמע אייער, אלמע פומער און אנדער - פערדארבענע עסענווארג, קען זיע נים נעבען דיע קינדער קיין געוונדעם עמען.

שמעקענדע קראנקהיימען וועלבע עם קומען פון דערארמינע פערנאכלאסונג. קענ'ם, או מען האַלם דיע האָל'ם און דיע מרעפען שמוצינ. איז עם איהר אונמענליך אויסציהימען דיע קינדער פון דיע אַנ ביםל נארביירוש, אבער או דיע פלאמבינג אין גאנצען הויו איז שלעכם, או מען לאום שמיין דיע נארביירוש אין דיע

ויע מענ זיין זייער פאַרויכטיג או עס ואל זיך ניט מאכען א פּייער אין איהרע רומס, יאבער"

דים קען עפענען א פענסטער צו געבען דיע קינדער פרישע לופט, ווייל זיע האט געהערט או עס איז נויטיג קען זיע ראך נים בעשימצען איהרע קינדער פון דיע שרעקליבע מענליבקיים פערברענם אדער פערקריפעלם צו חערען. וואם קצן זיע מון או דאם נאנצע הויו איז שלעכם נעבוים, או עם איז נים נעמאכם געוואָרען נענוג פייער - עסקייפס? דאן

מים באצילען פון שווינדווכם און פון אנדערע אנשמעקענדע קראנקהיימען, וויע קען זיע אויסמיידען אוא נעפאהר. פאר דיע קינדערם געוונד. אבער וואס קען זיע העלפען ווען דיע לופט וואס קומט אריין פון דרויטען איז פערפעסטעט

בונג פון דער נאם וואו דיע קינדער שפילען זיך איז פון א נאָרם וואם עם ווירקם אייף זיי ערנידרינענד. דאס איז א נעפאהר ויע קען ארויטשיקען דיע קינדער פון הויו או זיי ואַלען זיך שפילען דרויסען, אבעד וואס קען זיע פון או דיע אומנע-

בים שמאדם קען עם מון-ריכמינער געואנם דים רעניערונג פון דער שמאדם וועלכע עם ווערט איים-דים פרוי אליין קען אלע ריוע ואבען נים פערבעסערין. אבער ווער קען עם טון? פון וועלבע זיע קען דיע קינדעד ניט אויסהיטען.

נעקליבען פון פאלק אום עם ואל וארגען פאר דעם וואוול - שמאנד פון דער בעפעלקערונג.

ערשמענם דיע אויסנעקליעבענע בעאממען: און, צוויימענם, יענע וועלבע עם האבען זיי אויסנעקליבען. און ווער בעשמימם וואם דיע רעניערונג ואל מון ?

אבער קלייבען דען דיע פרויען אוים דיע רעניערונג? ביין, נור דיע מענער האבען דאם רעכם

GIT SILLYILLTUD VOOUS er Lucynt er Grut Warry Finer GIL MILLERY GINGELL צו קלייבעו. דארום ויינען דיע מענער און ניט דיע פרויען פעראנטוואָרטליך פיר דיע

עובמונהו או מהו ואל ווי לאותו האבען א שמיקל דעה ווענעו דיע אומשמעודעו? עם ניבם א זייער איינפאבער רעוולם אם פון יענע אומשמענדען. אבער או מען האלם זיי פעראנמוואָרמליף פאר דעם רעוולם אם, וואָלם עם נים זיין אונטער וועלכע היע קינרער לעבען, אבער מען ליינט ארויף אויף דיע פרוי דיע פעראנטווארטליכקיים פאר דעם בות בוכמולמום או או בות שתנתב ונינתו מאל. פתבאומוואבמקוב פאב אקקת ותות אושהמתובתו err try Eurraneury fireque en try Labul.

פיר בעפטהר פון שווינדווכם און אנדעדע קרצוקהיימעו

דיע פרויען ייינען, לוים זייער נאמור און לוים זייער ערציהונג בעל-הביה'מעם. אלווי לאום זייע אייך נעהמען אן ria errial wardal. מישעל וויע דאם צו ערדויבען - דאס ועלבע מישעל וואס דער מאן האם אום אויס-ציידריקען ויין דעה. לאומ

אריסריינינונ פון דער שמאדם וועם דאך מאקי צו-נימץ קומען. אנטהויל אין דיע בעל-הבטעשיקיים פון דער שמארם. און אפשר וועללען זייע פון ציים צו ציים בעהויפטען א גרינדליבע

ניישיאנאל וואומען סאפרערוש פאבלישינג קאמפאניע, אינק.

בון יאנל סומי

SOS Gready Uniter.

Das Stimmrecht für Frauen Inepin county

Der Frauen Gründe

Weil	Frauen die Gesetze ebenso beobachten muffen wie die Männer	
W eil	Franen ebenso wie die Männer Steuern zahlen und dadurch zum Unterhalt ber Regierung beitragen	Des
Weil	Frauen unter schlechten Gesetzen und unter schlechter öffentlicher Berwaltung ebenso, ja noch mehr, leiden als Männer	Deshall
Weil	Mitter die Umgebung ihrer Kinder beffern und ihnen mehr Schutz erringen wollen	¥ *
Weil	über 5,000,000 Frauen und Mädchen in den Bereinigten Staaten Lohnarbeiter find und deren Leben und Gesundheit und das der kommenden Generation bedroht ist durch schlechte Arbeitsbedingungen und gesundheitsschädliche Zustände in den Arbeitsplätzen, welche nur durch die Gesetzgebung beseitigt werden können	jellten
Weil	Frauen, die beabsichtigen der allgemeinen Wohlfahrt zu dienen, in der Lage sein sollten, ihre Ansichten am Stimmkasten zu vertheidigen.	H die
Weil	die immer geplagten Hansfrauen und auch Geschäftsfrauen sich im öffentlichen Dienst nicht bethätigen können, sollte ihnen dieselbe Gelegenheit, dem Staate zu dienen, gegeben werden wie dem geschäftigen Manne—nämlich das Recht zu stimmen	auch
Weil	Frauen zu einer höheren Auffassung der socialen Berantwortlichkeit erzogen werden sollten, und solche Berantwortlichkeit entwickelt wird durch Uebernahme derfelben	n mit
Weil	Frauen Konsumenten sind, und Konsumenten zu voller Bertretung in ber Bolitik berechtigt find	
Meil	Frauen Bürger einer Republit des Bolfes, durch das Bolf und für das Bolt sind, weil Frauen auch zur Aation gekören	den

Gleiches Stimmrecht für Männer und Frauen

Frauen brauchen es Männer brauchen es Das Gemeinwesen braucht es

Warum?

Meil

frauen dabei helten sollten Männer dabei helten sollten der Staat auf beider Hilfe angewiesen ist



STEMMER FOR KVINDER

KVINDENS GRUNDE

FORDI

CODDI	2 0 2	1221.721	2 3 10				
FUKUI	kvinder maa	adlýde	lovene.	just som	mænd	maa.	

derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FORDI kvinder betaler skat, just som mænd gjór, og saaledes stótter regjeringen,

derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FORDI kvinder lider under daarlig regjering, just som mænd lider,

derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FORDI módre ónsker at gjóre sine bórns omgivelser bedre,

derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FORDI over 7,000,000 kvinder i De forenede stater er dagarbeidere, og deres og vore fremtidige borgeres helbred ofte er i fare under onde arbeidsforhold, som kun kan forbedres ved lovgivning,

derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FORDI bedre stillede kvinder, som forsóger at tjene det offentlige vel, skulde være istand til at stótte sine raad ved sin stemme.

derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FORDI travle husmódre og professionelle kvinder ikke kan give saadan offentlig tjeneste og kun kan tjene staten ved de samme midler, som de, der benýttes af den travle mand, nemlig ved at afgive sin stemme,

derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FORDI kvinder behóver at opdrages til en hóiere fólelse af socialt og borgerligt ansvar, og fordi en saadan fólelse udvikles ved brug,

derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FORDI kvinder er konsumenter (forbrugere), og konsumenter behóver fuldere representation i politikken, derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FORDI kvinder er borgere under en regjering AF folked, VED folket og FOR folket, OG FORDI KVINDER ER FOLK,

derfor skulde de stemme i lighed med mænd.

FOR MÆND OG KVINDER

LIGE STEMMERET (KVINDER behöver den.) STATEN behöver den.

MÆND behóver den. --- HVORFOR?

(Kvinder bor GIVE sin hielp. FORDI — Mænd bór HAVE deres hjelp.
Staten bór BRUGE deres hjelp.



HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
40S ESSEX BLDQ.,

GLOS DLA KOBIET!

PRAWO KOBIET

PONIEWAŻ

PONIEWAZ	kobiety	muszą	podlegać	prawu ta	ak, jak	i mężczyzn	i	
			200	nann man		COCONVICTO STO	MICHERS OF	FOR OWN AWAY PROS IS SON I

PONIEWAZ	kobiety płacą poda	tki tak, jak i mężczyzni i tem wspierają rząd
		zatem powinny głosować na równi z mężczyznami

PONIEWAZ	kobiety cierpią pod złemi rządami tak samo jak mężczyzni
	zatem powinny głosować na równi z mężczyznami

PONIEWAZ	matki chcą polepszyć	byt swych dzieci
		zatem powinny głosować na równi z mężczyznami.

PONIEWAZ	około 8,000,000 kobiet w Stanach Zjednoczonych są odważnemi pracownicami i tak ich zdrowie, jak i naszych przyszłych obywateli jest narażone na szwank przez złe warunki pracy, które to warunki mogą być usunięte przez ustawodawstwo jedynie,
	zatem powinny głosować na równi z mężczyznami.

PONIEWAZ	kobiety wolne od zajęć, a chcące służyć dobru publicznemu winny mieć możność zabierania doradczego głosu
	zatem powinny głosować na równi z mężczyznami.

PONIEWAZ	pracowite matki rodzin i kobiety pracujące zawodowo nie mogą poświęcać swego czasu dla dobra publicznego, i mogą służyć pań-
	stwu tylko tak jak pracujący mężczyzna, mianowicie, przez rzuca- nie galek wyborczych

zatem powinny głosować na równi z mężczyznami.

PONIEWAZ	kobiety winny być przygotowane do wyższego pojęcia obywatels- kiej i społecznej odpowiedzialności, a takie pojęcie rozwija się przez praktyke,
	zatem powinny głosować na równi z mężczyznami.

PONIEWAZ kobiety są konsumentami, a konsumenci potrzebują większej reprezentacyi w polityce zatem powinny głosować na równi z mężczyznami.

PONIEWAZ kobiety są obywatelkami rządu narodu, przez naród, i dla narodu i KOBIETY SA NARODEM.

i KOBIETY SĄ NARODEM.

zatem powinny głosować na równi z mężczyznami.

ZRÓWNAJ GŁOS
KOBIET I MĘŻCZYZN

KOBIETY potrzebują tego
MĘŻCZYZNI potrzebują tego
PAŃSTWO potrzebuje tego

-- DLACZEGO?

PONIEWAŻ — Kobiety winny DAWAĆ swą pomoc Mężczyzni winni MIEĆ ich pomoc Państwo powinno ZUŻYTKOWAĆ ich pomoc

NARODOWA, KOBIECA DRUKARSKA KOMPANIA SUFFRAŻYSTEK

5ta Avenue



Miasto New York.

Przedruk Zastrzezony. Drukiem Narodowego Towarzystwa Równouprawnienia Kobiet (Inc.), New York City

Stimmrecht für Frauen

Manche sagen	Wir sagen
Die Majorität der Frauen will kein Stimmrecht	Die Majorität wartet immer auf das, was eine energische Minorität durchsetzt.
Frauen werden nicht ftimmen, auch wenn sie das Recht dazu haben	Officielle Zahlen beweisen, daß Frauen fich zahlreich an der Stimm- abgabe betheiligen, woimmer fie das Recht dazu haben.
Wenn Frauen stimmen, soll- ten sie auch Militär- und Polizeidienste verrichten	Männer, die nicht als Soldaten fämpfen fönnen oder es niemals thun werden, haben das Recht zu stimmen. Dagegen erfüllen Francu schwerere Pflichten für die Nation, die kein Mann erfüllen kann.
Wenn Frauen stimmen, müs- sen sie auch öffentliche Aemter übernehmen	Und warnm nicht, wenn sie dazu von allen Stimmgebern, Männern und Franen, erwählt werden.
Frauen haben genug zu thun, auch ohne Stimmrecht	Das Stimmen nimmt nur wenige Minuten in Anspruch, wenn aber die Franen so mit Arbeiten überhäuft sind, daß sie diese wenigen Minuten nicht übrig haben, dann sollten sie um so mehr das Stimmrecht haben, um diese Ueberbürdung abwälzen zu können.
Es würde störend in die Sphare der Frau, die Sorge für das heim, eingreifen	Hält das Stimmrecht den Mann von seiner Arbeit ab, seinen Geschäften?
Es würde das ignorante Vo- tum verdoppeln	Biel mehr Mädchen nehmen länger am öffentlichen Unterricht theil als Anaben und schon jest ist der weibliche Theil der Bevölkerung intelligenter als der männliche.
Es würde das ausländische Botum verdoppeln	Es würden nur Bürger des Landes stimmen, und alle Bürger dieses Landes stammen von Ansländern ab. Die Ginwanderer von West- und Mittel-Guropa können Alle lesen und schreiben, das kann man von vielen hier, besonders im Süden geborenen, nicht behanpten.
Es würde das Verbrecher- Votum verdoppeln	Im Gegentheil. Unter Berbrechern tommen unter 20 unt eine weib-
Es würde die Kosten, Arbeit und Scheererei der Wahlen verdoppeln	Die Demokratie beruht auf dem gleichen Stimmercht für Alle. Soll das Stimmrecht eingeschränkt werden, um Kosten zu sparen?
Frauen können Gesette machen oder ändern durch indirec- ten Einfluß	Das wäre ein Grund mehr für das Frauen-Stimmrecht und ein Grund weniger für das ansichliefliche Recht der Männer.
Eine Frau gehört in's Haus	Und doch sind Millionen von Franen nicht im Hause sondern in Fabriken, Schwisbuden und anderen Arbeitsplätzen; unr Abends, wenn abgeradert, ist sie im Heim, und in welchem Heim? Wie nöthig ist ihr das Stimmrecht, da die Männer bisher nichts für die Erlösung der Frangethan haben.
Frauen werden durch die Männer vertreten	Bis jest haben die Franen nichts davon gemerkt. Die heutige Gesesgebung überläßt Franen und Kinder schrankenlosester Ansbeutung, ohne Schutz und Schirm. Noch nicht mal giebt es Geses für den Schutz männlicher Arbeiter, es seien denn Scheingesetz ohne Wirkung.



STEMMER FOR KVINDER

Folk siger: Vi siger: De fleste kvinder ónsker ikke Flertallet ónsker aldrig fremskridt. stemmeret. Kvinder vil ikke stemme, naar Offentlig statistik viser at kvinder STEMMER i stor de faar ret til det. udstrækning, hvorsomhelsit de faar ret til det. Mænd, som ikke kunde gaa i krig, stemmer dog. Dette Dersom kvinder stemmer, bór de gaa i krig og gjóre politier en tid, da RET giver MAGT tjeneste. Dersom kvinder stemmer, maa En kvinde maa vælges til embede af mænd og kvinder de indehave embeder. i fellesskab. Maa alle mænd indehave embeder? Kvinder har nok at gjóre uden Stemmegivning kræver blot nogle faa minutter og kan at stemme. gjóres paa veien til butikken. Det vilde hindre en kvindes Hindrer det mandens gjerning i fabrikken, butikken gjerning: At tage vare paa eller kontoret? huset. Det vilde fordoble den uvi-¹/₃ del flere piger end gutter bes óger h óiskolerne, og kvinder vil snart blive den bedre uddannede klasse. dende stemmegivning. Det vilde fordoble de indvan-Der er i De forenede stater over 12 gange saamange dredes stemmeantal. fódt her i landet som i udlandet. Det vilde fordoble den krimi-Kun en af 20 forbrýdere er kvinder. Det vilde i hói nelle stemmegivning. grad forôge de gode stemmer og kun meget lidet de daarlige. Folkestýrets trýghed ligger i at give stemmeret til alle klasser, saa at ALLE representeres ligelig, og resul-tatet vil blive en rimelig gjennemsnits opinion. Bór vi Det vilde fordoble valgets udgifter og brýderi. tage væk halvdelen af den unværende stemmegivning forat spare penge? Kvinder kan forandre eller Hvorfor være indirekte, naar vi kan være direkte? gjóre love ved indirekte ind-Hvorfor spilde tid med at slaa hen i veiret? flýdelse. En kvindes plads er i hjem-Hun forlader det forat gaa til butikken, og hvorfor ikke forat stemme? Det tager mindre tid. met. Kvinder er representeret ved Vilde mænd lade kvinder representere dem paa valgmænd. Har en mand, som representerer kvinder, mere end en stemme, eller stemmer han efter flertallets onsker blandt dem han representerer? Nei! Da representerer han dem ikke. Har en mand sin stemmeret forat representere nogen andens mening end sin egen? TRADES ON COUNCIL

National American Woman Suffrage Association

WOMAN SUFFRACE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG.

Et Ord om Kuindens Stemmeret.

Af Luth Jaeger i "Angdommens Ben".

Stemmeret for Kvinder hviler fra først til sidst paa det samme Grundsag som Stemmeret for Mænd.

Den gamle Ordning, hvorunder et Faatal af Mænd eller kanske bare een Mand troede sig kaldet til at sthre Staten, var bleven aslægs og ubrugbar. Dels sordi dette Faatalssthre misbrugte sin Magt, dels ogsaa, sordi Lighedstanken havde trængt sig saaledes ind i den almindelige Bevidsthed, at den maatte sinde Udtryk. Det gjorde den da ogsaa paa mange Maader, men den mest banebrydende og den betydningssuldeste af disse var vel Stemmeretten.

Med denne bryder Nutiden først igjennem. I Stemmeretten, med dens Udvikling fra begrænset til almindelig for alle voksne Mænd, kom Folkestyret foreløbig til sin Ret og fandt baade Rustning og Baaben.

Men hvorfor er da ikke denne Ordning tilstrækkelig nu? Hvad har hændt, siden Manden ikke længer gjør Fyldest for baade sig selv og Kvinden?

Svaret ligger i den Kjendsgjerning, at Kvindens Samfundsstilling har undergaact en radifal Forandring. Hun er kommen ud i Livet med dets tusen Krav, paa hende falder tyngre end sør og i større Udstrækning Byrden af hendes egen og Familiens Underhold. Og denne Byrde kan ikke længer bæres indensor Hjenmets lune Bægge. Mere og mere finder Kvinden sit Virke blandt Fremmede og udensor den hjemlige Kreds.

Og i samme Mon som dette ster, vaagner Kvinden ogsaa til Bevidsthed om Kræster og Evner, som hun før ikke troede sig at besidde, om Krav, som var fremmede for hende indtil da.

Det er Nødvendigheden, som tvinger dem ind paa hende, men hun vilde iffe været modtagelig for alt dette nye, om iffe samtidig hendes aandelige Udvifling havde skudt en hidtil uksendt Fart og erobret sig Plads paa Omraader, der indtil da var skængt for hende.

I vore høiest udviklede Nutidssamfund er derfor Forskjellen mellem Wand og Kvinde økonomisk betragtet i mange væsentlige Retninger paa det nærmeste udvisket. Og heraf følger nødvendigvis ogsaa, at Kvinden trænger den samme Anledning som Wanden til at hædde sin Ret og værge sig mod Overgreb.

Som den legemligt svagere af de to, og fordi hun bærer Slægtens Fornyelse i sit Sfjød, er Nødvendigheden af et tidsmæssigt Værge saa meget mere tvingende.

Og dette Bærge er Stemmeretten.

Manden har ikke altid havt Kvindens Tarv tilstrækkeligt for Sie i sin Brug af Stemmeretten, derfor maa hun selv for sin egen og Slægtens Skyld gjøre Hævd paa Krav, som hidtil er blevne upaaagtede.

Der kan naturligvis ikke være noget Spørgsmaal om Kvindens Ret til at stemme. Thi hvis den fornægtes, taber ogsaa Wanden sin. Der er intet paa Jorden eller udenom den, som gir Wanden Eneret i dette Stykke. Wed andre Ord, Kvinden besidder de samme naturlige Betingelser som Wanden for at gjøre sin Bilje og sin Wening gjældende ved Hjælp af Stemmeretten. Og i Kraft deraf er det hele Samsund bedst tjent med at hun gives denne Anledning.

Hun vil bringe nye Tanker, nye Midler og kanske høiere og renere Maal som Bidrag til Samsundsspørgsmaalenes Løsning. Kan Manden længer forsvare at lade hende staa udensor?

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